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President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Carías (Honduras), Vice-President took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 26

**The situation in the Middle East: report of the
Secretary-General (*continued*)**

1. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): There is no doubt whatsoever that the Middle East crisis is today the most acute focal point of crisis in the world, owing to its global character, its political dimensions and its negative impact on over-all international relations. It is increasingly growing into a focus of confrontation that transcends the borders of the Middle East region. The failure to resolve this crisis jeopardizes the implementation of the essential principles of contemporary international relations and constitutes one of the constant factors of the aggravation of those relations.
2. On the other hand, the ever more frequent recourse to the use of force in various parts of the world, the persistent practice of imposing an alien will on peoples through pressure, interference and intervention, and the acceleration of the arms race and strengthening of military presence in areas of crisis adversely affect all elements of the Middle East crisis, linking it up with tension in the broader region of the Middle East, the Gulf and central Asia.
3. In a sense the Middle East is one of the essential components of the world situation into which are compressed, it not all, then a large number of the elements of disruption in the world, from threatened national rights and survival of peoples and nations to extra-regional strategic points of friction and confrontation. Furthermore, the most powerful armadas of the world are now cruising in the region between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean, and their combat readiness has been enhanced. All this is acquiring alarming dimensions, multiplying the elements of a broader conflict and reducing the prospects of a rapid termination of the Middle East crisis.
4. Such a situation makes it imperative to take resolute steps with a view to resolving the crisis in all

its aspects. Actually, if at least a beginning were made in deactivating that highly explosive detonator in that sensitive area, a major step forward would be made towards the relaxation of tensions on a world scale.

5. It was again confirmed during the recent debate on the question of Palestine as well as during the latest emergency special session that the question of Palestine is at the core of the Middle East crisis and that the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national independence is a *conditio sine qua non* for the settlement of this crisis. No one who reasons and acts realistically can disregard, either from the moral or the political point of view, this generally known and accepted fact. As long as the Palestinian people remains deprived of its rights by one of the most glaring anachronisms of contemporary international relations it will not be possible to achieve either peace or security in this key region. On the contrary, sources of aggravation of relations in the region and, more broadly, in the world at large will continue to make their presence felt.

6. Regrettably, we are not even near to such a solution. On the contrary, ominous clouds portending dangers of all sorts are gathering on the horizon. In addition to ignoring constantly all the pertinent decisions of the world Organization, Israel continues to pursue its policy of occupation and annexation of Arab territories. The daily acts of aggression committed against Lebanon, the illegal settlement of the occupied territories and their denationalization not only constitute open violations of the norms of international law but are also manifestations of a continued policy of expansion which constantly threatens peace and stability in that region.

7. The documents of the United Nations are replete with data illustrating the negative policies and practices of Israel in the occupied Arab territories and towards the Arab countries. There is, therefore, no need to repeat them here. The special measures taken by the Israeli authorities in and regarding Jerusalem cause us particular concern. They are exemplified, in particular, by the adoption of the basic law proclaiming Jerusalem to be the capital of Israel. It is encouraging, however, that the whole international community has refused to recognize this act of forcibly changing the international status of Jerusalem and legalizing its annexation.

8. In all this it is promising that the vast majority of countries refuse to reconcile themselves to this state of affairs and that developments are every day proving that the policy of *fait accompli* cannot be imposed by force. At seventh the emergency special session, on Palestine, the General Assembly gave a clear indication of growing awareness and consensus in the world with respect to the basic parameters of the

Middle East crisis and pointed to the course to be followed towards a settlement. The Palestinian people, led by its legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], is gaining ever broader support in its just struggle for the establishment of its national State.

9. I should like to refer now to the active and constructive role of the non-aligned countries, which, by asserting the fundamental principles of non-alignment as an independent and non-bloc world factor, have been exerting constant efforts for a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis. The non-aligned movement has become the mightiest bulwark of the Arab peoples and countries in the struggle for their legitimate rights in the same way as it has always lent its strongest support to independence and free development of all peoples and countries. In this situation, as well as in others, the non-aligned countries have acted as a constructive factor and protagonist of the platform for a just settlement. In their realistic and principled policy, they proceed from the necessity of establishing such relations in the region as will enable each people to realize its legitimate national rights and each country to develop in security and freedom. In pursuing this policy, the non-aligned countries have of course devoted special attention to the need for the Palestinian people to achieve its national rights, this people being the only people in the region without a national State of its own. Furthermore, the non-aligned countries are firmly convinced that it is neither realistic nor possible to take decisions affecting the fate of the Palestinian people without recognizing the PLO and without the latter's active participation.

10. The longer the crisis in the Middle East persists, the more convinced we become of the necessity for urgent action, because every day of postponement of a solution is fraught with the danger of fatal consequences. The checking of negative tendencies in the development of this crisis and the elimination of its causes would mark a major step towards improving the international situation and bringing to a successful close a long period of soul-searching on the part of all the peaceful countries and all political forces in the world with regard to the Middle East crisis and, especially, the question of Palestine. This is all the more significant in that the international community has actually reached a consensus with respect to the basis on which this can best be done. We firmly believe that the conditions for a political and peaceful settlement with the equal participation of all parties can be achieved most successfully within the framework of the United Nations. Israel must realize that it is not possible to impose by force a state of things that peoples do not desire, and that Israel's security cannot be ensured in that way.

11. Yugoslavia's position regarding the settlement of the Middle East crisis is well known and has been incorporated in numerous resolutions of the United Nations and in decision of conferences of non-aligned countries in which Yugoslavia has played an active role.

12. We have maintained from the very outset of the crisis that in order to create the conditions for a settlement that will enable all peoples and countries to live in peace, security and independence it is indis-

pensable that all the consequences of aggression are eliminated. This calls for the withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 5 June 1967, including Jerusalem.

13. Secondly, the Palestinian people must achieve its inalienable right to self-determination and independence, including the right to establish its own national State. This right is universally recognized and has its political and legal foundation both in the Charter and in the resolutions of the United Nations. Inseparable from this is the recognition of the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and the custodian of its national rights. The PLO not only should participate in all negotiations but is solely qualified to decide the destiny of the Palestinian people.

14. Thirdly, the right of return should be guaranteed to Palestinian refugees and displaced persons. In addition to General Assembly resolutions. Security Council resolution 237 (1967) also stipulates this.

15. Fourthly, it is necessary to recognize the right of all the States in the region to secure national life and independent social development founded on national, religious, ethnic, cultural, economic and political equality and on mutual respect and esteem.

16. Experience shows that these conditions can be fulfilled only within a comprehensive framework, that is to say, by solving all the aspects of the Middle East crisis.

17. Yugoslavia, which as a socialist and non-aligned country has consistently supported every authentic struggle of peoples for national liberation and social development, will continue to support all constructive efforts aimed at achieving a comprehensive, just, lasting and peaceful settlement within the framework of the United Nations and the endeavours of the international community as a whole.

18. We expect the General Assembly, in view of the gravity of the moment and the responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, to adopt at the current session decisions that amount to effective progress. Nothing could be more timely and have greater significance with respect to the attainment of the purposes and principles of the Charter than progress achieved along the road leading to the settlement of the Middle East crisis.

19. Mr. KAMIL (Indonesia): Once again the Assembly has convened regarding a question to which the Organization has addressed itself for more than three decades. During all these years numerous efforts have been exerted to deal with it forthrightly and justly in order to satisfy the legitimate interests of all the parties concerned.

20. Today we are dealing with a situation in which a series of actions by Israel has rendered a peaceful solution almost impossible. Its continuing policy in the occupied Arab lands as manifested in a number of decisions has presented the international community with a serious challenge, and my delegation therefore deems it important that the Assembly should display more urgency in its consideration of the dangerous situation in that region.

21. At the outset of my statement let me say that the traditional and unwavering attitude of my Government and people in support of the just Arab cause

again found expression twice last week during the visit of my President to Pakistan and India. In a joint communiqué issued by the Heads of State of Indonesia and Pakistan, the two Presidents said:

“While discussing the continuing crisis in the Middle East the two sides expressed their conviction that a just and lasting peace in the region cannot be achieved without Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territories, including Al Quds, and the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish an independent State in their homeland under the leadership of the sole representative of the Palestinian people, the Palestine Liberation Organization.”

In a joint communiqué issued in New Delhi, my President and the Prime Minister of India said:

“The President of Indonesia and the Prime Minister of India reaffirmed that the Palestinian question was at the core of the West Asia problem and unless it was resolved satisfactorily, with the PLO as an equal partner, no negotiations towards a settlement could succeed.”

“They agreed that the Palestinian people should be restored to their inalienable rights to their homeland and to a national State of their own. They called for the immediate withdrawal by Israel from all Arab territories occupied by it since June 1967.”

22. Having participated in the many deliberations in the United Nations here and in other forums with a view to finding a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem, Indonesia cannot fail to note that Israel's actions and policy in the occupied Arab territories are the prime cause of the aggravation of tension in the region. The continuously deteriorating situation in the Middle East can be attributed only to Israel's persistence in its policy of settlements, its refusal to withdraw from occupied territories and its failure to recognize the rights of the Palestinians. Its decision to permit Israelis to control more and more privately owned Arab land has heightened Arab apprehension concerning Israel's intentions of opting for territorial ambitions and not for peace. These apprehensions have been reinforced by a policy of oppression, the expulsion of elected officials and the adoption of measures to bring about the forced departure of the Arab inhabitants from their homeland. The illegal annexation of Jerusalem has already given rise to increased anger and frustration among the inhabitants of the occupied territories, the Islamic world and, indeed, the entire international community.

23. In these circumstances, our conclusion is therefore inescapable, namely, that Israel has no intention of abandoning its arrogant attitude towards international opinion and contributing towards a peaceful settlement. That is the reality of Arab experience of peace efforts throughout the three decades of the conflict. A few years ago Israel was saying that it had no territorial designs and all that it wanted was peace within the context of which it would end its occupation. However, it now says that the occupied West Bank is historically its own, as reflected in the renaming of the occupied territories. Settlements which are universally condemned as a negative factor are

being planted in every area of the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights. Arab Jerusalem is suffering daily humiliation and a painful change of character. And now the Government of Israel tells the world with systematic regularity that it will never allow the Palestinian people to exercise its right to self-determination and independence.

24. It is this situation that the Arabs have been dealing with and that has frustrated the efforts of the United Nations. To the world, therefore, Israel's position is unmistakably clear, that is, gradually to annex the occupied territories through demographic, religious, economic and other means. Thus, it has been negating all peace efforts to redress the injustices and is persisting in its occupation of Arab lands. That is not withstanding the fact that the Committee on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People considered the genuine security concerns of Israel and proposed in its very first report that the Security Council provide the international guarantees for the security of all the States in the region.¹

25. The international community's response to those challenge has, however, provided some ground for hope and optimism. Although the General Assembly has adopted a number of resolutions in the past, it is significant that the Security Council, though hamstrung by the veto, has been preoccupied with this conflict for a greater part of this year and has for the first time dealt with the question of Jerusalem. The Council was unanimous in deploring the policy of settlements and in determining that all measures taken to change the physical character, the demographic composition and the institutional structure in the occupied territories have no legal validity. The Council's censure of Israel's declaration of Jerusalem as its capital and its request to the countries concerned to move their embassies from the Holy City, and the positive response of those countries, are encouraging developments. The decisions of the Council have thus served as a warning to Israel of the dangers of its policies and the imperative need for immediate and complete withdrawal from occupied territories, as continued occupation is an insurmountable obstacle to a comprehensive peace settlement. They also serve as a warning to Israel to see facts as they are, to recognize that time is running out and that a peaceful and comprehensive solution must be found soon.

26. Further evidence of the Organization's determination was the convening of the seventh emergency special session, on Palestine, which focused its attention on the urgent need to resolve the conflict. However, the intransigence demonstrated at the session once again undermined efforts to achieve progress. Although the Assembly at that session confirmed Israel's isolation from the mainstream of world public opinion, among its significant achievements was the request to the Security Council to consider the adoption of measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

27. It is regrettable, however, that those efforts of the General Assembly and the Security Council have not led the conflict any closer to a solution. As the

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 35*.

report of the Secretary-General makes clear [A/35/563-S/14234], the main aspects of the Middle East problem are interdependent and cannot be separated. We are therefore united in the conviction that a solution, to be just and lasting, should be one that is comprehensive: comprehensive in the sense that it should lead to the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab lands; it should lead to the return of Jerusalem to Arab custody; and it should also lead to the fulfilment of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination under its sole representative, the PLO, which is now universally recognized, and also to the establishment of its own national State.

28. We therefore join others in this chamber in urging Israel to rise to the occasion and adopt a constructive and realistic approach with a view to finding means whereby progress towards peace could be achieved and redress could be administered to people who have been subjected to injustice and oppression. Peace in the Middle East is certainly in the interests of all parties concerned, not least in the interests of Israel. My delegation would like again to appeal to Israel not to let this opportunity pass but to take measures that would enable the initiation of a new era in the Middle East, an era marked by genuine and lasting peace in the area. But I need hardly recall that the efforts exerted by the Organization so far have proved futile mainly because of Israel's intransigence. In the opinion of my delegation, in these circumstances it is time for the Security Council to exercise its responsibility and initiate measures in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

29. Mr. TIKHONOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Thirty-five and a half years ago, Europe and its neighbouring areas, including the Middle East, saw the end of the Second World War, the most devastating and destructive war that mankind had ever known, as the result of which had tried to enslave the peoples of Europe and the whole world, was utterly defeated. However, throughout that whole period, the peoples of the countries of the Middle East did not know, and still do not know, what it means to live in conditions of stable peace and justice. The sinister flames fanned by Israel shoot out from time to time either into the Arab lands occupied by the Israeli military clique or into the southern part of long-suffering Lebanon, threatening once more to ignite a conflagration of yet another military venture.

30. Because of the Zionist leaders of Israel and their imperialistic protectors, a whole people, the 4 million Arab people of Palestine, has been deprived of the dearest thing that a man can have, a homeland. The occupation of the Arab lands seized by Israel in 1967 continues. Israel and the imperialistic circles that stand by Israel, in particular the United States, have frustrated the implementation of the many decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly aimed at bringing about a comprehensive, lasting and just peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

31. In recent years the situation has become ever more complicated as a result of the appearance of quislings in the Arab world who are ready to sell the general interests of the Arabs for their spurious aims, as a result of the Camp David agreements and the

conclusion of the separate deals which have made it more difficult to achieve a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. They are aimed essentially at perpetuating Israel's occupation of the Arab territories seized in 1967 and at preventing the exercise of the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

32. Under cover of the Camp David deals, and taking advantage of the treachery of certain Arab leaders, Israel is becoming ever more audacious in its actions. It has formally annexed the eastern part of Jerusalem and is getting ready to act in the same way in respect of the Golan Heights, that integral part of Syria's territory. It continues to create Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories, to desecrate Arab historical and cultural values, to step up repression and racial discrimination in respect of the Arab population and to inflict terror upon the Palestinians and their leaders.

33. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR fully agrees with the opinion voiced during these debates by a number of delegations to the effect that Israel could not be so obstinate in pursuing its aggressive and expansionist policies against its Arab neighbours if it did not enjoy the patronage, assistance and help of the United States of America. For the United States, Israel is not merely its main ally in the Middle East; it is the main base State in that region, and its importance is growing in view of the present American anti-Arab strategy.

34. The United States does not stint money or weapons for that country but, not satisfied with supporting its ally, the United States has recently been stepping up acts of aggression aimed at establishing hegemony in the Middle East. To the accompanying wail about the "Soviet threat", and under the pretext of protecting its "vital interests" the United States has been concentrating major naval and air forces in the Persian Gulf basin and the Arabian Sea and has been creating the so-called rapid deployment forces intended to interfere militarily in the countries of the Middle East where, according to the United States, its vital interests might be affected. It is establishing military bases there, and to that end it has concluded agreements with Somalia, Oman and some other countries, thus making them accomplices in its plans which are dangerous to the cause of peace.

35. One gets the impression that sometimes the United States fails to distinguish between its own and other peoples' interests and that that is becoming a habit. For example, it talks about Middle East oil as if it were referring to oil deposits in Texas or elsewhere in the United States, threatening force in order to gain control over the natural resources of the Arab countries. Its talk of the "vital interests" of America, either in the Middle East or in other regions, is imbued with the spirit of imperialist thinking and a policy of conquest and expansion. It expresses purely imperialistic ambitions and an unquenchable thirst for profit at the expense of other countries and peoples.

36. As was stated by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade Brezhnev:

"The Persian Gulf region, like any other region of the world, is a sphere of vital interest for the States in that region, and not for anyone else. No one is entitled to meddle from the outside in their affairs or to assume the role of guardians or self-styled 'custodians of order'."

37. We are convinced that the serious social and political transformations taking place in the developing world, including the countries of the Middle East, are irreversible, and no Arab or any other quislings can do anything about it. Suffice it to remind you in this respect of the fate of King Farouk, Nuri al Saïd or Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. These transformations rule out any return to colonial times. The United States is opposing these legitimate processes with tanks, aircraft and aircraft carriers. The aggressive actions of the United States in the Middle East, its desire to maintain its direct military presence there, are increasing tension and making more difficult a lasting and just settlement of the Middle East problem.

38. We should also bear in mind that the machinations of imperialism in the Middle East are part and parcel of the present policy pursued by aggressive circles aimed at undermining détente and at taking us back to the time of the "cold war", with all the dangerous consequences that entails for the cause of peace and international security.

39. I should like to direct attention to another matter. Recently, the imperialists and their minions, under cover of the artificially whipped-up hullabaloo, have been trying to divert the attention of the Arab peoples from their struggle for the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression, to split the ranks of the Arab and Moslem countries and to drive a wedge between them and their friends, the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, to undermine their unity and the principles of the non-aligned movement. We must note with regret that some have fallen into this cunning trap and have found themselves on the same side of the barricade as Israel and its American protectors, the worst enemies of the Arabs and Moslems. Together with them, they see fit to make blunt and even false anti-Soviet statements. I should like to give those leaders a piece of advice which has been well phrased in a proverb: "Don't spit into the well; you too might want to drink from it".

40. In the joint Soviet-Syrian communiqué issued on 10 October this year in Moscow, it was emphasized in particular that:

"The leaders of the Soviet Union and Syria have taken note of the importance of further strengthening friendship and co-operation between the Arab peoples and the peoples of the USSR as well as other countries of the socialist community, which is in the interests of strengthening the independence and security of the Arab countries. They have stated that they will continue to rebuff any attempts to undermine Soviet-Arab friendship."

41. The exacerbation of the Middle East conflict is the root cause of the continuing serious situation in Lebanon, where, as a result of acts of provocation by the Israeli military clique and its puppets, the bloodshed continues. The failure to resolve that con-

flict, coupled with the expansionist policy of imperialism, has created the conditions for fresh military conflicts in that part of the world.

42. There is only one way to establish just and lasting peace in the Middle East and that is through a comprehensive settlement which provides for the complete evacuation of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, including East Jerusalem; the exercise of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the right to establish its own State; and the guarantee of the right of all States in the region to independence, a secure existence and development. To achieve such a settlement the participation of all parties concerned is necessary, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This settlement also presupposes the cessation of imperialist pressure on and interference in the affairs of the States of the Middle East.

43. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR believes that the General Assembly should adopt decisions which envisage just such a comprehensive settlement and that, as stated by many Arab and non-aligned countries, a decision should be made by the Security Council on the adoption of effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter against Israel, which has refused to implement United Nations resolutions on the question of the situation in the Middle East.

44. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The item which we are discussing today and which we have agreed to call the problem of the Middle East has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for 14 years now. As we all know, it is nothing but a provisional and ancillary aspect of the root problem, the problem of Palestine, which as old as the United Nations itself and which has also of course been discussed from the very beginnings of the Organization to the point that it has become a permanent agenda item for the General Assembly. It is therefore not surprising that the inclusion of this agenda item gives rise to distress among some and to grief among others, given the strange and even absurd situation that it signifies.

45. It is truly illogical that a racist entity created by a resolution of the General Assembly can show such contempt for such an institution as the United Nations, to which it owes its very existence, and can choose from among the relevant resolutions adopted over 30 years only one [*resolution 181 (II)*] and, indeed, the paragraph that suits it in that resolution, completely disregarding the rest of the Partition Plan that established the State of Palestine, and the later resolutions that address the problem of Palestine or the problem of the Middle East as a whole.

46. This curious situation is less a condemnation of the United Nations than a condemnation of a single Member State that was created by the General Assembly. It could have been expected that that State would have been the first to respect United Nations resolutions, out of regard for its own existence. In not complying with these resolutions Israel is not exercising free will, as Zionist propaganda would have us believe; it is destroying the very legitimacy of its existence. It is truly ironic that a State should demand recognition while it does not recognize itself,

because the recognition of Israel, as foreseen in the Partition Plan, equally and necessarily means implicit legal recognition of the Palestinian homeland and of all the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

47. The deterioration of the global political situation today is a source of grave concern, since international peace and security are today threatened more than ever. We are witnessing the regathering of the clouds of the cold war portending the worst, to the point where the world is watching events with extreme care and concern. But while recognizing the danger of the situation, we should not, in observing the development of events which set the world afire, look at the new danger with one eye and close the other eye to other older and threatening dangers. First is the continuing deterioration of the situation in the Middle East, beginning with the expropriation of Palestinians' lands and homes, the expulsion from their homeland in 1948, and the occupation of Egyptian and Syrian territory, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in 1967. This problem, which steadily worsens and for which no solution has been found, has transformed the Middle East into a hotbed of tension which threatens international peace and security.

48. The danger is increased by the fact that the world economy feels the slightest tremors experienced in this region which, in particular, ensures the petroleum supply of the industrialized world and the developing countries. It is therefore quite correct to say that stability, peace and security in the Middle East mean a stable international economic situation and that the continuance of tension in the region has destructive effects on the world economy. Those are truths better understood by the industrialized States, but they are also understood by the other countries of the world, regardless of their social or political systems.

49. All these facts have an impact not only on the world economy but also on the unbridled rivalry of the two big Powers to obtain zones of influence in the Indian Ocean and the Horn of Africa. Everyone knows that the other struggles in the region at the present time are only secondary and passing symptoms of the tension which has brought the entire Middle East to the crater of a volcano that threatens to erupt at any time.

50. The false arguments and evidence used to show that the Arab-Israeli conflict is not at the root of the difficulties being encountered in the region are attempts doomed to failure.

51. The United Nations has, of course, not remained inactive with regard to those problems. The Organization has attached great importance to them by its awareness of their dangerous international dimensions. The United Nations has adopted many resolutions requesting Israel to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories and to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, in particular, to comply with General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX). But those resolutions have been ignored and defied by Israel. What is worse, Israel has persisted in pursuing its arrogant policy of intransigence, supported as it is by a great political, economic and military Power. It has continued to implement its Zionist

plans to swallow up the West Bank and Gaza by establishing Jewish settlements and annexing the city of Jerusalem. Finally, Israel has unilaterally enacted a law declaring Jerusalem its eternal capital, which shows that, while the international community is becoming more and more convinced of the rights of the Palestinian people and the right of the Arabs to recover their occupied territories, Israel sets up new obstacles to the recovery of those territories in a provocative and arrogant attempt to create a new fait accompli.

52. That provocation reached its high point in Israel's decision unilaterally to annex Jerusalem, thus disregarding and defying the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, the provisions of the Charter and all the international rules and conventions which prohibit the acquisition of territory by force.

53. Israel knows full well that it has been able to commit those crimes with impunity only on the basis of precedents set in its short history. That is why Israel is not merely devouring the occupied Arab territories, but is trying today to liquidate the Palestinian problem by eliminating the witnesses to the original crime and by using the same practices as the Mafia. At the present time Israel is not only persecuting Palestinian in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip but is pursuing them on Lebanese territory with the savagery and violence known in human history only during the bloody years of nazism. In their history only during the bloody years of nazism. In their insanity, the Israeli leaders have forgotten that in implementing a plan to exterminate and liquidate the heroic Palestinian people they are committing another international crime which is an attack against Lebanon's security and territorial integrity. They have given their agents in southern Lebanon every form of assistance, which has made it impossible for the legitimate authorities of Lebanon to exercise their sovereignty over the whole territory of the country.

54. The entire history of the Middle East, from the acts of Zionist gangs perpetrated in Palestine under the British Mandate to the crimes committed in the ranks of what is presently known as the Israeli Defence Force, clearly demonstrates that that bloody evolution is one of the characteristics of the Zionist entity, organically linked to another element, the Zionists' greed for territory, a greed that can never be satisfied.

55. Perhaps we should not make too much of an effort to explain this evil symptom psychologically. Israel is a foreign State implanted in the Arab region of the Middle East. It is natural for that alien element to be afraid of the whole surrounding area, imbued as it is with a ghetto complex. Since that new State does not have the wherewithal to meet its own needs, it feels that it can satisfy those needs only through an expansionist policy. At the same time, it fails to understand that, by its wicked and illogical behaviour, it is in fact aggravating its original problem, that as an alien element in the heart of the region it cannot be accepted by the region unless it complies with the rules and norms governing the entire world. Israel must understand that these rules do not apply exclusively to the Middle East region but are international laws which prohibit the acquisition of territory by force and which stipulate that geographical changes

cannot create a *fait accompli*. Israel is violating the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and every moral law agreed upon among human beings. The positive laws governing relations among States must be respected, so that the world may enter the twenty-first century without being governed by the law of the jungle.

56. Qatar—which is bound by the resolutions of the Arab summit conferences, especially those at Baghdad in November 1978 and Amman in November 1980, as well as by the resolutions of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September 1979—affirms once again that a solution to the problem of the Middle East can be found only through the implementation of the following measures: first, the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab lands, including the city of Jerusalem; secondly, full and complete recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, in particular its right to self-determination and its basic right to create an independent State on Palestinian territory; thirdly, recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; fourthly, non-annexation of Jerusalem by Israel; and fifthly, respect for the sovereignty of Lebanon and non-interference by Israel in the internal affairs of that fraternal country.

57. We understand full well that the essential reason why it has been impossible to find a just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem is none other than Israel's disregard and defiance of United Nations resolutions. Israel's attitude, supported as it is by the Israel's attitude, supported as it is by the United States, is the primary source which threatens the world's peace and security and therefore constitutes a threat to the very existence of the United Nations.

58. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly is once again considering the situation in the Middle East. This question, which is serious and dangerous for peace and which has been considered by the United Nations almost since it was created, has caused four destructive wars resulting in numerous innocent victims, untold suffering for the entire population and inestimable material damage. Apart from the fact that those conflicts have aggravated the precarious nature of the situation of the millions of Palestinians who have been unjustly deprived of their homeland, reduced to the status of refugees and doomed to a nomadic existence, they have since 1967 resulted in the occupation of Arab territories, thus adding a new dimension to the prevailing tension. Since then, not a day passes without the mass media informing us of outbursts of violence in that part of the world.

59. Although the United Nations has, through many General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, long defined the principles of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of this matter, the situation is more unstable and explosive than ever. This state of affairs once again shows the inability of the United Nations to solve the principal problems that our world faces and to assure respect for and implementation of its own decisions.

60. The main responsibility for this abiding crisis undeniably rests with Israel, which persists in its policy of occupation, expansion and violation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in defiance of the relevant resolutions of the Organization as well as the norms and principles of international law. The Secretary-General's report which is before the Assembly under agenda item 26 [A/35/563-S/14234], is particularly enlightening in this respect. It shows amply that not only does Israel not at all intend to cease its occupation of the Arab territories seized since 1967, but that it is strengthening its presence there.

61. The unabated pursuit of the policy of settlement, the expropriation of the lands of the Arab populations in the occupied territories, the legislative and administrative measures unilaterally adopted in order to change the nature and status of Jerusalem, the arrests and detentions and arbitrary deportations of a large number of students and prominent Palestinian figures, the assassination attempts against the mayors of Nablus, Ramallah and Al Bireh, as well as a number of other acts of terrorism intended to intimidate the population are all practices which are contrary to law and are unanimously condemned by the international community.

62. In the light of all this, one asks more than ever how this deadlock can be broken.

63. The Assembly has repeatedly striven to define the framework for a settlement that is likely to establish a just and lasting peace in that part of the world and to promote a climate of *détente*, understanding and co-operation. We are talking here about a comprehensive solution based, as the Secretary-General recalls in his report:

“... on the right of all States in the area to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force, on the inalienable right of the Palestinians, including their right to self-determination, and on withdrawal from occupied territories.” [*Ibid.*, para. 48.]

64. The position of the United Republic of Cameroon—and we have ceaselessly worked to bring about a comprehensive solution because we respect the interdependent and indivisible nature of the various aspects of the Middle East conflict—is well known. It was made clear during this session by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs on 7 October 1980:

“... Cameroon is convinced that the settlement of the Palestinian question is the key to any peaceful, just and lasting solution... This means that the Palestinian people, under the aegis of its authentic representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], should be able freely to exercise all its inalienable rights, including that to a homeland in Arab Palestine, and to participate on an equal footing with all other parties and at all levels in any process for the settlement of the conflict.

“A just and lasting peace... necessarily entails the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied by it since 1967 and recognition of the right of all States in the area, including Israel, to live in peace within internationally recognized borders.” [*25th meeting, paras. 29 and 30*]

65. Finally, Cameroon is convinced that the intensification of hegemonistic rivalries in this extremely sensitive region strengthens the possibility of a conflagration whose scale and effect could not be contained by anyone. That is why, instead of fanning dissent and antagonism in the Middle East and deploying arms there, everything should be done to reverse this trend and to promote the establishment of a climate of trust conducive to the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Organization.

66. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): Once again the General Assembly is considering the item entitled "The situation in the Middle East". One might ask: what is the situation in the Middle East? The situation in the Middle East is a sad story of continued Israeli occupation of Arab territories and denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. It is a story of sanctions, conflicts and outright wars between Israel and the neighbouring Arab countries. The situation in the Middle East is, indeed, a story of Israel's relentless and utter contempt of and disregard for United Nations resolutions. It is a revolting situation about which the international community is justly horrified and indignant.

67. International law, fortified by numerous United Nations resolutions, has long recognized the inadmissibility of the occupation of foreign countries by forcible means. The military might of a State or its reliance on a powerful ally for support cannot and does not justify its bullying attitude and greed for territorial expansion and aggrandizement. Indeed, the military might of a State or its reliance on a powerful ally ought not to blind it to the much cherished and universally recognized inalienable rights of all peoples to self-determination. Only those who believe in the law of the jungle can be oblivious to these facts and thrive on State terrorism.

68. The norms of international law and practice have been and continue to be severely tested in the situation in the Middle East. United Nations resolutions have met with an utter contempt and insolent rejection by the Israeli authorities paralleled, perhaps, only by the attitude and cynicism of the proponents and practitioners of the evil doctrine called *apartheid* in South Africa. It is unacceptable and intolerable that Israel should continue with impunity to occupy Arab territories. It is similarly unacceptable and intolerable that Israel should continue to deny the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to a national homeland in Palestine. Certainly, the Palestinian people must not continue to be dispersed and to suffer humiliation, deprivation and torture.

69. My delegation once again calls for Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territories. We similarly call for the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable right to self-determination, including the right to a national homeland in Palestine. We are convinced that there can be no just and durable settlement of the situation in the Middle East as long as Israel persists in its illegal occupation of Arab territories and in the denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

70. The problem of Palestine, as the Assembly has repeatedly reaffirmed, is the core of the conflict in the Middle East. It follows, therefore, that any genuine

initiative to find a solution to the conflict in the Middle East must attach priority to the necessity for the Palestinian people to be enabled to exercise its inalienable rights. Of cardinal importance in this regard is the need for the PLO to be involved in any negotiations genuinely motivated and designed to find a settlement.

71. Unpalatable as this may be to Israel and its supporters, the fact of the matter is that the PLO is the authentic representative of the Palestinian people. Any attempt to circumvent or replace it is futile. Such an attempt could not and will not advance the search for a just and durable solution to the conflict in the Middle East.

72. Israel has repeatedly stated that it desires to live in peace with its neighbours within secure and recognized boundaries. However, its actions have always belied its protestations of sincerity in this regard. Aggression and intransigence are certainly no way to promote such a cherished objective. How can one explain the persistent Israeli raids against Lebanon, launched in utter disregard of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country? How can one explain Israel's annexation of Jerusalem and its policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories? These are not mere aberrations in the situation in the Middle East. They are serious actions by Israel which are illegal and deeply resented and which have given rise to loss of innocent life and destruction of property. They invite war rather than creating an atmosphere which promotes and enhances efforts for a peaceful settlement.

73. My delegation unreservedly condemns Israeli acts of aggression against Lebanon, its annexation of Jerusalem and its policies and practices in the occupied territories. In particular, we strongly condemn the recent decision of Israel to persist in the banishment of Arab mayors from the occupied territories.

74. The Middle East has known conflict and turmoil for too long. Generations of the people of the Middle East have not known peace in their lifetimes. They yearn for peace and tranquility. The Middle East is an important area of the world, and the return of peace to the area would certainly be in the larger interest of the entire international community.

75. Finally, my delegation remains convinced that it is within the capacity of the United Nations and Member States to find a solution to the conflict in the Middle East. Let us all rededicate ourselves to this goal and let us seek a genuine solution within the framework of the norms of international law and the many resolutions of the Organization.

76. Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): A few days ago, during the debate on the question of Palestine [78th meeting], I had occasion to reaffirm the position of principle which has always been upheld by my country concerning the imperative need for a political and peaceful solution to the situation in the Middle East and the essential components of the establishment of a just and lasting peace, which is in the vital interests of the peoples of the region and other peoples of the world, as well as the ways and means of achieving that peace.

77. The continuation and the worsening of the state of tension in the Middle East is a source of well-founded concern for all countries that want to live in a climate of peace, détente and co-operation. The pernicious influence of that conflict on the international climate is felt throughout the world. The Romanian people, which is committed to a wide-ranging national effort devoted to the economic and social development of its country, is vitally interested, as are other peoples, in having normal relations of co-operation, understanding and mutual respect established among all nations. That is why Romania has spoken and now speaks so forcefully in favour of a prompt settlement of the Middle East conflict, as well as of other disputes which threaten international peace and security.

78. Such an approach stems from Romania's total opposition to the policy of force, from its deep conviction that the solution of conflicts exclusively by political negotiations conducted in respect for the independence and the right of all peoples to develop in full freedom is the only way of preventing a worsening of the world situation so that all nations can devote their creative skills to economic and social development and reap the fruits of international co-operation.

79. We believe that the extremely serious tension in international life which threatens the policy of détente and peace and which imperils the national independence of many peoples requires that States act in a very responsible way to resolve all conflicts by negotiations alone. It is only in that way it will be possible to stem the increase of international tension and guarantee the resumption of the policy of détente, peace and consolidation of the national independence of peoples.

80. As is well known, on the basis of the responsibility for peace of all countries, regardless of their size, the Head of the Romanian State and the Government of our country maintain a direct dialogue with Heads of State and Government and with the political circles in a great number of countries and are acting with perseverance to find a solution, by common efforts, of the problems facing mankind and to promote negotiated political solutions which respond to the aspirations of peoples for freedom and independence, in the interests of peace, security and co-operation among nations.

81. Recent developments in the Middle East leave no doubt whatsoever as to the constant aggravation of the situation in the region. In recent days, because of military incursions into Lebanon and unlawful measures taken by Israel in the occupied Arab lands and with respect to Jerusalem, which prompted strong condemnation from the international community, the situation has further worsened, exacerbating tension and giving rise to grave dangers to peace and security in the region and throughout the world. Hence, the Romanian Government feels that such a situation requires that no action be taken that could worsen the state of tension and that resolute efforts be made by all States in order to find a political solution to the Middle East conflict.

82. In our view, a viable response to the problems that concern the States and peoples of the Middle

East can be provided only by a political, comprehensive and just settlement, in keeping with the principles of the Charter and really meeting the legitimate interests of all States and all peoples of the region. On the basis of the fundamental principles of its foreign policy and its position concerning the settlement of international conflicts and disputes exclusively by political means, Romania has supported and will continue actively to support efforts aimed at a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East. We believe that it is in the interests of all peoples to act more firmly to help to establish a comprehensive peace which will guarantee the sovereignty of all the States in the region and contribute to the strengthening of détente and international peace.

83. As is well known, Romania has actively and consistently supported a comprehensive political settlement of the Middle East situation, which would lead to the establishment of a just and lasting peace based on Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied as a result of the war of 1967, including Arab Jerusalem, on the solution of the problem of the Palestinian people in accordance with its right to self-determination and to the establishment of its own State, and on guarantees of the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of all countries of the region.

84. Romania, like many other States, is deeply convinced that there is no reasonable alternative to a negotiated settlement. War has not been and will never be a means of guaranteeing the peace and security of countries and peoples. The tragic experience of the Middle East demonstrates that the postponement of a political solution of the conflict only endlessly complicates the problems and aggravates the situation. We therefore believe that resolute steps must be taken without delay to create conditions conducive to the holding of serious negotiations among all the parties concerned.

85. In order for a future peace settlement in the Middle East to be just and lasting, it must of course be based on Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the Arab part of Jerusalem. Such a requirement, which is provided for in the clearest and most formal terms in United Nations resolutions, has been reaffirmed constantly and resolutely by our country, on the basis of its position of principle that the occupation of foreign territories by force is contrary to and condemned by the norms of international law and international relations and, therefore, is inadmissible.

86. As we have always stated, a just and equitable peace also unquestionably requires a solution to the problem of the Palestinian people on the basis of its right to self-determination, including its right to the establishment of an independent national State in which it can organize its life in full freedom, in accordance with its legitimate national aspirations. It is the firm conviction of the Romanian Government that an equitable settlement in the Middle East is inconceivable without a solution to the Palestinian problem, which is one of its essential components. As we have reaffirmed on many occasions, the realization of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including its rights to establish an independent national State, is a fundamental

element of a comprehensive, lasting peace in the Middle East. That presupposes the participation of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with all other parties concerned, in negotiations for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East situation.

87. Lastly, we have always felt, and continue to feel, that another fundamental premise of any comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East in keeping with the interests and aspirations of all the States and peoples in the region is the guaranteeing of the right of each State in the region to existence, the guaranteeing of its independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty. Genuine security for each State in the region can be obtained only by the establishment and development of relations of peaceful co-operation, trust and mutual respect among all neighbouring countries and peoples.

88. Recent events demonstrate that the solutions envisaged up to the present do not offer any adequate basis for a comprehensive settlement of the particularly vast and complex set of problems at the root of the Middle East conflict, which involve many States within and outside the region. Romania believes that in these conditions new initiatives must be taken and that we must act without delay to give new impetus to the quest for a comprehensive political solution to the Middle East situation and to begin a process of a genuine settlement, including all the parties and meeting the legitimate interests of all.

89. As a country which is close to the Middle East and therefore particularly concerned at the grave situation which persists in the region, Romania believes that in the present international circumstances it is more necessary than ever that intensive and concrete action be undertaken to put an end to that conflict which has lasted for so long. As was stressed in the message from the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, addressed to the President of the Assembly, and to the Secretary-General, on the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People:

“We feel that at present there is an overriding need to achieve, through broad-based consultations, and initiative which would lead to the creation of a new framework and a new basis for negotiation in the form of an international conference organized under the sponsorship of and with the active participation of the United Nations and the participation of all parties involved in the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as other States which can make a positive contribution to the process of the peaceful settlement of the Middle East situation.”

90. When we speak of a framework or a context to be established under the auspices of the United Nations, making it possible for all the parties concerned and interested to participate and reach agreement on the establishment of peace in the Middle East, we believe that it is appropriate to recall the broad support given to the idea of convening such an international conference as contained in General Assembly resolution 34/65 A.

91. The experience of international life and United Nations activities demonstrates that there is an increasing acceptance of the idea of resolving regional or international conflicts at the conference table with the participation of all parties concerned, however different their positions.

92. The present debates in the General Assembly have again underscored the need to enhance the role of the United Nations in the search for a negotiated solution to the Middle East problem. In our view, the United Nations must, in the present situation, play a more important and more active role in finding a comprehensive solution to the Middle East conflict and in the settlement through political means of all conflicts, in keeping with the expectations and hopes of peoples to live in conditions of peace, security and co-operation.

93. Just as we have on more than one occasion stated from this rostrum, Romania will in the future also do everything in its power to make its contribution to a just and lasting solution to the Middle East problems, to the establishment of a comprehensive peace in the region and to the consolidation of international peace, security and co-operation.

94. Mr. AL-ALI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Once again the General Assembly is considering the explosive situation in the Middle East, which has become much more dangerous than it was at the end of the thirty-fourth session.

95. In spite of the resolutions and recommendations of the General Assembly which call for recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to its homeland, the right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State on its national territory, and which demand the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel, the world has witnessed the attitude adopted by the Zionist entity, which is utterly hostile to those resolutions and recommendations. The Zionist entity has not recognized the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people; it has not recognized its right to self-determination; it has not withdrawn from the Arab occupied territories in accordance with General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. On the contrary, it has shown contempt for the international Organization by disregarding its resolutions and attacking the Organization itself. The Government of Menachem Begin has intensified its repressive measures against the Arab citizens in occupied Palestine by imposing a curfew, stopping demonstrations and closing universities and secondary schools, as in case of Bir Zeit University, and by implanting more Zionist settlements.

96. The Zionist entity has likewise adopted a unilateral law annexing the city of Jerusalem and considering it as its capital. It has tried to assassinate and expel a number of mayors and the most important leaders in the West Bank. But Begin Government is not content with that. It has expanded its daily acts of military aggression against Lebanon, and we read every day that the number of innocent civilian victims in Lebanon is increasing, as is the number of deported people as a consequence of Zionist military operations within Lebanese territory.

97. Some believe that the series of resolutions adopted and appeals made by the Organization over this past year and in previous years will be heeded by Israeli leaders. That belief has been strengthened by resolutions adopted by other organizations, such as the non-aligned movement and the Organization of African Unity, which have requested that Israel from the occupied Arab territories and recognize the national and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Unfortunately, that hope is misplaced because, as we know, Israel is an abnormal State, both in its understanding of international relations and in its manner of thinking. The Arabs have been exposed to the evils of the aggressive and expansionist tendencies of the Zionist entity, and consequently they know more than anyone else the real intentions and attitudes of Israel.

98. I should like to recall that the resolutions I referred to are not couched in ambiguous terms and are not adopted in abnormal circumstances. They are on the contrary, very specific resolutions, and some of them are worded very clearly. Furthermore, the text of these resolutions had been adopted previously; they are no more than repetitions. It should not be impossible to implement them, given the importance attached to them by the international community.

99. In the light of the report submitted at the thirty-fourth session by the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories,² three very clear resolutions were adopted on 12 December 1979: in its resolution 34/90 A, the General Assembly condemns Israeli practices and policies in the occupied Arab territories and calls upon Israel to stop those practices; in resolution 34/90 B, the General Assembly reaffirms that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to all Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, and calls upon Israel to acknowledge and to comply with the provisions of that Convention; in resolution 34/90 C the General Assembly, considering that all measures taken by Israel to change the legal status, geographical nature and demographic composition of the occupied Arab territories have no legal validity and constitute a serious obstruction of efforts aimed at achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, calls once more upon Israel to desist from establishing settlements in the occupied Arab territories. If we add to those resolutions and decisions those of the Security Council, we see that in resolutions 446 (1979) and 452 (1979) the Council requests Israel to stop creating settlements in the occupied Arab territories and that in its resolution 465 (1980) the Council determines that all measures taken by Israel to change the legal status, geographical character or demographic composition of the Palestinian and occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, are illegal and a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

100. While reaffirming all this and in recalling it here, we absolutely cannot ignore one obvious truth: this Zionist obstinacy, the contempt for the interna-

tional will by a State which is a Member of the international Organization, would not be conceivable or possible unless that State had been encouraged and supported by the United States of America. It is because of the unstinted support received from the American Government that Israel no longer fears the United Nations or the international will but on the contrary insults the Organization and bypasses its competence.

101. What happened on 1 March this year proves the dangerous and regrettable role played by the United States, when the American Administration went back on a decision adopted by its representative in the Security Council, which condemned the Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories. That is why we believe that the United Nations is now undergoing a further difficult trial imposed on it by the quantity and quality of the resolutions which it has adopted, because it is illogical that the role of the Organization should be confined to merely adopting resolutions, without ensuring implementation and respect for them.

102. I am not exaggerating in the least when I say that resolutions that condemn Israel and call upon Israel to withdraw have exceeded in number all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations in respect of any other State or any other problem. It is our duty now to help the international Organization to pass this difficult test by intensifying our efforts to find practical means which are capable of forcing Israel to respect the international will and to comply with the Organization's resolutions. We must draw up plans to ensure this result, and, in particular, the documents of this session of the General Assembly should be transmitted to the Security Council so that it can adopt resolutions in this respect.

103. Although we are aware of the nature of the American attitude which by resorting to the right of veto attempts to deprive the Organization of the possibility of playing its part, we consider that the interests of the United States of America and of the American people compels them no longer to pursue their opposition to the international will so as to further certain selfish interests or to avoid pressure from certain American groups.

104. Without being pessimistic or optimistic about the forthcoming changes in the American Administration, we believe that this circumstance gives the United States an historic opportunity to rectify its anti-Arab policy that totally favours Israeli aggression. For the pursuit of hostility to the Arabs will harm the vital interests of the American people, not to mention the fact that it would remove any possibility of stability not merely in the Middle East but also throughout the world.

105. We addressed a warning to the international community as to the danger of any solution that disregarded the rights of Arabs as a whole and especially the rights of the Palestinian people. We repeated that warning at the time of the adoption of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and at the time of the signing of the Camp David agreements.

106. Any resolution or any solution that disregards the truth, that the core of the Middle East crisis is the Palestinian problem, is doomed to failure and will

² A/34/631.

continue to fuel regional and international tensions. That is why the international community, if it wishes to take a realistic initiative, must refuse any solution that might be proposed to resolve the Middle East crisis on the basis of the denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the rejection of the recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Consequently, the full recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people and of the leadership of the PLO is the primary and essential condition for any valid and acceptable solution in the region. Because they recognize this truth, the Arabs have rejected Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the Camp David agreements, since they are all based on the denial of the rights of the Palestinian people and do not include explicit recognition of the role of the PLO and because they have led to partial solutions which have harmed the interests and rights of the Arabs and any real chance of peace.

107. Although some consider that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) could contain the seeds of a positive solution, the Eleventh Arab Summit Conference, held at Amman, adopted a very important resolution which states that resolution 242 (1967) is not in conformity with Arab rights and cannot be a valid basis for a solution of the crisis of the Middle East and particularly the problem of Palestine. That is why the Arab nation reaffirms its rejection and condemnation of any partial solutions and why we insist that the full rights of the Palestinian people be taken into consideration, namely, the right to its homeland, including the right to establish its own independent national State, and why we insist on the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories.

108. Because of the obstinacy of the Carter Administration in working out partial solutions in disregard of the historical rights of the Palestinian people and its refusal to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, we predicted that the American-Zionist solution, signed at Camp David, was doomed to failure and that any other similar solution would only lead to a deadlock. Our forecasts were correct, and it is regrettable that some members of the international community did not heed the warning. As civilized societies, we must confront a tragic situation, if those States persist in their present policies, disregarding our appeals and warnings and always carry out the same policies as before, based on total support for Israel and total hostility for the Arabs, especially for the Palestinian people.

109. While noting all this, we cannot fail to point out a positive change that has occurred in the attitude of the European Community, which has in fact begun to understand the nature of the crisis better. While appreciating and encouraging this change, we feel that resolutions and hypothetical wishes are by themselves scarcely sufficient at present. They must be accompanied by guaranteed means of putting them in effect, for an unimplemented resolution is useless in a world where many States still rely on the logic of force and the *fait accompli*, as Israel does.

110. I should like to mention an essential point: the Palestinian people has been expelled from its

lands by force and is now living in complicated and difficult circumstances. No one can expect anything of that people before its national, historical and legal rights are totally restored. Peoples are like individuals: when they fall victim to acts of aggression, the law must dissuade the aggressor and restore the rights of the victim. That is why it is futile to request the Palestine people and its leader, the PLO, as well as all the Arab States, to fulfil any conditions before all their rights are unconditionally guaranteed.

111. During this session, instead of repeating our support, we must guarantee the rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State. We must recognize its legitimate representative and put an end to the expansionist policy of Israel. It is our duty in particular to implement United Nations resolutions in order to strengthen the credibility of the Organization and the trust of States, to guarantee international peace based on justice and law.

112. Mr. KLESTIL (Austria): No other issue of foreign relations has confounded and frustrated politicians more completely, repeatedly and over a longer period of time than the problems of the Middle East since the Second World War.

113. The world has become too narrow a place to contemplate with tranquillity the continuation of a conflict that not only provokes the most violent feelings of two peoples against each other but also has far-reaching repercussions and, indeed, harbours a threat to the security and peace of the international community as a whole. This is illustrated by the fact that again this year the majority of meetings of the Security Council have been devoted to questions relating to the Middle East. It becomes all the more apparent when one looks beyond the confines of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and perceives the danger inherent in this conflict for the destabilization of the whole region.

114. For historical and geographical reasons Europe's relations with the Middle East have been and will be close and intense. We are convinced that Europe needs co-operation with this region, where today all civilizations are experiencing an intellectual and economic renaissance.

115. Events of recent months have also shown how volatile the political situation in this area is, and in our opinion it is in everybody's genuine interest to keep it free from foreign interference and truly non-aligned. We have been made aware of the great danger of rifts in the Arab world, which will lead to fragmentation and contribute to the destabilization of the area. A pre-condition for fruitful and mutually advantageous development is the stability of the region and, therefore, a final and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict.

116. Many efforts to find this solution have been undertaken within the framework of the United Nations in the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as outside that framework through direct political initiatives. So far, all of them have failed to bring a solution closer. We do not wish here to belittle the achievements of the Camp David agreements. They have started a process of peace between Egypt and Israel which is now a reality and which

has a momentum of its own. However, the further steps necessary for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace have not been forthcoming, and at the present time doubts seem justified as to whether they will be achieved in the future.

117. Any attempt to find a solution will have to address two basic issues: safeguarding the security of Israel in a peaceful environment, and fulfilling the need for national identification of the Palestinian people. Our long preoccupation with the Middle East conflict has resulted in defining the approximate terms of a viable and equitable comprehensive settlement.

118. Austria is convinced that any lasting solution to the Middle East conflict will have to do full justice to the following elements.

119. First of all, recognition of the right of all States in the area to exist within safe and secure boundaries and recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people. Whenever we speak of a solution to the Middle East conflict, the key word is that it has to be a just solution, and justice will have to be done to the Palestinian people—a people that has for too many years now been left homeless, dispersed and denied its most basic rights. An international consensus has developed on the rights of the Palestinian people not only among the non-aligned nations but also among the nations of Western Europe.

120. Secondly, a people like the Palestinian people does not need and should not be forced into accepting others to speak on its behalf. And those it has chosen, to whom it has entrusted its political future, are the only ones that should and could negotiate on its behalf. The Austrian Government for its part has recognized the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people.

121. The third essential element of any solution is the withdrawal of Israel from the territories occupied in 1967. Austria fully joins the international consensus that Israel's policy in the occupied territories, such as the building of settlements, the expropriation of land and the eviction of the local population, is not only in contravention of established norms of international law but further aggravates the situation and further endangers the prospects of a negotiated settlement.

Mr. Oumarou (Niger), Vice-President, took the Chair.

122. Especially over the past months, violence has escalated in the occupied territories, and the resentment and resistance of the population as a reaction to increasing repression by the military authorities have risen to a critical point.

123. We have had the opportunity to hear the voice of the population of the West Bank when the mayors of Hebron and Halhoul addressed the Security Council.³ Austria did not remain silent when those two elected officials were forcibly expelled from their office and separated from their people. We strongly deplore the recent decision of the Israeli Supreme Court not to revoke the expulsion order of the military

authorities and to reinstate the mayors to their public office.

124. The decision of the Government of Israel with regard to the status of Jerusalem constitutes another aggravating element. Austria considers every unilateral act which changes the status of Jerusalem illegal and completely unacceptable.

125. Austria has maintained in the past—and I reiterate it now—that a comprehensive settlement can best be achieved by negotiations between all parties directly involved and that direct talks without any precondition between the two parties most intimately and directly concerned—that is, Israel and the PLO—will have to be initiated. We are fully aware of the obstacles in this path, but we still believe that, with a genuine desire to solve this tragic conflict, those obstacles can be overcome.

126. Austria has close and friendly relations with all the countries involved in the conflict. With regard to Israel, we remember in particular that it has provided a home for many victims of persecution. With the Arab world, we are united through a multitude of historical and cultural ties. We are aware how difficult it is to reverse a process of mutual fear and distrust, but we also know that it is a highly dangerous illusion for any party in the conflict to believe that advantageous and lasting results can be more easily obtained by force and confrontation rather than at the negotiating table. On the basis of this realization, we hope that the political will and the political courage will be found to put a stop to the vicious circle which has cast this region into turmoil for so long.

127. Mr. SAHBANI (Tunisia): (*interpretation from Arabic*): We are gathered here once again in the United Nations to discuss the question of the Middle East, to ask ourselves in good faith what we have achieved and to consider how the situation has developed during the past year. At the same time, we are listening to the same observations which have been repeated year after year, and once again, in the final analysis, we are back where we started 30 years ago.

128. My delegation intends to state once again that which must be said and to repeat the same statement, as necessary, in order that it may be clearly understood that those who possess a right are in no way prepared to abandon that right and in order that world opinion may perceive the gravity of the question and its ramifications.

129. The Secretary-General has submitted to us a detailed report on the development of the situation in the Middle East during the past year. In this connexion, I should like to pay a tribute to the efforts of the Secretary-General and his staff and to commend in particular the spirit of equity and objectivity they have demonstrated in implementing General Assembly resolution 34/70 and preparing the report. Those efforts are truly valuable. We ourselves are convinced that if the report has concerned a question other than that of the Middle East and had required of its authors but one quarter of the efforts they have exerted or contained but one quarter of the material we have before us today, the whole world would have eagerly sought to implement the recommendations of the Secretary-General.

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, 2223rd meeting.*

130. However, we have to admit that nothing has come of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Indeed, the entity that is principally concerned in the implementation of those resolutions has rejected them without the slightest scruple, has created difficulties and has multiplied the obstacles to their implementation, thus pursuing a policy of *fait accompli* which has inevitably rendered the problems more complex and created further problems by a pure artifice.

131. The Secretary-General has mentioned the many resolutions adopted by the United Nations and, in particular, General Assembly resolution 34/90 A, in which the Assembly condemns Israeli practices in the occupied territories; resolution 34/90 C, in which the Assembly deplores the measures taken by Israel to change the geographical and demographic character of the occupied territories; Security Council resolution 478 (1980), in which the Council censures the basic law enacted by Israel proclaiming Jerusalem its unified and eternal capital; and resolution 24/52 E, in which the Assembly reaffirms once again the inalienable right of the populations displaced from their homes to return to their lands which have been occupied by Israel since 1967. The Secretary-General's report places special emphasis on General Assembly resolution ES-7/2, which reaffirms the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination without external interference and its right to establish its own independent sovereign State, while at the same time calling upon Israel to withdraw completely and unconditionally from all the Palestinian territories and other occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and setting 15 November 1980 as the date by which that withdrawal was to start.

132. The report also mentions General Assembly resolution 34/70, which certainly constitutes the basic reference for the expression of the attitude of international public opinion to the question of the Middle East. In that resolution the Assembly reaffirms that peace is one and indivisible and that a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East question must be comprehensive and take into account all aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict, in particular the attainment by the Palestinian people of all its rights and the Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem. In that resolution, the General Assembly reaffirms that until Israel withdraws from all the occupied territories and until the Palestinian people attains and exercises its inalienable rights, it will not be possible to establish a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East in which all countries and peoples in the region can live in peace and security within recognized and secure boundaries.

133. There would be little point in quoting further material from this report or from earlier reports to prove that the international community has consistently made every effort to seek ways of solving the problem which has marked the existence of the Organization to the point where it has become one of its main preoccupations. That situation has arisen because that problem is a matter of life and death for an entire people which is the victim of what President Bourguiba has called the greatest injustice of the

century, and because that problem, with its ramifications, has become the signal of an explosion that threatens international peace and security.

134. Many warning signs of that explosion can already be detected here and there in the region. Nobody is in a position to state categorically that the catastrophe will be confined within those limits.

135. Lebanon is the victim of war in the fullest sense of the term. Part of its territory is occupied by Israel, which has carefully established there a *de facto* authority consisting of agents in its pay who are seeking to dismember the country and place the southern part of it at the service of Israel's interests and schemes. Thus Lebanon is ravaged and divided and its future is clouded.

136. In the occupied territories, there is fierce resistance on the part of a despoiled people which has sworn not to die, not to surrender and to reconquer its rights, despite an occupying force combined with a policy of usurpation that puts down peaceful demonstrations with steel and fire, that expels citizens from their homes, which it demolishes to facilitate the construction of settlements peopled by emigrants, and that exploits the resources of the country by distributing them to settlers to the detriment of their lawful owners. To achieve those ends, there is only one means: force and more force, as Mr. Shamir, the Israeli Minister for Foreign Affairs, declared to the French newspaper *Le Monde*, according to the issue of 2 December: "We must be strong, very strong, in order to preserve our presence in the region." In other words, they must be strong enough to impose occupation, repression and hegemony.

137. In the other Arab countries a number of difficulties have arisen owing to differences of opinion regarding tactical options, while time passes and opportunities are lost. The region is thus vulnerable to the influence of external pressures designed to make it teeter among choices that are of no interest and no importance as regards world peace.

138. Contrary to what is alleged by Mr. Shamir, it is obvious that the developments in the Middle East, irrespective of the country in which they occur, originate in the Arab-Israeli conflict and in conditions created by the political short-sightedness of Israel, which is maintained by the blindness of certain parties who are impervious to the lessons of history. In fact, this policy of force, division and delay has already demonstrated its futility: it cannot solve the problem or render the crisis less acute; it has merely aggravated the situation and made it more tense.

139. No change can be expected with regard to consequences as long as nothing changes with regard to causes. The Palestinian people, hardened to resistance for almost 40 years, will never stop struggling for survival, even if that struggle must last for centuries. The Arab peoples will never yield until they have regained their territories and put an end to the hegemony of Israel. The region will never be stable as long as the *status quo* persists. World peace will hang by a thread. There is no certainty that this adventure will benefit the countries of the region or their friends.

140. The policy of the policeman, the faithful guardian of the region, is a farce which fools no one. Thus far it has not prevented the deterioration of the situation or the political and military interference which it would have been desirable to avoid. It has not given Israel the security of which it dreams. Moreover, the Arab peoples have never accepted that role devolving upon Israel or which Israel arrogated to itself. Future generations of Arabs will be even less acquiescent and certainly less patient. Furthermore, the political dimensions and dimensions of civilization invoked by Israel are not entirely unfamiliar to the majority of Arab leaders; after all, Arab rationality encompasses wisdom that can see the connexion between those dimensions and the idea of genuine "world peace".

141. The problem of the Middle East has lasted all too long, and the world is tired of this debate, especially since it is not impossible to find a solution. Many solutions have been envisaged; some of them have been worth considering, but others have definitely failed. This strengthens our conviction that a sincere effort would enable us to find a way out of the impasse. But these possibilities have always met with Israel's refusal and arrogance, its obstinate determination to adopt, despite the failures, a single policy, that of force.

142. We must beware of giving way to despair—lest the Palestinians despair of us, the Arab peoples despair of their friends and the international community despair of its own ability. Why, then, is there all this mess? So as not to undermine a policy that is as short-sighted as it is without foundation.

143. Today more than ever, duty demands that we unite our efforts in order to bar the road to despair; this is possible only if we decide to convince Israel of the need to renounce the policy that it has followed hitherto, to entertain a sincere dialogue, to consider reality and to respect the resolutions of the United Nations, which represents the world conscience.

144. The land of Palestine today can provide a haven to both the parties in conflict and tomorrow can offer a place where coexistence is possible. We should all accept this fact, in the desire to put an end to the flow of blood, to maintain peace and to prepare for the future, a future which would ensure the security and dignity of all the parties.

145. On 3 March 1965, during a visit to the town of Jericho on the West Bank, President Bourguiba appealed to the Palestinian people to conform to international legality represented by General Assembly 181 (II), which determined the frontiers of the State of Israel and also the establishment of the Palestinian State in the land of Palestine. On that day in 1965 the Palestinian people looked favourably on that appeal and welcomed it. To return today to that legality constitutes, in the view of my country, the path of salvation. The alternative solution which Mr. Shamir recommended in the columns of *Le Monde* is already doomed to failure; it is merely a waste of time.

146. The Palestinian cause is the heart of the problem of the Middle East; the fate of the region and the restoration of security depend of its solution. We are convinced that the main aspects of the problem of the region would easily be resolved if a solution were

to be found to the underlying cause because, as the Secretary-General noted at the end of his report, these aspects are interdependent and cannot be separated.

147. Let our efforts therefore be directed towards achieving a comprehensive settlement, through negotiations involving all the parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; and let the basis of the dialogue be international legality, as laid down by the United Nations, permitting the establishment of two States, the State of Israel and the Palestinian State, and enabling them to coexist in a climate that would ensure the security of all States and replace domination and violation of law by respect and tolerance. In that regard, my country is convinced that General Assembly resolution ES-7/2 is a working basis which provides a useful point of departure in the search for a final solution to this problem.

148. In spite of the difficulties of the situation, my country still dares to hope that reason and justice will sooner or later prevail. The recent European initiative—undertaken after Europe had understood, correctly and objectively, the true problems of the Middle East and their origins and scope, an initiative which we welcome and to which we give our blessing—provides a source of hope which should be deepened and which, we hope, will have repercussions on all our friends and on the friends of peace.

149. On the eve of the new political era which the world faces, I am convinced that everyone will study this situation more carefully, enable reason to prevail and refrain from giving credence to facts that are outdated and have been overtaken by events.

150. The path of salvation is clear. We should follow it, at last, whatever sincerity of intention there might be, in order to turn the page of recriminations, oppression and tragedies, and to open to a new page, one of useful effort in the service of mankind and in the service of peace.

151. Mr. PASTINEN (Finland) (*interpretation from French*): This General Assembly debate is taking place at a time when a fratricidal war is pitting two central nations of the Middle East against each other. Other dangerous tensions are rampant in the region. The main cause for the permanent instability of the situation in the Middle East is the absence of a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbours. It is therefore important to recall that the goal of the United Nations in the Middle East is the establishment of a just and lasting peace. That presupposes that all Governments and concerned parties endeavour to find peace in the region. Time, of itself, is not working in favour of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

152. Finland favours a political solution to the Middle East conflict, through negotiations and in accordance with the basic documents of the United Nations, which must govern the achievement of that solution. We consider that the political solution to the conflict in the Middle East must be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Furthermore, it must take into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, particularly their right to national self-determination. The acquisition

of territory by force is inadmissible. Israel must therefore withdraw from the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967. It is likewise essential that the right of Israel and of all other States of the region to exist within secure and recognized boundaries be guaranteed.

153. The Government of Finland agrees with the decisions of the United Nations which declare the policy of the Government of Israel with respect to the settlements in the occupied territories unacceptable. Likewise, unilateral measures designed to change the status of Jerusalem are universally considered as illegal and have been so declared by the Security Council as recently as last 30 June, in its resolution 476 (1980). Israeli acts thus flagrantly contradict the obligation, which stems from Council resolution 242 (1967), to withdraw from the occupied territories.

154. As the representative of the national aspirations of the Palestinians, the PLO has been invited since 1974 to take part as an observer in the work of the General Assembly. The Government of Finland supported that decision. Our policy has always been to maintain contacts and to exchange views with representatives of the PLO. Hence we support its right to participate in the negotiations on granting to the Palestinians their legitimate rights, within the framework of a comprehensive solution to the Middle East problem.

155. In line with its policy of neutrality, Finland has adopted a balanced and conciliatory position in respect of the controversies relating to the Middle East. We have thus been able to preserve good relations with all nations of the region, including the parties most directly involved in the conflict. It is our firm intention to pursue that policy, thus safeguarding the trust accorded to us by all parties to the Middle East conflict. We have thus been able to render peaceful services to all the parties concerned. Tangible proof of that was the major contribution that Finland has since the beginning provided to the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations in the region.

156. There is doubtless no other region in the world where peace is of such crucial importance. There is doubtless no other region in the world where peace is more essential and urgent. Peace in the Middle East is urgent, not only for the peoples who live there, but for all nations.

157. Mr. FUTSCHER PEREIRA (Portugal): It has been repeatedly stated that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East will be achieved only through a comprehensive and peaceful settlement of the situation prevailing in that area. My country fully shares that view, one that seems to muster the agreement of the international community.

158. A peaceful settlement implies the existence of negotiations between the interested parties. Dialogue seems therefore to be the basis for the attainment of a solution to the problem we face. In that respect, we cannot but praise the lucid and courageous initiative taken by President Sadat of Egypt to initiate a dialogue with Israel, thus breaking a vicious circle of mistrust and violence that for decades characterized the relations between those two countries.

159. However, the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt constitute only a first step in the search for peace in the area and falls short of the desired overall agreement. This can be achieved only by building a climate of confidence and by broadening the dialogue to include all interested parties.

160. Unfortunately, this is not what we see. Violence, hatred and mistrust continue to be the basic pattern of daily life in the area. Israel persists in a policy of force, which in our view can only jeopardize the chances for the attainment of peace. Israel's security is rightly a matter of major concern to the international community. We believe, however, that Israel will not attain that objective by resorting to violence and repression, by refusing to others the rights it legitimately seeks for itself or by repeated violations of the sovereignty of bordering countries.

161. Israel's true security, like that of any other State, lies in its acceptance by the neighbouring nations and in its capacity peacefully to relate with them. Israel should therefore desist forthwith from pursuing its illegal policies such as the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories or its censurable unilateral acts aimed at changing the legal status of those territories, as was recently the case with Jerusalem.

162. It should also cease its repeated aggressions against Lebanese territory, which no excuse can justify. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon must be fully respected, and its people should be enabled freely to pursue their course, without foreign interference. It is time to put an end to the suffering of that country, torn apart by foreign struggles.

163. On the other hand, the Palestinians should peacefully pursue the search for the fulfilment of their legitimate rights and refrain from any acts of violence, which can only lead to meaningless suffering and deepen the lack of confidence that constitutes the main obstacle to peace in the area.

164. Indeed, we are convinced that any attempt by either party in the Middle East to impose its own solution will be doomed to failure, regardless of the means chosen to pursue that aim. Peace can only be brought about by a negotiating process between all the parties involved, including in particular Israel and the PLO.

165. Such a process should be based on the following main elements generally accepted by the international community: Israel's total withdrawal from all the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Arab Jerusalem; recognition of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination within those territories, that is to say, their sovereign right to determine their political future; recognition of the right of return for all the Palestinian refugees willing to do so; and respect for the right to existence and to security of all the States in the region, including Israel. We do not consider, though, that it would be realistic to expect the immediate acceptance of these principles as a point of departure for negotiations. On the contrary, we believe that they constitute the very aim of any serious negotiations.

166. We must understand that most of these pre-suppositions are interlinked. To be acceptable, they require mutual guarantees and a meticulous and elaborate appraisal of the forms their implementation would assume. Their acceptance, we believe, would come as a result of the very dynamism of the negotiating process.

167. I should like to conclude by expressing the hope that the people of the Middle East will show the goodwill needed to engage themselves in serious and concrete negotiations, able to reconcile their interests and overcome their hostility, thus leading to a peaceful settlement of the existing situation. We are particularly encouraged by the decision recently taken by the European Community to continue to contribute to the search for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East situation.

168. For our part, we should like to express our support for any process leading to peace and our readiness to co-operate fully with it.

169. Mr. KATAPODIS (Greece): Although the item under discussion is inextricably linked with item 24, concerning the question of Palestine, on which I had the opportunity to state the views of the Greek delegation [78th meeting], I should like to offer some additional considerations in the context of the present debate.

170. As events of the last three decades have shown, the problem of Palestine is undoubtedly the core of the problem of the Middle East. A solution of the former along the lines of the Charter will ease the tension in the whole area and create favourable conditions for reaching an agreement on the remaining outstanding issues.

171. However, my delegation feels that there are aspects of the situation which can and should be dealt with irrespective of the problem of Palestine. For instance, the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon is a phenomenon of the last few years. Lebanon is a sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations. Like any other Member State, it has the right to solve its internal problems without outside interference, and it is entitled to the full protection of the Organization. Nevertheless, for years now Lebanon has been the object of unwarranted armed incursions by Israeli forces and elements acting under Israeli protection. An end must be put to this state of affairs without delay. There are various options available to us. One option would be the reactivation of the Mixed Armistice Commission of 1949, as the Lebanese Government has repeatedly suggested. That would enable the latter to exercise its authority over the whole national territory, and at the same time it could help stabilize the situation on the border with Israel.

172. Another aspect of the Middle East problem which should receive immediate attention with a view to a satisfactory solution is the status of Jerusalem. As a result of various measures of the Israeli Government, its age-old status has been modified. The measures in question, the last of which was the law proclaiming Jerusalem the "eternal" capital of Israel, should be rescinded. The Holy City should remain a *corpus separatum* in whatever arrangement is reached, thus retaining its unique character as a

place of devotion and prayer for the hundreds of millions of believers in the three great monotheistic religions.

173. Then there is the problem of the Golan Heights, which, 13 years after the 1967 war, are still under Israeli occupation. The Golan Heights have belonged to Syria since that State was established. Their restitution constitutes an obligation under the Charter, which forbids the annexation of territory by right of conquest. Were the international community to allow such annexation, under whatever pretext, it would be sanctioning the law of the jungle.

174. Greece has unequivocally condemned foreign invasion and occupation wherever it has occurred. In the case of the Golan Heights in particular, the Greek Foreign Minister on 31 October this year stated that the annexation thereof would be contrary to the principle of the non-acquisition of territory by force, which is embodied in many United Nations resolutions for which Greece has voted, including Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

175. The aspects of the Middle East problem I have just mentioned are proof, if proof were needed, that the only possible way out of the present impasse, which is fraught with dangerous consequences for the whole of humanity, is the strict application of the principles of the Charter and the numerous United Nations resolutions which reaffirm them. Israel, as much as any other Member of the Organization, has the legal as well as the moral obligation to adhere to those principles. So long as it refuses to do so, peace, whose benefits Israel would reap together with its neighbours, will continue to be an elusive mirage, and the threat of war will continue to cast its sinister shadow on the Middle East.

176. Mr. KOSTOV (Bulgaria): The question of the situation in the Middle East has for many years been a highlight on the General Assembly's agenda. I would not be an overstatement to say that the various organs of the United Nations have for many years in succession had constantly before them the problems arising in this sensitive area of the world.

177. It can justifiably be said that the real causes of the negative developments are actually the attempts by the forces of imperialism and reaction to arrest the process of genuine national liberation, to interfere in domestic affairs, or through direct aggression to curb the just struggle of the peoples in that region of the world for national freedom and political and social revival. In the aftermath of the thirty-fourth regular session of the General Assembly and its seventh emergency special session, there is new proof of the increasing interference by those same forces in the Middle East. The continuing impunity of the Israeli aggressor has overtly inspired it to perpetuate its domination over the occupied Arab territories.

178. This period has also completely laid bare the true essence of the whole political gambit of the Camp David separatist deal. Far from bringing about a settlement of existing problems, that deal, in keeping with the real intentions of its inspirers and perpetrators, has complicated the situation and introduced elements of divisiveness among the Arab peoples struggling for their just cause.

179. On the other hand, as my delegation has repeatedly stated, the policies which led to the Camp David deal constitute an overt challenge to the international community, for they totally ignore the very core of the problem, that is, the legitimate rights and interests of the Arab people of Palestine. Moreover, they tend to exclude its sole legitimate representative, the PLO, from a settlement to the conflict. And all that is being done despite the stark reality that the achievement of a just and lasting solution to the Palestinian question in that way is all but impossible. Consequently, we are compelled to witness the constant postponement of and procrastination in reaching a solution of the over-all complex of interrelated problems which have for many years represented a standing threat to world peace and security.

180. At this juncture in my statement, I cannot but reiterate that the separatist Camp David settlement of the Middle East conflict runs entirely counter to the fundamental decisions of the United Nations and its organs. The resolutions and decisions adopted by the United Nations have unambiguously and clearly mapped out the only feasible ways and means of settling the conflict. The road to such a settlement lies through the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, the implementation of the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, in particular its right to self-determination and the establishment of its own independent State, and the guarantee of the independent existence and security of all States of the region, including Israel.

181. It is to be regretted that the Zionist circles in power in Israel have stubbornly refused to heed the will of the international community. They flout its legitimate concern, engendered by developments in the region, and persist in trying to impose their policies of faits accomplis. The most recent example of this line of policy was the annexation of Jerusalem, which was unanimously rejected by the international community as a whole. Nevertheless, no matter how persistent Israel is in that attitude, it should be clear to everyone that this game of balancing brutal pressure and aggressive acts on the one hand and attempts to reach a concealed separatist settlement of the conflict on the other is doomed to failure.

182. It is well known that the Organization and progressive forces throughout the world have not been impartial spectators on the sidelines of the Middle East drama. The socialist countries, for example, have aligned themselves in a firm and categorical manner with the victims of aggression, in support of the just cause of the Palestinian people and in favour of an all-embracing settlement of the Middle East conflict.

183. Unfortunately, the efforts of those who insisted on a comprehensive settlement were brought to a standstill because of manoeuvres and separate deals perpetrated by imperialist and reactionary forces in order to fuel the tension in the Middle East and to consolidate their position in that region. The increasing United States presence in that part of the world is yet another proof of their true intention of seeking to turn that region into an exclusive sphere of United States political, economic, social and ideological domination.

184. Recent events in the region are demonstrative of the unwillingness of the imperialist and reactionary forces to be satisfied just with manoeuvres and subterfuges like the Camp David agreements. We now see ever more clearly the outlines of their strategy which is aimed at spreading their domination in the region. For that purpose they are striving to maintain the existing conflict, to pit the peoples of the Middle East against one another and to destroy the unity of the Arab peoples in the struggle for their common cause. No one harbours any doubts as to who benefits from the existing tension and conflicts, who is interested in artificially whipping them up and intensifying them and who is attempting to divert the peoples of the Middle East from their chosen path of militancy against imperialism and armed aggression and of struggle for genuine economic independence and full implementation of their sovereign right to dispose of their national resources.

185. Being situated in proximity to the Middle East, my country is strongly in favour of the stabilization of the situation there and the elimination of existing conflicts and tension in the interest of strengthening world peace and security and in the interest of all peoples of the Middle East.

186. This position of principle is shared and defended by our allies which are States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, and it was reaffirmed last May in the most authoritative manner by its Political Consultative Committee. Faithful to this consistent political course, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to give its support to the Arab peoples, particularly to the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine, in their struggle for genuine independence, against aggression and for lasting peace and security.

187. Mr. KACHURENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The peoples of the world are continuing to follow with great alarm and concern the dangerous development of events in the Middle East. The most characteristic factors of the worsening situation in the region at this time are the further intensification of the aggressive policy of Israel and the growing military potential of the United States of America in the Middle East and the neighbouring area under the pretext of defending so-called "vital American interests". These combined factors are leading to an escalation of tension the consequences of which cannot be foreseen and creating impediments to a comprehensive political settlement in the Middle East.

188. It is generally acknowledged that an extremely important element in such a settlement is the solution of the Palestinian problem. That was quite clearly shown during the discussion of that question in the General Assembly a few days ago. The long-suffering Arab people of Palestine has for some time been expecting from the international community specific and effective measures to restore its inalienable national rights. In this regard, under the leadership of its political vanguard, the PLO, it has for many years been carrying out a heroic and just struggle. That struggle is finding growing understanding and support throughout the entire world, including in the United Nations.

189. There is no need to list once again all the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly emphasizing the need for a rapid solution of the Palestinian problem on the basis of the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including its right to establish its own independent State. Obvious confirmation of the efforts undertaken by the United Nations along these lines can be found in the resolution of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly. The Assembly, as is known, called upon Israel to withdraw completely and unconditionally from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem, and to begin such withdrawal before 15 November 1980. However, the ruling circles of Israel are not only continuing their illegal occupation of lands long in Arab possession but are also attempting to legalize their seizure, ignoring the fundamental principle of international law regarding the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force.

190. With regard to the annexationist designs on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Israeli occupiers, hiding behind the Camp David separate deal, are striving to achieve that goal by imposing the so-called administrative autonomy idea on the Palestinians living in those areas. Evidence of the deceitful nature of the negotiations taking place behind the scenes with regard to that "autonomy" can be found particularly in the fact that, while those talks were going on, a network of Jewish settlements—military and colonizing outposts intended to reinforce the results of the aggressive policy of Israel—was being established at an ever increasing rate on land illegally taken from the Palestinian Arabs.

191. The annexation of the eastern part of Jerusalem and its proclamation as the "united and indivisible" capital of Israel is further evidence of that provocative and malicious policy. The encroachment on Jerusalem is a persistent act of illegality and a brazen challenge to world public opinion. In this connexion the reaction of the Security Council was quite natural, even though it was not sufficiently decisive. In its resolution 478 (1980) the Council again determined that all legislative and administrative measures adopted by Israel in order to alter the character and status of Jerusalem were null and void.

192. However, Israel's expansionist appetites are becoming increasingly uncontrolled. Recently, in Tel Aviv, they have begun intensive preparations for the next adventure, the annexation of the Golan Heights, seized from Syria in 1967. According to press reports, the Israeli Knesset already has before it an official proposal for the forthcoming implementation of that sinister design.

193. We must not fail to draw attention also to the unceasing acts of aggression by the Israeli military forces against Lebanon. The systematic incursions of Israeli forces into southern Lebanon, the bloody Israeli commando raids on Palestinian refugee camps in that area and the artillery bombardments and air attacks against Lebanese settlements, which cause casualties among the peaceful population—this is a far from complete list of the Israeli actions that represent a serious threat to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. There are

further press reports with regard to the long-range intentions of those in Israel's ruling circles with regard to that country, that is, the development of a plan for a long-term occupation of southern Lebanon. The implementation of Israel's aggressive designs and the plans being hatched to redraw the map of the Middle East are undoubtedly the direct result of the Camp David collusion and the constantly growing assistance given to Israel by the United States.

194. It is known that the imperialist monopolies of the United States and the international Zionist organizations were and still are the main paymasters financing the military budget of Tel Aviv. It goes without saying that the political, military and financial support given to Israel is not an altruistic one. It has always been and is still being carried out in full keeping with the hegemonistic plans of United States imperialism in the Middle East. That prospects for such plans are dim is evident. They run counter to the historic changes in the international arena and are contrary to the basic interests of the people of the Middle East. These plans have been decisively condemned by world public opinion.

195. Like other countries of the socialist community, the Ukrainian SSR has advocated and continues to advocate the achievement of a comprehensive and just settlement in the Middle East. The fundamental principles of such a settlement are known and are as follows: the full withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including eastern Jerusalem; the exercise of the inalienable right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the establishment of its own independent State; the guaranteeing of all States in that region to a secure and independent existence and to development.

196. Clearly, all aspects of the Middle Eastern problem, as well as its core—the question of the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people—can be resolved only through the joint efforts of all parties concerned, including the PLO. Here is where we see the real basis for the establishment of a stable and just peace in the Middle East, and it is our hope that the General Assembly will undertake the necessary efforts to achieve that noble goal.

197. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Ever since Pindar said, "Have the courage to be yourself", much has happened in the world. Cuba, incidentally, does not mince words, neither in this nor in any other international forum. We have always spoken the truth although, as José Martí noted, "it does not always smell of roses".

198. Today we are gathered together here once again to deal with the situation in the Middle East. As we all know, it is not our job to repeat the story, as Sheherezade patiently did for Caliph Harun Al Rachid, nor like Aladdin to wait for the genie in the bottle or some other magic spirit of the Arabian Nights to point the way to a just, peaceful and lasting solution of the conflict in that vital region of the world.

199. It is up to us, the Members of the Organization, which was conceived to safeguard international peace and security, to take the bull by the horns and by honest combat solve once and for all a situation that

has for three decades threatened mankind with the danger of a conflagration of incalculable dimensions.

200. Bertrand Russell, if I recall correctly, once said that common sense was the least common of all senses. The old British philosopher erred in many things, like every political animal, but he was right in upholding the idea that only peace, a dignified, just and universal peace, could save the world from man's inhumanity to man.

201. The problem of the Middle East has a well-known umbilical cord: the tragedy of the Palestinian people. The report of the Secretary-General refers to this only in the penultimate chapter, though it clearly should have been in the first. It is no secret to anyone, much less to the Members of the United Nations, that there will be no real and effective solution to the problem of the Middle East as long as the question of Palestine remains in the limbo of General Assembly resolutions and suspended by the veto of the United States in the Security Council.

202. There are many factors underlying the situation as it now stands, and there is no need to refer to all of them. After all, we are among the chosen, those who know full well that the substance of the problem is too muddled and thorny to get into all of its many details. If we were to do so, what would happen to this august areopagus? Where would we file away the polished speeches, the pompous gestures, the carefully drafted statements of those who keep advising us to wait a little longer, until circumstances are ripe and until a new American president is elected, or until such time as the new president has familiarized himself with international problems?

203. Time has run out for the well-intentioned sceptics and for those who, like Pangloss, see a new ear of wheat in every twist and turn of Western politics. The present cannot wait. We do not need Aeschylus to depict a vivid picture of this tragedy. It is there, like an angry child deprived of his homeland; it is there in the tortures, the gaols, the usurped olive groves and the destroyed homes. It is in the patriot's machine gun and the avenging hatred of the dispossessed, in death which comes each dawn and in the unmistakable cries of liberation.

204. There will be no just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East without the prior recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to their homes and to establish their independent and sovereign State in Palestine. Nor can there be a negotiated solution without the participation, on an equal footing with the other parties concerned, of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of that fraternal people.

205. Thus the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, and this very Assembly, condemned any partial agreement in that area and specifically spoke out against the so-called Camp David agreements—an imperialist stab in the back of the Arab nation and the Palestinian people—which were designed to impose a *pax Americana* in the region and to ensure the continued existence of the Zionist State of Israel as a spearhead aimed against the young independent States of Africa and the Middle East.

206. In spite of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, Israeli leaders persist in their colonialist policy, expanding their holdings in Palestine and other occupied Arab territories. In the last few years the Tel Aviv Government has attempted to make a radical change in the legal status, geographic character and demographic composition of these territories. It expelled the Mayor of Nablus and attempted to assassinate him, along with his colleagues from Ramallah and Al Bireh, and it has arbitrarily arrested a large number of Palestinian students. More recently, its military forces have savagely shot Palestinian youths simply for demonstrating for their own inalienable national rights.

207. On 13 February 1980 the Commission on Human Rights adopted resolutions 1 A and B (XXXVI) on the question of the violation of human rights in the occupied Arab territories, which, despite the fact that they were referred to the General Assembly and the Security Council by the Secretary-General, have had no effect except to arouse the just indignation of the international community.

208. The Security Council held five meetings in February and March of this year on the situation in the Arab territories occupied by Israel. So far, Security Council resolutions 446 (1979) and 465 (1980) have remained dead letters, and the Zionist entity continues grossly to violate the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,⁴ and persists in changing the physical nature, the demographic composition—as I have already said—the institutional structure and the status of the Palestinian territories as well as of other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, which, in utter defiance of the world Organization, has been proclaimed the "eternal capital" of Israel.

209. As part of its hegemonistic and racist designs, the Begin Government has continued its attacks against southern Lebanon and the camps of Palestinian patriots. In alliance with retrograde Lebanese forces, true quislings of the Arab cause, Tel Aviv is attempting to annihilate the Palestinian people who have taken refuge in the area, thus emulating Adolf Hitler's executioners. The international community has been unable to prevent these acts, despite the resolutions which have been adopted.

210. In spite of the difficult international situation a special effort must be made to save the Palestinian people from a holocaust similar to the one brought about by the Nazis in the Second World War. The designs of the American imperialists and their Zionist protégés are abundantly clear, and we can see with crystal clarity the opportunism and apostasy of those who have turned their backs on the Arab and Palestinian cause, providing military bases and compromising their historic destiny for a plate of lentils offered them by those who attempt to achieve domination over the area and use it as their own, thus destroying the very foundations of the sovereignty and independence of their peoples.

211. The new scheme of imperialist domination involves the Middle East, just as it involves the subordination of the Gulf States and the Indian Ocean

⁴ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.

to their interests and the smashing of Arab, Islamic and other revolutionary régimes which would reclaim their right to independence and to their own destiny.

212. The General Assembly cannot remain deaf to the cries of the Palestinian people and ignore the urgent need to safeguard the sovereignty and independence of the countries of the Middle East. We are all familiar with the Zionist and imperialist enemy. The words are empty and the arm is muscular. The Assembly must deal a final blow to the interests of those who are against the people. We must unite in the defence of the Palestinian cause, which is the essence of the Middle East problem. We can no longer postpone decisive action to ensure that the Security Council imposes the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the Zionist State of Israel, and we must give maximum support to those who fight for the freedom and independence of Palestine.

213. So long as this battle has not been won, justice will remain conspicuous by its absence in this hall.

214. Mr. THAKURATHI (Nepal): The General Assembly is once again considering the question of the Middle East, an item has figured in its agenda since the birth of the Organization. During those three decades and more, serious attempts have been made to find a solution to this problem both within and outside the United Nations. Despite these serious efforts, a satisfactory solution continues to elude the international community. A just and comprehensive settlement of the question acceptable to all parties concerned is still a distant goal.

215. Nepal is profoundly aware that the establishment of peace and stability in the Middle East would have a tremendous impact on international peace and security. The basic framework for the settlement of the question has already been provided in various United Nations resolutions. The solution of the problem, if it is to be lasting, must be just and equitable and must be based on the principles of the Charter and of international law. Such a settlement must meet the legitimate interests and aspirations of every State and people in the region.

216. The position of Nepal on this question is clear and has been repeated on various occasions from this rostrum and in other forums. We once again reiterate our call for Israel's withdrawal from the territories occupied since 1967. Likewise, Nepal believes that any meaningful negotiations must inevitably recognize the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people, including its right to a separate State. The PLO is the sole representative of the Palestinian people, and it must be a partner in any comprehensive peace negotiations leading to the settlement of the problem. Finally, we have always believed that the right of every State in the region, including Israel, to live in peace within recognized and secure boundaries free from threats and acts of violence must be respected.

217. The Israeli policy of establishing settlements in occupied territories and its actions designed to change the legal and demographic character of those territories are illegal. They are contrary to the United Nations decisions and are therefore totally unacceptable to us.

218. The United Nations continues to provide the basic forum in which the parties concerned could come to an understanding, thus creating the atmosphere of trust and confidence which is essential for a lasting peace in the region. As a country contributing troops to UNIFIL, we note its work with satisfaction. We call upon all States to assist UNIFIL in restoring Lebanese sovereignty over the whole of Lebanon. The United Nations peace-keeping operation in the Middle East is important, but it is at best a temporary expedient. Only the will of the parties concerned can lead to the final solution.

219. The course of events in the Middle East in the last three decades proves convincingly that war and the use of force can never lead to a solution. On the contrary, they add to bitterness, complicate further an already complex problem, aggravate an already dangerous situation and lay the groundwork for more ruinous armed conflicts. Nepal, therefore, has always considered that a negotiated political settlement is the only way to establish a just, comprehensive and lasting peace which will enable all the people in that area to live in peace, security and harmony. As in the past, Nepal will continue to support and encourage any initiative which aims at the attainment of these goals.

220. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization. I now call upon him in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974.

221. Mr. MAYZAR (Palestine Liberation Organization) (*interpretation from Arabic*): First I would like to express, on behalf of the Palestinian people and its leaders, our sympathy on the occasion of the death of Hamilton Amerasinghe. He was well known on the international plane and was President of the General Assembly in 1976. He spent a large part of his life in the service of the international community, and his positive contribution increased confidence in the United Nations and its institutions, that is, in all that defends the cause of truth and justice in the world. We express our heartfelt condolences to the international community and to Sri Lanka.

222. In my delegation's statement during the discussion of the question of Palestine [75th meeting], Mr. Kaddoumi, Head of the Political Department of the PLO, outlined the basic elements of the Palestine problem in the light of the evolution of the situation, replied to many questions and gave appropriate explanations. He drew attention to everything related to the problem of the Middle East. That is natural because there is a causal and organic link between the problem of Palestine and the problem of the Middle East. If there were no Palestinian question there would not be the question of the Middle East on the agenda of the General Assembly. That is why our intervention during the discussion of the present item will be designed to shed light on certain points and certain truths which will help the General Assembly in its constructive work to bring about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We must set aside the errors of the past and prepare the ground for a better future for that region and for the entire world.

223. First, with regard to the Israeli representative's falsifications about the Palestinian problem, it is difficult for a Zionist and especially for a representative of the Israeli Government to respect the purposes and principles of the United Nations and the rules of international law when he addresses the General Assembly, because Zionism by its very nature and its goal is incompatible with international law. It is a retrograde and racist movement born as a result of imperialist manoeuvres, which acts according to imperialist dictates and which to this day is an instrument of imperialism.

224. It is a secret to no one that the idea of establishing a Zionist entity in Palestine resulted from a British project. Great Britain, by the unfortunate Balfour Declaration of 1917, wanted that entity set up in order to protect its interests in the region and the lines of communication with its colonies. It is no accident that the Balfour Declaration appeared at the same time as British companies arrived in Iraq and discovered oil. Palestine was then placed under British Mandate. It was a protectorate of Great Britain, and the protectorate carried out the Balfour Declaration. Despite the fact that that protectorate lasted for 30 years, despite the Second World War and the crimes perpetrated by the Nazis, the Zionist movement was not able throughout all that long time to attract more than 385,000 Jews. Similarly, it was no accident that the decision on the partition of Palestine came at the same time as the discovery of huge quantities of oil in the Arabian peninsula. Since its creation Israel has been very closely and organically linked with the imperialist circles, as well as with the Fascist and racist circles of the world.

225. Representatives were surely distressed to hear the Israeli representative accuse the majority of Member States in his Statement, for the simple reason that the great majority of Member States respect the purposes and principles of the Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Conventions and defend the just cause of the Middle East, as much as they support the Arab cause and the legitimate struggle of our people to regain its rights, the right to self-determination and the right to its own homeland, Palestine.

226. We are well aware of the aggressive nature of Zionism, but the Israeli representative could not hide his hatred of our people; he denied our people its right to its homeland and he avoided pronouncing the words "Palestinian people", using "Palestinian Arabs" instead, because the whole Palestinian reality—the people, the homeland, the rights—is a spectre for the expansionist dreams of Israel and its aggressive settlement designs.

227. The attempts by the Israeli representative to exploit recent developments in the Middle East, such as the border problems between Iraq and Iran, the crisis in Afghanistan and other events, were designed to distract attention from the main cause of the explosive situation in the Middle East, which is to be found in the perpetuation of Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands and Arab lands and the denial to the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights which have been recognized by the international community. These are just so many attempts doomed to failure, hopeless attempts to conceal the truth.

228. It is enough to say in this respect that all Arab countries, all Islamic countries, have unanimously endorsed the Palestinian cause. They support the inalienable rights of our people and its revolution, under the leadership of the PLO. In spite of differences which exist between certain of those countries, they can assure the Assembly that the cause of Palestine is the main cause of the Arabs, it is the overriding cause of the entire Islamic world, and that the PLO is the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It is enough to know the importance which the Arab world and the Islamic world attach to the Palestinian cause and the role played by the PLO in the political life of the Middle East and outside the region.

229. I should also like to recall the daily acts carried out by the Israeli occupation forces in the Palestinian territories and other occupied Arab territories: punishment, repression, compulsory banishment of people from their territory, their dispersal, attempts at physical annihilation, establishment of settlements, all the attempts to change the character of the country, the implementation of a system consisting of attacking all that is sacred to Moslems and Christians, and the attempts to change the cultural and geographical nature of the region and of the country, even of Arab Jerusalem and all the occupied Palestinian towns. I need merely recall once more all those practices and the impact they have in the Arab world, in the Islamic world and in the civilized world to show that continuation of the Israeli occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories is the main cause of the instability of the situation in the Middle East area.

230. May I also recall the persistent daily aggression carried out by the Israeli authorities, the savage air, sea and land bombardments against the Lebanese villages and the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, the interference in the internal affairs of Lebanon, the intervention against Lebanon itself and the repercussion these acts have in the Middle East region. All this shows that Israeli practices are the principal cause of the turbulent situation prevailing in the region.

231. May I also recall Israel's announcement that the status of Jerusalem has changed and that it has now become the eternal capital of Israel. In taking that decision Israel has introduced a new, serious and extremely delicate element into the Middle East, that is, the religious factor. Its representative assures us that that situation will endure. Thus we know who is mainly responsible for the situation prevailing in the Middle East and who is the cause of all the instability in that region.

232. The decision to annex Jerusalem and to proclaim Jerusalem as the capital of Israel is one more in a series of Israeli acts of aggression and of violation of the inalienable rights of our people. Israel is determined to broaden the struggle in the Middle East. That is a provocation against both the Islamic religion and the Christian religion. It is a Zionist plot against the very people who believe in Judaism. It is a continuing threat to world peace and a flagrant challenge to international legitimacy. It is also a continuing provocation to the United Nations and its institutions and runs counter to the will of its Member States.

233. It is both sad and ironic that the representative of Israel considers that recalling General Assembly resolution 181 (II) is an insult to history. It seems he has forgotten the historical truth of Zionism and the hallucination of its leaders and theoreticians who based their philosophy on facts which were no more true in terms of history than in terms of science and on claims which go back more than 2,500 years.

234. It referring to General Assembly resolution 181 (II) is an insult to history, it would be better, even according to the logic of the representative of Israel, to say that the creation of the Zionist movement and the entity of Israel are the greatest insults to history, I would even say the greatest crime committed against history. He talks about insults to history and he wants us to believe that calling part of the occupied Palestinian territories Judaea and Samaria is showing respect for history and reverence for geography.

235. In describing the PLO as a terrorist organization, the representative of Israel would like to persuade the world to give credence to his mendacious assertions. But in the first place he must convince the Jews who oppose Zionism and who condemn the terrorist practices of Israel; he must convince tens of thousands of Jewish inhabitants of the Israeli entity of this ridiculous allegations. He should recall that official terrorism is organized and perpetrated daily by the Zionist Israeli authorities and that decisions are taken by the Israeli Government, by Menachem Begin, the well-known international terrorist, and by what is called the Israeli Knesset.

236. The PLO is a national liberation movement which is carrying out a legitimate struggle based on the principles of the United Nations, on its Charter and on its resolutions, as well as on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The PLO condemns international terrorism, but the armed struggle by all means against the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian and Arab territories is a positive and humane contribution to the fight against the Zionist terrorism waged against our people, against our nation and against the noble Jews who are supporting our struggle and who are at our sides in order to put an end to the occupation by the Israeli racists and so that we may recover our inalienable national rights.

237. With regard to the statements of the representative of Israel to the effect that the PLO commits terrorist acts in order to reduce to silence the Palestinian people in the occupied Arab territories and to prevent them from supporting the Camp David conspiracy against peace, which has been called "the peace operation", those allegations do not even deserve a reply. That can be left to the knights of Camp David themselves, who have stated, by several authoritative voices, that they have failed in their efforts to persuade any part of our people in the occupied territories to go along with the plot called "self-rule". The whole Palestinian people, within and outside the occupied territory, is opposed to all aspects of that plot. It opposes it with heroism, a heroism which gives rise to admiration. Those who incite terrorist acts against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories are the leaders of Israel who occupy those territories, put thousands of our children in gaol and force the municipal authorities to leave their country, as occurred with the mayors of Al-Khalil

and Halhoul and thousands of religious figures, workers, students, women and farmers who were forced to leave their homeland.

238. Israel is passing legislation so as to imprison all those who support the PLO, all those who are in touch with the PLO and all those who brandish the Palestinian flag. It is Israel which organizes the attempts at assassination and physical liquidation of prisoners and political leaders, as recently occurred with the municipal authorities of Nablus, Ramallah and Al Bireh.

239. As for the struggle of our people against the Camp David conspiracy, it is a struggle of which we are proud; it is a struggle that demonstrates the maturity of our people, its full awareness of realities, its determination to recover its inalienable national rights, namely, its rights to self-determination, to return to its homeland and to the establishment of an independent State in the Palestinian homeland.

240. The autonomy plot that came out of the Camp David bargaining is nothing but a new way of imposing slavery on our people, of maintaining Israeli occupation in our homeland and usurping all our inalienable rights. It is natural that our people should oppose it by all means. It will continue its struggle until it has put an end to the plot and until it has erased all its effects, for it is a plot against just and lasting peace in the Middle East and sets up a military régime which expands at all points in order to impose American imperialism and Israel on the Middle East, to threaten the national régimes in Africa and to put an end to everything that has been achieved by the Arab liberation movement in 30 years. It is also an attempt to liquidate the Palestinian cause to the benefit of Israel and its expansionist aims, and also to bring to naught all the achievements of the Palestinian people and its inalienable rights.

241. As for what has been claimed by the representative of the Israeli entity with regard to Security Council resolution 242 (1967), namely, that it is the only recognized basis for finding a solution to the Middle East problem, that is an obviously false assertion and an undisguised attempt to hide the truth about the situation in the Middle East, which is that its real cause is the Palestinian problem. It is an attempt by Israel to prevent the Palestinian people from recovering its inalienable national rights by occupying Palestinian territories and forcing the rightful inhabitants to leave their country, making refugees of them. Israel denies the Palestinians the right to return to their homeland, to recover their property and to return to their country from which they have been evicted by force. That is what is affirmed by the leaders of Israel themselves, whether in statements or in written form. I do not need to cite facts. The truth is obvious. The Assembly has listened to hundreds of quotations in this connexion during the past 30 years.

242. Security Council resolution 242 (1967) is not a valid basis for finding a solution to the Middle East problem, whose very core is the problem of Palestine. Indeed, resolution 242 (1967) is not the result of a study of the Palestinian problem. It is not a valid or acceptable basis for the Palestinian people, which is the main party concerned in the struggle in the Middle

East. That resolution disregards the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people which have been affirmed over more than 30 years by the General Assembly in numerous resolutions. It does not constitute a valid basis for the Arab countries.

243. That is what was stated in the resolutions of the meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Arab countries held at Amman, on 20 November 1980, at which all the States members of the League of Arab States were present. The Eleventh Arab Summit Conference, which met at Amman from 25 to 27 November 1980, approved those resolutions without any reservations whatsoever. To that we can add what was said by the United States representative himself concerning Security Council resolution 242 (1967) when he stated in the Assembly in November 1978, with reference to the question of Palestine: "We acknowledge that that resolution does not deal with the political dimension of the Palestinian issue..."⁵

244. The joint Soviet-American statement of 1 October 1977 did not mention Security Council resolution 242 (1967). That statement affirmed the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

245. We may add, moreover, that the international community, in resolutions adopted by various international conferences and by the General Assembly, has affirmed that the Palestinian problem is at the very heart of the Middle East crisis and that peace cannot be established in that region without a complete and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, with, at the same time, a guarantee to the Palestinian people of the possibility to exercise its inalienable national rights, with the PLO as its sole legitimate representative. Further the PLO is a member of the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement, and it is an Observer at the United Nations.

246. The problem of Palestine, which is at the very heart of the struggle under way in the Middle East, is the problem of the existence of the Palestinian people and of its inalienable rights; it is not at all a problem of borders between Israel and Arab countries, as Israel is trying to prove with the support of the imperialists.

247. Finally, after having reviewed the Israeli representative's mendacious allegations and attempts, we must emphasize here that in his statement before the Assembly [77th meeting], he could not but recognize the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people to return to its homeland and its right to self-determination and to establish an independent State. None the less, he decided on the places where those people could enjoy those rights, but the specified areas are not within the genuine boundaries. And despite his Zionist and racist hatred for the Palestinian people and despite the fact that he purposely used the term "Palestinian Arab" instead of "Palestinian people", he said: "The Palestinian Arabs have long enjoyed self-determination in their own State—the Palestinian Arab State of Jordan." [*Ibid.*, para. 108.]

248. The representative of Israel could not deny the right of the refugees to return to their homeland, but because of his aggressive Zionist credo he speaks of those rights as if the Middle East were one of the Zionist movement's colonies, and at the very time that he was obliged to recognize our right to self-determination he asked the General Assembly to go back on its own resolutions, to scorn the principles of international law and to say that self-determination can be exercised only in Jordan and not in Palestine. He even wanted it said that the enjoyment of those rights really exists. And at the very time when he was obliged to recognize the right of the Palestinian people to establish its independent State, he wanted the General Assembly to subscribe to a big lie that even he himself could not believe when he said, "By virtue of its history, territory, population and culture, Jordan remains the Palestinian Arab State." [*Ibid.*, para. 109.]

249. This Zionist attitude of contempt is nothing new. Its representative would like to annihilate the State of Jordan; he wishes the disappearance of a State Member of the United Nations which became independent before the very emergence of the State of Israel. He wants the General Assembly to accept these ridiculous assertions and the outcome of the crime that the Zionists have perpetrated, namely, the dispersal of our people, some of whom have taken refuge in Jordan temporarily. He would like a solution that would reward the aggressor at the expense of others.

250. It must be clearly understood by those who wish to do away with the rights of the Palestinian people and who hope to succeed in doing so that the Palestinian people has a homeland and that that homeland is Palestine, which is west of the Jordan River rather than east of it. The fact that our people has been resisting in the camps, in the occupied Palestinian territories, in the Gaza Strip, in the West Bank, in Syria, in Lebanon and in Jordan is a clear expression of the fact that our people is firmly resolved to defend its right to return to its homeland and its homes and to exercise its right to self-determination and well as its right to establish and independent State on its occupied national territory which the Israeli aggressor usurped by fire and the sword. Decades have not been able to erase this fact. It is clear proof that the Palestinian problem endures and will endure until international legitimacy triumphs over its enemies and an end is put to the historic injustice perpetrated against the Palestinian people and that people has fully regained its rights.

251. The crisis in the Middle East will remain a dangerous source of tension threatening international peace and security so long as the Israeli occupation of Palestinian Arab territories, including Jerusalem, continues and the Palestinian people is unable to exercise its inalienable rights.

252. The partial and unilateral solutions and accords that emerged from the Camp David meetings have merely complicated the crisis and have rendered the situation in the region even more explosive than it had been before. The Camp David agreements and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty did not bring peace to the Middle East. On the contrary, since those agreements were signed the aggression against us and against

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 65th meeting, para. 88.

Lebanon has intensified. For the letter and spirit of those agreements run counter to the principles of a just peace in the Middle East and are also contrary to the genuine interests of Egypt and its genuinely Arab people. Events have indeed shown that in the search for a solution to the crisis, what is important is not to sign agreements but to convince the peoples of the validity of agreements that are compatible with their genuine interests, and that are in conformity with international legitimacy and with the course of history.

253. The new American Administration, were it to continue along the path of these agreements, would thus be inviting further wars and assuming responsibility for this policy of adventurism. The Arab conscience, including that of the Arab people of Egypt, refuses these agreements, which have been agreed to under the pressure of the continued occupation by Israel of Arab territories. A just solution for the Middle East cannot be based on the principles or the content of those agreements or on other accords drawn up outside the framework of the United Nations.

254. The world is fully aware of the fact that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, that it represents the conscience of our people and defends its existence and the exercise of its rights and the recognition of its cause. Ignoring this fact is tantamount to ignoring the existence of our people, its rights and its just cause.

255. Those who hesitate to recognize the PLO are those who hesitate to recognize our existence, our cause and our rights. Those who want to oblige us to recognize Security Council resolution 242 (1967) before they recognize us want us to recognize a resolution which does not concern us and which does not recognize our rights. In other words, we would have to recognize the fact that we have no cause and that we have no rights.

256. The proof that these are the intentions of those who wish to impose those conditions upon us can be seen in the fact that when the non-aligned countries submitted a draft resolution in the Security Council,⁶ before the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly last July—which stipulated our inalienable national rights, including the right to return, the right to self-determination and the right to establish an independent State, as well as the right of States in the region, including independent Palestine, to live within secure and recognized boundaries—the countries of Western Europe abstained in the vote on that draft resolution and the United States used its veto. If I recall this one fact, it is in order to indicate the intentions of certain Western States with regard to the PLO and the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

257. Those who truly desire to achieve peace must approach it in an honest manner and must not hesitate to recognize the PLO, for any equitable solution to the problem of Palestine requires the participation of an organization which expresses the will of the Palestinian people. If it did not exist, it would be necessary to create it. The PLO enjoys legitimate repre-

sentation on the Palestinian, Arab, Islamic and international levels, and no one challenges this right. In this context and on behalf of the Palestinian people and its lawful leadership, we once again reiterate our complete rejection of what is said here and there, of what is called the Jordanian option for the solution of the Palestinian problem. For what is meant by that choice, as was explained by the representative of Israel before the Assembly a few days ago, is an attempt to Arabize the struggle in the Middle East and to ignore the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return, to self-determination and to establish an independent State in its homeland. Any attempt along these lines is doomed to failure and would merely enhance the suffering and the tensions in the Middle East.

258. We call upon the new leadership of the United States of America, as well as that of the countries of Western Europe, to renew their allegiance to the principles of the Charter and to be more equitable with regard to the real interests of their own peoples and the cause of a just peace in the Middle East. In order to achieve such a peace the Western leaders must once and for all reject the Camp David agreements and recognize the PLO and the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, as has been requested in United Nations resolutions.

259. Finally, we cannot fail to praise the constructive role played by the socialist countries and the Islamic countries with respect to a just peace in the Middle East, as well as the role played by the group of non-aligned countries and the African countries. They are all firmly on our side and support our legitimate struggle to achieve our inalienable rights.

260. Similarly, we should like to thank once again Mr. Kurt Waldheim and the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, and all those who favour the cause of freedom, justice and peace.

261. Mr. GABRIEL (Malaysia): About a week ago when the General Assembly was considering the question of Palestine, my delegation expressed concern [78th meeting] at the grave implications for international peace and security resulting from the continuing denial by the Israeli authorities of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

262. It is the question of Palestine that forms the core of the conflict that has made the Middle East an area of tension for over 30 years. The question of Palestine and the question of the Middle East are interwoven; they form an integral whole, and neither can be settled in isolation from the other.

263. Today the situation in the Middle East remains tense and explosive, and various efforts made by the Organization to find a peaceful settlement have been in vain, for Israel has refused to deal with the basic issues involved, namely, the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and property and the right to self-determination and sovereignty, including an independent State. Israel's policy of annexation of occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, the establishment of Jewish settlements and the imposition of oppressive laws on the people of those territories have only exacerbated the tense situation and further complicated the peace process. Israel's viola-

⁶ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980, document S/13911.*

tion of Lebanese sovereignty and territorial integrity through attacks and raids carry the risk of escalation and of widening the Middle East conflict.

264. Equally disturbing to my delegation is the increasing involvement of external Powers in the affairs of the region. Such involvement, made in the context of furthering their areas of influence and global strategic interests, cannot contribute to a solution of the Middle East conflict. On the contrary, it could well take the region deeper into the vortex of super-Power rivalry, ignoring in the process the real interests of the people of the region. Arab unity might further be threatened, allowing the Israeli authorities to continue with their illegal actions in the occupied territories.

265. We regret that the major Powers which are in a position to put the necessary pressure on Israel to recognize the just struggle of the Palestinian people have been reluctant to do so for fear of upsetting their interests in the region. The major Powers have a special responsibility in the question of international peace and security. We would like them to exercise their responsibilities to bring about a just and durable peace in the Middle East, based on a comprehensive solution worked out under the auspices of the United Nations.

266. Such a solution must take into account all aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict, in particular the attainment by the Palestinian people of all their inalienable rights and the Israeli withdrawal from all Arab and Palestinian occupied territories, including Jerusalem. Those were the clear demands of the international community when the General Assembly adopted resolution 34/70 by a overwhelming majority last year. The provisions of that resolution remain valid to this day and represent the only basis for a durable solution of the Middle East conflict. My delegation wishes once again to reiterate its wholehearted support for the just struggle of the Arab people, in particular, the people of Palestine, to realize their rights recognized by the United Nations.

267. In conclusion, I wish to pay a tribute to all those countries that have contributed troops and men to UNDOF, UNIFIL and UNTSO, whose functioning in specified areas of the Middle East has helped to bring about a measure of peace and confidence in the areas concerned. We are grateful to those men that make up the United Nations forces for their dedicated service under very difficult circumstances.

268. Mr. HANDL (Czechoslovakia): Regrettably, the past year has not brought nearer a comprehensive and just settlement of the by now chronic conflict in the Middle East. On the contrary, as a result of the stepped up expansionist policies of Israel, the situation has deteriorated and is a matter of grave concern on the part of all progressive forces throughout the world.

269. At the current time, when opponents of international détente are becoming more active, trying to return the world to the time of the cold war, the Middle East conflict remains one of the most dangerous focal points of international tension and poses a threat to peace and security throughout the world. Suffice it to recall that in the relatively recent past, four armed conflicts took place in that area which pushed the

world to the edge of a global war. The situation in the Middle East is further complicated by the practical steps undertaken by the United States in order to assert the doctrine according to which the United States claims the exclusive right to control the mineral resources of the Persian Gulf as well as the approach routes to those resources.

270. The ruling circles of Israel, enjoying the full support of imperialism, and in particular of the United States, continue to ignore the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and with pronounced recklessness continue to place high stakes on violence, annexation, the eviction of the Arab population from its land and on the complete denial of the rights of the Palestine people.

271. The adoption by the Israeli Knesset on 31 July of this year of a basic law under which Jerusalem was proclaimed the eternal and indivisible capital of Israel produced a wave of indignation throughout the world. Czechoslovakia fully supported Security Council resolution 478 (1980) and shares the view that all legal and administrative measures taken by Israel to change the status of Jerusalem are invalid and must be rescinded and that the adoption of this illegal measure constitutes a grave obstacle to the efforts to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

272. Although the measure affecting the fate of Jerusalem constitutes marked and eloquent proof of Israeli expansionism, it will not be the last. As is well known, Israel is preparing the adoption of yet another law designed to legalize the occupation of the Golan Heights.

273. A highly dangerous situation continues in southern Lebanon, where Israel encourages the separatist ambitions of Major Haddad and continues the series of armed incursions into Lebanon which this year have reached their peak, if we consider the period of the last two and a half years.

274. At the core of the Middle East conflict is the question of Palestine, as is borne out by expressions of world public opinion, as well as by the relevant General Assembly resolutions, including those adopted at the seventh emergency special session, on Palestine. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic fully supports the clear and unequivocal conclusions reached at that session, which call for the unconditional and complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all territories occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem. The deadline set for Israel has elapsed, and it is therefore high time to implement the verdict of the international community and to adopt effective measures in respect of Israel in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

275. As the Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Chňoupek, said in his statement in the general debate of this session:

“It is becoming ever clearer that the transparent attempts to present the Camp David blind alley as an avenue to peaceful settlement have been doomed to failure from the very beginning.”
[18th meeting, para. 150.]

276. The separate agreements, and the separate talks on that basis on the so-called Palestinian au-

tonomy, reflecting efforts to perpetuate expansionist aggression, not only fail to resolve the situation in the Middle East; they only increase the intractability and the aggressive nature of Israel's policy and are the source of a further dangerous deterioration of tension in that region.

277. Czechoslovakia has always stood on the side of the just struggle of the Arab nations. Our position is unchangeable and is rooted in our traditional anti-imperialist alliance with the national liberation movement of the Arab nations. The road to lasting peace in the Middle East is known, as was emphasized once again in the declaration adopted on 15 May 1980 by the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty [4/35/237-S/13948, *annex II*]. It is the road of a comprehensive political settlement in the Middle East with the direct participation of all interested parties, including the Arab Palestinian people represented by its sole legal representative, the PLO.

278. Such a settlement calls for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, including East Jerusalem, for the restoration of the right of the Arab Palestinian people to self-determination, including the establishment of its own independent State, and for the safeguarding of the sovereignty and security of all States in that region.

279. A political settlement in the Middle East requires furthermore that no actions be undertaken which would complicate the achievement of these objectives. It requires that no State should interfere in the internal affairs of the countries and peoples in that region, no State should prescribe what socio-economic systems they are to establish in their countries. No State should claim, or try to take possession of, their natural resources.

280. It is in this direction and for the attainment of these goals that Czechoslovakia's foreign policy will continue to strive.

281. Mr. TUÉNI (Lebanon): I should like at the outset to address my Government's congratulations and appreciation to the Secretary-General for his report on the Middle East. Not only is this report a masterpiece of objective insight and comprehensive perception, it is also in itself a compelling expression of the international consensus.

282. There is a great air of unreality about our debate on the Middle East this year, not because of what has been said or will be said, nor of course because of the irrelevance of the Middle East question as such, but rather, if I may say so, because the question of the Middle East as such is evolving at a pace that very few of us here have been willing to follow.

283. Hence, to define the question in the way it has been posed to us becomes repetitive. Equally, it would be presumptuous to try to propose a redefinition of the question in a way that will encompass the new realities, the realities that very few of us are now in a position to project in their fullest historical dimension, let alone the issues that are now at stake and the various wars that are now being waged.

284. What we are witnessing, however, is another proof of how a hitherto unresolved war can, if left to develop and amplify, produce in an area as sensitive

as the Middle East an explosive situation with even minor Powers challenging not only international peace and security but also the very security of the major Powers themselves.

285. I have no desire in this debate to invite the Assembly to philosophize on war and peace in the Middle East. As my country is a casualty of both war and peace, we are in the unique position of knowing how costly it is to allow or to accept general consideration and the yearning for abstract ideals as a substitute for a pragmatic approach.

286. In this spirit, my delegation wishes to reaffirm that the principal challenge still confronting us today, after 30 years of debates, is the solution of the Palestinian problem. Had it not been for the question of Palestine, there would not have been a Middle East question. We therefore affirm once more that there is no solution to the Palestinian question and thereby to the Middle East question without a just and comprehensive peace in which the Palestinians, represented by the PLO, are a full fledged and independent partner. Had it not been for the Palestinian question, we would not have been confronted today with so many other questions that seem equally insoluble in a way compatible with international justice and national aspirations. From this premise flow a number of conclusions that the Assembly is now more than familiar with.

287. First, there is no one State in the area, least of all a State like Israel, which has been artificially implanted, that can claim to police the Middle East and impose its own concepts of war and peace. National aspirations will have to develop naturally and harmoniously. As for pure power, it has become so insignificant that it is often replaced by a balance of fear, let alone the balance of terror.

288. Secondly, the general state of uncertainty and flux that has been allowed to prevail in the Middle East has prompted every State to project, in the regional context, its own internal crisis, be it political, economic, social or even cultural.

289. My country, for one, is not prepared to wait until everybody else's problems are solved before we can even hope to enjoy again peace and stability. If we speak of the divisions of others, of their problems, their ambitions and their aggression, and if we also feel with others their anxieties and the deep sorrow of their national frustrations, it is because in the past years we have become more and more the arena of everyone's war and of everyone's revolution as well.

290. But can we today isolate the question of Lebanon and address it independently of its regional context? The answer is both positive and negative. There should be a comprehensive peace in the Middle East, but peace in Lebanon cannot, should not and shall not, indeed, wait for peace everywhere else in the Middle East. Any other course would be both immoral and unrealistic, for the continuation of war in the Lebanon has now become a danger to peace everywhere else in the area and probably beyond.

291. In this present debate our contribution is and must be that the Middle East question should be solved as a whole and that the beginning of the solution can only be where the beginning of the problem

was—in Palestine itself. Yet our testimony is that no people, including the people of Lebanon, can be allowed to continue to suffer forever because it is convenient now for friends and foes alike to use one country or another as a dumping pit for marginal wars and the products of war.

292. My country's independence and its ability to survive have been challenged before the Assembly. Whilst we have no desire to engage in useless polemics that will distract us all from the objectives of this debate, allow me to reiterate in the most unequivocal terms that Lebanon's will to survive is beyond all question and that Lebanon's ability to resist needs no proof.

293. What happens between Lebanon and the Arab community to which it belongs is our concern and ours alone. Suffice it to be known and said that we intend to remain the sole judges of how and when we shall draw on the tremendous stock of love, friendship and sympathy that we enjoy in the world, as displayed in this Assembly. Rarely has a country as small as mine been able to endure all through the centuries, and particularly in recent years, what we have come up against and still remain independent, sovereign, proud and always ready to carry out its mission and fulfil its responsibilities.

294. Before concluding, my delegation would like to emphasize our strong belief in the United Nations and in the role that the international Organization is expected to play in maintaining peace and security and more particularly in safeguarding the integrity, independence and interests of the smaller countries.

295. Although peace-keeping in Lebanon has not been without some frustrations and problems, we still think that resorting to the international community is the surest way of attaining peace and security, provided the Organization can restrain those who challenge its resolutions.

296. Whatever the successes or failures of those endeavours that are conducted outside of the Organization, the United Nations is and should remain the ultimate framework of the search for peace and the guarantee of security.

297. Mr. ABDALLA (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Once again we are discussing the situation in the Middle East, when a year has passed since the General Assembly took up the question at its thirty-fourth session and adopted several resolutions on the subject, including resolution 34/70. In that resolution the Assembly, by a large majority, condemned Israel's continued occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories, declared once more that peace is indivisible and that a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East question must be based on a comprehensive solution, under the auspices of the United Nations, which takes into account in particular the attainment by the Palestinian people of all its inalienable rights. In that resolution the General Assembly also called upon the Zionist State to withdraw from all Palestinian territories and other occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

298. The efforts made by the international community at the thirty-fourth session were not limited to that resolution, since the General Assembly adopted

three other resolutions in which it condemned the Israeli policy and practices in Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories and called upon Israel to put an end immediately to that policy and those practices. The General Assembly also recalled that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 1949, covered all those occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem. Moreover, the General Assembly declared null and void all measures taken by Israel to alter the legal, geographical and demographic character of those territories and determined that those measures constitute a serious obstacle to a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict. The foregoing has been a summary of the steps taken by the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session.

299. The seventh emergency special session then was held last July. In the course of that session the General Assembly reaffirmed its resolutions which as a whole are the result of the search for an over-all solution of the Middle East conflict. Here, a question comes to mind: what has the international community gained by all those resolutions? The answer is clear, or else we would not be here to consider this agenda item again, as we have been doing since the General Assembly approved the inclusion of a special item on the Middle East in its agenda 12 years ago.

300. Regarding the brother country of Lebanon, Israel is refusing to respect United Nations resolutions with regard to total withdrawal and prefers to give over the border area to armed elements instead of turning it over to UNIFIL. Thus it has been able to manoeuvre those armed elements at will each time it has perpetrated an act of aggression against Lebanon in flagrant defiance of the will of the international community.

301. As far as the Golan Heights are concerned, Israel, taking advantage of the deadlocked situation, has established new colonies and imposed a fait accompli, in violation of United Nations resolutions and the provisions of international law.

302. In spite of the dangerous situation that prevails in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, and in spite of the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session and at the seventh emergency special session held within the space of a year, Israel always pursues its policy of hostility and aggression against the Arab peoples and practices the worst forms of repression and oppression against them. We speak of that from one session to another. But the consideration of the conflict in the Middle East by the General Assembly allows us to see a dangerous trend in the practices of the Zionist State, which attempts to hinder all international efforts to find a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the conflict in the Middle East. My delegation sees a great danger in that. It is a grave demonstration of Israel's behaviour.

303. First of all, Israel is flaunting the authority of the United Nations as well as the resolutions concerning the Middle East conflict. Moreover, Israel is making bare-faced accusations and attacking all those who, during the general debate in the General Assembly and in the meetings of the Security Council, have recalled its heinous crimes.

304. By a strange logic, Israel claims that whatever happens is only part of the region's numerous problems. However, Israel is forgetting that since its implantation in the region it has constituted the main factor responsible for the tension, instability and suffering of that part of the world through four successive wars unleashed by the State of Israel in its short lifetime. That is strange logic when we consider that for 12 years Israel has sought, year in and year out, to muddy the waters during general debates and to try to justify facts worse than those of previous years. It is sufficient for me to recall the false allegations the representative of Israel made yesterday to the Assembly [86th meeting] by means of which he wanted to have the representatives meeting here for 30 years believe that his country feels great compassion for third world countries beset by the international economic crisis. That was an attempt on his part to have the world believe that Israel's conflict with the Arabs is nothing compared with the other conflicts confronting the world.

305. Israel is not pleased by the growing support being given to the Arab cause, not only by the third world countries, but also by certain countries which up to now have supported Israel without reserve. Israel is also not pleased to see the relations of the Arab countries with the developing world growing day by day, because it fears that those relations will reveal the immense curtain which hides its expansionist aims and its aggressive intentions.

306. Secondly, Israel is taking measures that run counter to all the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on the Middle East situation. Suffice it for me to recall Israel's expulsion of the mayor of Nablus at the time when the General Assembly, at its thirty-fourth session, was discussing the situation in the Middle East, and the expulsion of the mayors of Hebron and Halhoul last May, who were elected officials. Since that time, Israel has also expelled the heads of the municipalities of Nablus, Ramallah and other Palestinian towns, as well as the legitimately named judge of Hebron. The Knesset's reaction to the international community's unanimity, expressed at the special session, was to declare Jerusalem the eternal capital of the State of Israel. But that is not all. Israel has further expansionist aims and intends to enact legislation annexing the Syrian Golan Heights, contrary to international law.

307. For 30 years Israel has refused to comply with the will of the international community. Given Israel's threatening attitude, it is incumbent on the General Assembly to reaffirm its resolutions on the Palestinian problem. It is clear that the Palestinian problem is at the very heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict and that until that problem is solved the situation in the Middle East will remain explosive. The world must shoulder its responsibilities and find a peaceful and comprehensive solution to this crisis, beginning with its source—the Palestinian problem—so that the Palestinian people can enjoy its legitimate and inalienable rights to self-determination and the creation of an independent State in its homeland, under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative.

308. The international community must exert pressure upon Israel to force it to withdraw from the

occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, including Jerusalem. The United Nations, which is responsible for the loss of the rights of the Palestinians and their dispersal, as well as for the establishment of the Zionist State in the heart of the Arab world, must remedy the situation. The Charter, especially Chapter VII, allows the Organization to impose severe sanctions against Israel and force it to accept truth and justice.

309. The Zionist State has always proclaimed its desire for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, but so far it has absolutely refused to go along with this. For their part the Arab peoples have always remained firm, and they call upon the international community to defend the right of the Palestinians and that of the Arabs to their occupied territories. Thus, at the Arab Summit Conferences, the latest of which took place in Amman, the Sudan has underscored the importance of the fact that the international community has been searching for a peaceful, just and comprehensive solution which puts the question of Palestine at the heart of the Middle East conflict. The Palestinian people must recover its legitimate rights under the leadership of the PLO, its only legitimate representative, and enjoy the right to self-determination and to an independent State in its homeland. Finally, Israel must withdraw from the occupied Arab territories.

310. The Sudan supports all the resolutions adopted at the Arab Summit Conference in Amman. We support the Palestinian cause and the Palestinian revolution. Our people will always be close to the Palestinian people and its revolution until the time when that people can finally enjoy freedom, independence and dignity.

311. Mr. FRELEK (Poland): The Polish People's Republic's consistent position on the question of the Middle East has been presented at the United Nations on numerous occasions.

312. Throughout the years of lengthy discussions devoted to the dangerous trends in the development of the situation in the Middle East, we have constantly pointed out its grave implications for the peace and security of the world. We have emphasized that a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in that region cannot be established without Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and without the achievement of a just solution of the problem of Palestine on the basis of the attainment of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the establishment of their own independent State.

313. That position of ours was clearly reflected recently in the declaration of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee held in Warsaw last May and in Poland's statement at the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, as well as in the general debate of the current session by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic, Mr. Jozef Czyrek [10th meeting].

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 4th meeting.

314. We have voiced our position on the situation in the Middle East always with a view to contributing our share to the final settlement. That has also been reflected in our active involvement. For seven years now Polish soldiers have been serving with distinction and dedication under the United Nations flag in the United Nations peace-keeping forces in the region.

315. The lack of progress in the implementation of General Assembly resolution 34/70 of 6 December 1979 cannot but cause us deep concern. This resolution, as well as the numerous other United Nations resolutions on all aspects of the Middle East crisis, remains unimplemented. The situation in the region continues to be one of the gravest sources of world tension.

316. The course of events also confirms that the policy of separatist solutions does not lead towards a just and lasting peace. Such solutions are not capable of eliminating the real causes of the conflict. They can only aggravate existing tensions and in consequence make the prospect of a settlement more distant. In this connexion, the necessity of renewing an integrated process of negotiations with the participation of all parties concerned is today more evident than ever before. It is the only approach that could open up a road towards the achievement of real peace in the Middle East.

317. Both political circumstances and politically logical reasons make it abundantly clear at the present time that there is a need to return to the joint Soviet-United States statement of 1 October 1977, in which the two Powers declared that they were convinced that vital interests of strengthening peace and international security in general urgently dictated the necessity of achieving as soon as possible a just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which settlement should be comprehensive, incorporating all parties concerned and all questions.

318. The seventh emergency special session, the general debate at the current session and the debate on the agenda item on the question of Palestine have shown that the number of countries in favour of a political comprehensive settlement is constantly growing. The overwhelming majority is in favour of the direct participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestinian Arab people, represented by the PLO. There is a growing international awareness of the necessity of taking fully into account the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, for there can be no solution of the Middle East problem unless they achieve their inalienable rights.

319. Difficulties and obstacles notwithstanding, we are convinced that there are still real prospects of starting a comprehensive peace process. We are determined, for our part, to work actively towards the attainment of this end together with the other socialist countries, which at the recent meeting in Moscow of the leaders of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty again reiterated that they intend to make further contributions to the betterment of the international climate, the consolidation of peace, the policy of détente, the development of international co-operation and the settlement of all conflicts through negotiations [see A/35/785-S/14301, annex]. In fact,

this is the only viable way to proceed if the years to come are to produce real peace in the Middle East.

320. Mr. TINOCO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The item under discussion today, the situation in the Middle East, traditionally enjoys high priority in the General Assembly because that region of upheaval is a chronic source of tension and anxiety in the world.

321. This year our debate is of particular importance in view of the exceptional aggravation of tensions in the area. Nicaragua is of the view that the fundamental problem of the area is the denial of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people. This situation has recently worsened in the face of the emergence of other transitory conflicts in the region.

322. Nicaragua has been truly sorry to see the recent conflicts between non-aligned brother countries in the area. We express our appreciation and gratitude with regard to the various efforts being made in order to find a just and mutually acceptable solution. Nevertheless, Nicaragua, together with the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world, is fully convinced that complete and just peace in the Middle East can be achieved only if the Palestinian people achieve their inalienable rights.

323. The international community cannot close its eyes to the Palestinian cause despite the efforts of Israel and its allies to divert world attention elsewhere, create the conditions for new conflicts, promote division among the Arab people and conceal the military penetration of the imperialists into that area by means of the establishment of new bases and the introduction of military forces. This displacement is intended, among other things, to justify and consolidate the Zionist occupation of Arab territories and to deprive the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, while the imperialists assign an important geo-political function to Israel.

324. But some would argue that the Arab-Israeli conflict is simply one conflict among the many which afflict the Middle East, and not necessarily the most important one. This is the argument of those who try to justify the illegal occupation of the Arab territories and the Zionist policy of colonization, those who claim to negotiate on the rights of the Palestinians without the participation of their sole and legitimate representative, the PLO, those who would place on the same plane Israeli colonialist violence and the national liberation struggle to achieve the legitimate and internationally recognized right to self-determination, those who abuse the right of veto in the Security Council in order to bring about the failure of United Nations efforts to put an end to the tragedy which the Palestinian people have borne for more than 30 years. Those are the same people who harbour the illusion that national liberation in Palestine and in other parts of the world can be impeded by force and diplomatic manoeuvres such as the activities of third parties which claim to speak on behalf of the Palestinians. They are the same people who think that the term "people" is simply a grammatical expression and that the unprecedented consensus that exists in the international community concerning the Palestinian tragedy and struggle can continue to be ignored.

325. The international community convened an emergency special session of the General Assembly to deal with those matters in July of this year. The purpose was to fulfil the commitment of the Assembly to meet its historic and legal responsibility with regard to the Palestinian people in the light of the grave situation obtaining in the area, which keeps the world in a state of constant tension.

326. In its resolution ES-7/2 the General Assembly once again reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their usurped territories, to self-determination and to national independence. It called on Israel to withdraw completely and unconditionally from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. The General Assembly also expressed its opposition to all policies and plans aimed at the resettlement of the Palestinians outside their homeland.

327. We recall also resolution 34/65 B of 29 November 1979, in which the General Assembly *inter alia*

“Declares that the Camp David accords and other agreements have no validity in so far as they purport to determine the future of the Palestinian people and of the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967”.

328. The response of Israel to this took the form of brutal attacks against Palestinian populations, aggression against Lebanon, repression of Palestinian students in the West Bank, expulsion of Palestinian mayors, new attempts to annex the Golan Heights, the declaration of Jerusalem as the eternal and indivisible capital of Israel, and new settlements in the occupied territories.

329. In the face of these facts it is quite clear that the Arab and the worldwide struggle in defence of the Palestinian national rights is closely related to the search for peace and stability in that area. Likewise, these desires are also linked with the resistance to the imperialist designs on that region. Those designs encourage and support Israeli aggression because Zionism acts as the imperial policeman of the area. The invocation of so-called “vital interests”, the intensification of military manoeuvres in the area, the promotion of partial agreements which violate Palestinian rights and the supply of massive assistance to Israel form part of a single design to do violence to the sovereignty and security of the Arab peoples and to extend the military, economic and political power of imperialism over that area.

330. These purposes cannot be concealed. On 7 December 1980 *The New York Times* reported on plans to establish a joint military force of 200,000 troops to ensure the supply of oil for the West. That newspaper stated that the purpose of that force is to train, exercise and be prepared to deploy and use forces to respond to threats to vital American interests. The target area is now South-West Asia, with the Persian Gulf as the bull's eye.

331. It is quite well known that the objective of creating rapid deployment forces is conceived not only in connexion with the Middle East, where the Palestinian people are struggling for their inalienable rights, but also in connexion with Central America and the Caribbean, where the liberating cry of

another people, the people of El Salvador, would thus also be drowned in blood. In both cases the oppressors can rely not only on the support of imperialism, but also, regrettably, on the collaboration of régimes which lend themselves to these manoeuvres which are trying to stop the forward course of history and the awakening of peoples.

332. May I repeat the call issued by our Minister of External Relations on 8 October [28th meeting] on the need to take decisive and urgent measures to achieve peace in the Middle East, which necessarily implies the recognition and exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, its right to return to its land, its right to sovereignty and to establish its own State. Therefore, the defence of Palestinian rights necessarily implies the rejection of any approach or partial agreement which would determine the future of the occupied territories and the Palestinian people without the full participation of the PLO, in its capacity as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

333. That people and its representative enjoy the full support of the peoples of the world, expressed in the will repeatedly stated in various resolutions of the Assembly.

334. History has demonstrated many times, as it did last year in our country, that there is no force able to defeat a people which insists on being the architect of its own destiny.

335. Mr. SARRE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): For three decades now the situation in the Middle East has been included in the agenda of the Assembly. To a conflict which is rooted in the difficulties related to the exercise of the right to self-determination of two peoples on the same territory, another conflict has been added, a regional one, which has already resulted in four wars. Today these conflicts still continue to threaten international peace and security. This situation cannot but add to the concern of the international community.

336. In the view of my delegation, if the very commendable attempts made in the course of the last few years to find a just and lasting solution to these conflicts have failed, it is because they were inspired by an approach which did not properly take into account a central element, namely, the question of Palestine. Any attempt to settle the question of the Middle East must tackle the question of Palestine in its objective aspect, that is to say, the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, namely, the rights to self-determination, to return to its homeland and to create an independent State in Palestine. This is dictated to us by law and by justice. This is the price for stability in that region. The relevant resolutions of the Organization have drawn up the framework for this.

337. Senegal remains in favour of any dialogue between the parties in the Middle East conflict in order to find a just and lasting solution to it on the basis of the principles and resolutions of the United Nations. My delegation is convinced that respect for these principles and decisions makes it possible to extricate this conflict from the deadlock in which it is now.

338. With regard to the peace talks undertaken by Egypt, Israel and the United States, I should like briefly to recall the position set forth by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal at the time of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the problem of Palestine:

"Egypt... is a sovereign country, ... and it is for its leaders to determine freely the means by which they plan to regain a part of their territory... under foreign occupation...

"That right of Egypt, which cannot be challenged, ... should also be recognized by all for the Palestinian people, who should thus be able to participate freely and fully in determining its future..."⁸

and this should be done under the aegis of the PLO, its only legitimate representative. In the view of my delegation, any settlement of the question of Palestine, in order to be lasting, requires the participation of the Palestinian people represented by the PLO.

339. There now exists a broad consensus on the components of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East: first the withdrawal by Israel from all Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967; secondly, the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights to return to its homeland, to self-determination and to establish an independent State in Palestine; thirdly, respect for and recognition of the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and the political independence of the States of the region and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; and fourthly, the participation of the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in all peace efforts, peace talks and peace conferences aimed at finding a solution to the Middle East problem.

340. With regard to Jerusalem, my delegation rejects Israeli attempts to annex the Holy City. We deplore once again the continued violations of the sovereignty of Lebanon. Such acts are not only a threat to peace, but also hinder the peace-keeping activities of UNIFIL.

341. The Middle East, the cradle of the revealed religions, land of encounter, of fraternity, of mutual understanding and enrichment, must remain a high place of inspiration for men who love justice, peace and liberty.

342. My delegation, at the time of the debate on Palestine, launched an appeal here [79th meeting] which we wish now to renew. We must go beyond passions and prejudice. In so doing we can restore to this region its first vocation, that of a land of peace and understanding. Is this not, indeed, the meaning of Jerusalem?

343. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to exercise the right of reply.

344. Mr. SULEIMAN (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The representative of the Byelorussian SSR, in his statement, talked about Oman and the Gulf region, straying from the item now before the General Assembly, that is, the problem of the Middle East.

345. Yesterday [86th meeting], in a similar effort, the representative of Israel tried to use Arab differences to conceal his country's policy and its aggressions, which all of us in the United Nations condemn.

346. The attempt by the representative of the Byelorussian SSR tried to disguise the expansionist policy of the Soviet Union in that area, its aggression in Afghanistan, its attempts to perpetuate its military and naval presence around the Gulf area, and the conclusion of treaties of friendship with some countries in the region. These treaties have served as a pretext for aggression against Afghanistan, and we do not know where that will lead.

347. The representative of the Byelorussian SSR deceives no one. Everyone knows that Oman has concluded no treaty, whether of friendship or understanding, with a major Power. We have no military bases in our country and do not tolerate any foreign military presence whatsoever in our territory that could be used as a bridgehead for aggression against another country.

348. Oman is aware of its obligations to the non-aligned movement and is proud to be an independent country which takes the steps it considers necessary to safeguard its security and sovereignty against any attempts at aggression and infiltration in the region.

349. If the representative of the Byelorussian SSR wishes to prove his support for the Arab and Palestinian cause, let him do so in words and deeds: in words, by being objective and confining his remarks to the item we are considering, that is, the problem of the Middle East; and in deeds, by committing himself and those who go along with him to stopping emigration to Israel, which plans to settle foreigners in the occupied territories, thus depriving the Palestinians of their land and homes. The representative of the Byelorussian SSR must fully understand this and avoid in the future such cheap manoeuvres, which we shall overlook this time out of respect for the question that we are considering today. We shall not let the representatives of the Byelorussian SSR and of Israel lead us away from the subject of the discussion, as they tried to do.

350. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly is accustomed to listening to interventions by delegations which take their responsibilities seriously, but as usual the representative of the Zionist entity departs from this practice. There is nothing surprising in that, given that he represents an isolated entity that is rejected by the majority of the peace-loving countries of the world because of its racist practices and its contravention of international laws and covenants. He treats the Organization and sovereign States, including my country, with irony and disrespect.

351. We know that Israel was founded on racist and religious intolerance, under the leadership of the Zionist movement, which was condemned in resolution 3379 (XXX), in which the General Assembly decided that Zionism was a form of racism and racial discrimination. In resolution 3151 G (XXVIII) the General Assembly condemned, *inter alia*, the unholy alliance between South African racism and Zionism. The Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women

⁸ *Ibid.*, 6th meeting.

and Their Contribution to Development and Peace, 1975⁹ also condemned zionism. At the twelfth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OUA held at Kampala in July 1975, considered that the racist régimes in Palestine and southern Africa had a common imperialist origin, constituted a single entity with the same racist structure, and were linked in their policy aimed at repression of the dignity and integrity of the human being.¹⁰ The Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lima in August 1975 most severely condemned zionism as a threat to world peace and security, and called upon all countries to oppose that racist and imperialist ideology.

352. It thus appears that zionism has been condemned at all levels and has become isolated and rejected. Zionism is not just a danger to the Arabs and the Palestinians; it is a danger and an evil for Jews as well, because it interferes in their affairs and imposes on them all forms of pressure. Thus Jews are isolated and condemned by the society where they live. Several Jewish organizations have been founded to fight zionism. If the Zionist delegation is referring to relations with neighbouring countries, what is then the situation with the neighbours of the Zionist entity and within that entity itself, where there is discrimination between Arab Christians, Moslems and Jews?

353. Israeli aggressive practices are known and condemned as constituting an obstacle to peace. Very recently Israel expelled Mr. Kawasma and Mr. Mohamed Melhem, two personalities elected as mayors of their localities. Where is the democracy about which Israel speaks so loudly? Expulsion, torture and immoral practices will not scare the Palestinian people which fights fanaticism and strives for the establishment of a democratic State where Christian of Moslem Arabs and Jews can live side by side. Israel's aggression extends to the media and to journalists whom they prevent from entering some parts of the West Bank and Gaza and whose information material is confiscated.

354. In an article in *The New York Times* of 8 December 1980, it is said that discrimination exists within the Zionist entity between oriental Jews and Jews coming from western Europe and America. Israel was built on terrorism and still practises it. The head of that Government is a notorious terrorist, the leader of the Irgun extremist gang which blew up the King David Hotel in Jerusalem in 1948, which took a toll of 90 dead and 45 wounded. The British Government at that time promised a reward of £10,000 for Begin's arrest. Begin's terrorist gang was also responsible for the death of hundreds of people in the village of Deir Yassin. Begin attempts to justify his ugly crime by saying that he wanted to terrorize Palestinians to make them leave Palestine.

355. It is also known that Israel has no fixed borders, that it has expansionist aims and that it tries to impose its sovereignty on all those who believe in Judaism, even though that makes it interfere in the affairs of other States.

356. As regards armaments, it is sufficient to note that the Israeli newspaper *Davar* wrote on 24 July 1978 that the American arms control agency has said that during the decade between 1967 and 1976 Israel was the second arms importer in the world and that it occupied first place as concerns the proportion of enlisted personnel to the total number of inhabitants. Concerning nuclear weapons, Israel has not signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] and has not agreed to the inspection by IAEA of nuclear installations in Israel. As regards uranium, much has been said about it in the information media. Some of it was stolen and we mention in this connexion what *The Washington Post* wrote on 9 December and what the CIA said about the possibility of cruise missiles being jointly developed by Israel, South Africa and Taiwan, through the smuggling of high American technology into Israel. According to *The Jewish Journal* of 28 November 1980, the newspaper *Ha'aretz* mentioned that in the October 1973 war Israel was preparing to launch a missile attack against Syria.

357. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and an agreement with IAEA on the implementation of guarantees in Libya. President Qaddafi declared on 25 October 1980 to journalists of the magazine *Epoca* that Libya does not possess nuclear arms and does not wish to have them; it only seeks to benefit from the peaceful uses of the atom.

358. The difference between Israel and other third world countries which try to arm themselves to defend their independence is that Israel is getting its arms free from the United States by putting pressure on its authorities.

359. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): May I point out to the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya that the 10 minute time-limit has expired. May I ask him to be good enough to conclude his statement.

360. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is known that Israel received \$11 billion in aid when Carter was President of the United States. I would conclude in general terms by saying that it is time to expel this Zionist entity because it does not deserve to be a member of the Assembly, given its racist and terrorist practices, which were exposed in the report of IAEA for 1979. Moreover, it has been an illegal entity since its creation.

361. Mr. KHALAF (Somalia): In his statement this afternoon the representative of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic accused my country of providing military bases to the United States and of becoming an accomplice of the United States in its policies in the Middle East.

362. I should like to reiterate my Foreign Minister's statement before the Assembly on 29 September 1980 to the effect that "no agreements, recent or otherwise, made by my Government have ever permitted foreign military bases to come into being in our country" [15th meeting, para. 139], nor will any such bases be granted to any Power in the future.

⁹ Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year, Mexico City, 19 June-2 July 1975 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.1), chap. I.

¹⁰ See A/10297, annex II, resolution 77 (XII).

363. In fact, it is the Soviet Union, of which the Byelorussian SSR is part and parcel, which is forever striving for the establishment of military bases throughout the world, particularly in the Middle East and in contiguous areas.

364. Somalia's role in the struggle of the Arab peoples against zionism is a matter of record, of which we are proud. No one, least of all the representative of the Byelorussian SSR, is in a position to sit in judgement of Somalia in this matter.

365. In fact, it is the Soviet Union, of which the Byelorussian SSR is part and parcel, whose role in the

Middle East and in occupied Palestine is one of merely paying lip-service to the Arab cause, while at the same time undermining the Arab struggle by opening the floodgates of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union to Israel. Such emigration enables Israel to change the demographic composition of Palestine through its policy of creating new Jewish settlements as well as by the annexation of Arab land and property. Those are the bitter facts, which the representative of the Byelorussian SSR cannot deny.

The meeting rose at 9 p.m.