

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

NINTH EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

Official Records



**4th
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 1 February 1982,
at 3.30 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq)

AGENDA ITEM 5

**The situation in the occupied Arab
territories (continued)**

1. Mr. ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Once again, the General Assembly is meeting in emergency special session to review one of the aspects of Israel's expansionist policy against Arab States. That policy, which Israel started by annexing Jerusalem and declaring it the capital of Israel, was confirmed by its latest decision—to impose its laws on the Syrian Golan Heights.

2. The General Assembly, during its thirty-sixth session, condemned Israel's annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights and declared that procedure to be null and void; it also demanded that that decision be rescinded [*resolution 36/226 of 17 December 1981*]. The Security Council condemned Israel in its resolution 497 (1981) of 17 December 1981, which was adopted unanimously only three days after Israel announced its annexation of the Golan Heights.

3. That Israeli action revealed a new direction in Israel's policy of expansion and settlements aimed at imposing its control over and continuing its occupation of Arab and Palestinian territories, and displacing the Palestinian people in spite of universal condemnation of its criminal actions and the appeals of the United Nations Organization as reflected in numerous resolutions. Those resolutions have been ignored by Israel, which depends on the political and material support provided it by the United States of America in various fields.

4. The Israeli decision to annex the Golan Heights, which has been declared to be in contravention of the principles of international law and the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, especially those provisions concerning the inadmissibility of the seizure of territories by force, has made clear the gravity of Israel's aggressive policy and its flouting of United Nations resolutions and of the appeals of world public opinion. It has also aggravated the tension in the Middle East region and has threatened international peace and security.

5. The significance of Israel's latest step is not confined to the Syrian Golan Heights and the city of Jerusalem, which Israel has already annexed. It is also a prelude to annexation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and other Arab territories under the same weak pretext previously invoked by Israel, which claimed it had taken that action because of the hostility shown by the Arab States.

6. Israel could not have persisted in its arrogance and intransigence but for the support provided it by the United States, which backs its measures, provides it with funds and weapons and encourages it in aggression. That support has made Israel a striking force in the Middle East that can direct its terrorist actions against any Arab State without regard for consequences as long as it is

confident that the United States stands by it and will act to prevent the imposition of any international sanctions against it.

7. That United States position was adopted once again in the Security Council a few days ago, when the United States veto prevented a decision to impose mandatory sanctions against Israel in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. There was nothing strange about that action, because Israel is considered a strategic extension of the United States in our region, as well as the party that implements the United States' political aims in the Middle East.

8. Therefore, United States support has enabled Israel to continue its occupation of the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, its repeated acts of aggression against Lebanon and the Syrian Arab Republic as well as other Arab States, and its tendency to aggravate tension and instability in the entire region of the Middle East.

9. The United States' new policy to contain the area and plunder its wealth—the most important component of which is oil—and its new direction, which started with the signing of the treasonable Camp David accords⁴ and encouraged Israel to annex Jerusalem, to commit terrorist acts against Palestinian refugee camps and the civilian population in Lebanon and to bombard the Iraqi nuclear reactor—have been extended by the signing of the strategic co-operation agreement with Israel and the escalation of the United States military presence in the Gulf, the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, by the establishment of military bases and the declaration of the establishment of the rapid deployment force and by the undertaking of military manoeuvres in the region. This was clearly confirmed by the United States' support for and protection of Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights and its encouragement of Israel's racist and aggressive policy against the Palestinian people and the Arab States.

10. The situation in the Middle East will remain one of the most complex of international crises as long as Israel persists in flexing its muscles in the region, while counting on United States support and protection. Real peace will be achieved only through a solution of the Palestinian problem, which is the crux of the problem of the Middle East, and recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State in Palestine; the full withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories; and recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

11. Democratic Yemen condemns the Israeli action annexing the Syrian Golan Heights, and it also condemns the alliance between the United States and Israel and United States co-operation with the Zionist entity in escalating the policy of aggression against the Arab States. We hope that the General Assembly will, during the current emergency special session, impose mandatory sanctions against Israel in the military, diplomatic and economic fields in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and will compel it to

rescind its decision to annex the Golan Heights, in view of the defiance of the Charter and of international law and norms implicit in that act of annexation. Once more, we call upon the Security Council to shoulder its responsibilities for preserving peace and security in the Middle East, which have been jeopardized by Israel by its provocative actions and expansionist aspirations. Finally, we should like to affirm our support for and solidarity with our sister Syria in its confrontation with Israel and Israeli aggressive policy in the region.

12. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): We are meeting here today, Sir, just a few weeks after three hectic months of work under your wise presidency. During the past session we sought to contribute to the promotion of the role of the United Nations in safeguarding justice, legality and the principles of international law, as well as the recovery of usurped rights and the emancipation of the human will.

13. The issue of the occupied Arab territories, specifically the occupied Syrian Golan Heights, which is the subject of this session, is being debated now for the fourth time, and it may not be the last. This issue has been before the General Assembly since 14 December 1981. It was debated by members and was dealt with in General Assembly resolution 36/226 B, which is a genuine expression of the extent of international consensus. It was also dealt with by the Security Council, which unanimously adopted its resolution 497 (1981) on 17 December 1981, affirming that Israel's decision to annex the Arab territories is null and void. A second round of Security Council debates on the issue was held in the first week of this year; the result of those debates we all know and deplore.

14. We are now considering this issue once again—and for the fourth time in a mere six weeks. It is an issue that in reality concerns two phenomena. The threat and danger to international peace and security cannot be ignored or side-stepped. While it may seem that the international community is falling short of assuming its responsibilities to face that challenge, it is attempting with resolution and in all sincerity to contain the danger and to eliminate the threat to the region, so as to safeguard the chances for peace.

15. Egypt's position with regard to this issue proceeds from two main premises: first, the principled commitment of the Egyptian people and leaders to the justice of the cause of the fraternal Arab people of Syria, to Syria's absolute belief in its right to full sovereignty over all its territories and Syria's undiminished attachment to its territorial integrity and its rejection of pressure, bargaining and blackmail; and second, our complete identification with the unified position of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which is to stand up to the policy Israel practises against Syria, against the other occupied Arab territories, against Lebanon and Iraq, and, above all, against the Arab people of Palestine.

16. Egypt's position of principle is based on an unshakable premise: the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. Thus, Israel's having acted in the way it did is a clear violation of the principles and provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) which, in our view, is one of the main bases for the resolution of the Middle East problem. Furthermore, Israel's action is, first and foremost, a breach of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

17. Egypt has called—in the communiqué issued by the office of the President on 14 December 1981—and calls today for taking the necessary initiative to confront actions which constitute a threat to the future of peace. Egypt calls upon the General Assembly to discharge its

responsibility for safeguarding peace in this vital area of the world.

18. In its statement before the Security Council on 16 December 1981, Egypt stated the following:

“The peace which Israel presumably seeks, and which we in Egypt endeavour sincerely to realize, cannot but remain an unfulfilled delusion if Israel persists in such acts, which dissipate all possibilities, though meagre, of reconciliation or coexistence.”²⁰

19. Today we repeat once more Egypt's immutable historical position: Arab rights are indivisible. Moreover, Arab peace and security are indivisible. The way to the achievement of peace is through the consolidation of the principles of legitimacy and justice, not through the theory of security based on force and supremacy. Peace based on justice is a firm foundation for stability. A peace based on absolute security for one party to the exclusion of the other is a shaky and fragile peace, subject to the violent storms in which the Middle East abounds.

20. The Egyptian delegation affirmed before the Security Council on 16 December 1981 that the peace between Egypt and Israel was a genuine breakthrough and a great historic step forward towards peace in the Middle East. This remains true, but the Egyptian delegation wishes to add that this peace is only a single step; it does not mean that we have reached the end of the path. Peace with Egypt alone, whatever its value—and it is great—whatever its significance—and it too is great—is not and cannot be a substitute for just peace among all parties to the Arab-Israeli dispute, foremost among which is the Arab people of Palestine.

21. If the notion exists that peace with Egypt is a substitute for a comprehensive peace, it is a misguided one that leads to wrong conduct and wrong policies. A comprehensive and just peace among all parties on an equal footing is the only key to stability throughout the area and the only key to reconciliation and peaceful coexistence among all States and peoples in the Middle East. There is no question but that Egypt, as a pioneer in the peace process, believes that the logic of dialogue, negotiation and mutual recognition is the best possible way towards the resolution of the chronic historical dilemma in our region.

22. But Egypt wishes to reaffirm that dialogue should be free and unfettered. We reaffirm that negotiations should be held without any preconditions. Based on that premise, the sovereignty of Syria over its territory and its territorial integrity are matters and principles that are not subject to negotiation. They must not be the object of bargaining or blackmail. It is this that Egypt strongly declares it rejects in form and content.

23. There is no doubt as regards the application of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) to all occupied Arab territories, and the mainstay of that resolution is the application of the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. It should not be restricted by any condition, reservation or pretext whatsoever, that would be accepted according to the bizarre logic that established and immutable principles should be subject to negotiation—a concept that would undermine the very foundations of international law and legality.

24. Negotiations to create relations of peace and coexistence are exactly what Egypt is seeking. As for negotiations on the principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity, that is exactly what Egypt categorically rejects. Any attempt that tends to lead to confusion and ambiguity in this regard can only be a smokescreen aimed at

camouflaging a policy of *fait accompli* and bargaining concerning inalienable rights.

25. If the relationship of Egypt to Israel, which is now entering its third year after 30 years of wars, bloodshed and thousands of victims, is today one of coexistence and reconciliation and a clear landmark on the road to peace, the relationship of Egypt to the Arab nation, in spite of the fact that today it is undergoing certain difficulties, is a relationship that is centuries and generations old and is based on a common language, religion and culture, a common past, future and destiny. It is a relationship that is national, immutable and eternal and transcends any disagreement or crisis and, in the view of Egypt, is not at variance with the relationship of a peace based on justice between Israel and the Arabs.

26. On the basis of this premise, Egypt will continue to endeavour to consolidate the edifice of a just and comprehensive peace by dissipating scepticism and strengthening and deepening emerging confidence on the basis of mutual trust, and endeavour to overcome all difficulties and obstructions that may impede the establishment of coexistence and reconciliation based on principles of justice and legitimacy among all peoples and nations of the area.

27. The delegation of Egypt has risen to speak on the issue of Syria in order to deal with a matter of principle that bears not only on Syria but on all the occupied Arab territories that are subjected to Israeli domination. As a consequence of the Israeli decision, the status of a cherished part of Syria would be changed: instead of being occupied—which is, in any case, fundamentally illegal—that part would be annexed and assimilated, an action which is far more illegal and aggressive. In addition, that action actually threatens to undermine the structure both of regional security in the area and of the international order and security under which we have lived since the Second World War.

28. As we talk today about the ordeal which the Middle East is undergoing, we must draw morals and lessons from the history of the 1930s, when the policies of annexing other territories and the imposition of *faits accomplis* and the expansion of vital spheres were all symptoms of the undermining of the principles of legitimacy and justice.

29. The United Nations and all forces that love peace and justice should act together in order to avert today a catastrophe from which no one is safe. It behoves everyone—those who are Israel's friends and those who are not—to tell Israel that its policy of annexation and expansion will not bring about the peace to which we all aspire, and that fears and a heritage of revenge, hatred and bloodshed do not at all justify falling into the abyss of still greater mistakes.

30. We listened in the Security Council to scores of speakers, some of them friends of Israel and some not, who without exception understood the justice of the Syrian cause and that the Israeli decision was invalid and that Israel should rescind it forthwith. Today we urge Israel to return to wisdom and logic before it is too late. We call upon it to rescind its illegal and invalid decision in response to the counsel of the international community and in compliance with that community's will, in order to save the edifice of peace that is at risk and so that no doubts are cast on the will to peace by a wilful obfuscation of the possibility and likelihood of negotiations that are disencumbered and free of conditions or bargaining. We call upon Israel most strongly not to allow its decision to annex the Golan to be interpreted as a warning to the other parties to accept conditions for peace by force. Otherwise they will face the same fate by similar

decisions, because such a policy in fact makes the hope for peace a pure mirage and postpones indefinitely the day on which the hoped-for comprehensive, just and lasting peace will be realized.

31. Perhaps more than other States, Egypt realizes that the process of achieving peace is a difficult and laborious process whose price is high for all parties. But all of us must accept the challenge of reality.

32. We have accepted peace with honour and dignity, and we call upon others to join the march of peace inspired by free will. At the same time, however, we categorically reject any peace that would be imposed on us or on others from positions of strength and the usurpation and denial of the inalienable legitimate rights of all parties, foremost among which are the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of a free and independent State, whose cause represents the key to peace and hope in the region of the Middle East.

33. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): The delegation of the German Democratic Republic welcomes the convening of the ninth emergency special session of the General Assembly on the question of the Israeli annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights. It expresses its satisfaction that this special session is presided over by you, Sir, the representative of a country with which the German Democratic Republic maintains friendly relations.

34. We consider this emergency special session as an urgent and necessary step towards finally halting Israel's policy, which is endangering peace. The German Democratic Republic expresses the hope that at this session the United Nations will succeed in making a considerable contribution to peace and stability in the Middle East as well as to international security as a whole.

35. The act of annexation of the Golan Heights carried out by Israel on 14 December 1981 has been condemned throughout the outraged world. That step, flagrantly violating international law and the Charter of the United Nations, constitutes another threat to peace and security and has further increased tension in the region of the Middle East.

36. The deliberations in the Security Council, held in December of last year and in January of this year, expressed the indignation and the resolute protest of world public opinion against Israel's act of annexation, which is contrary to international law, and the energetic demand that finally effective measures be taken against the aggressor to halt the policy of continuous aggression and expansion pursued by the ruling circles of Israel.

37. The statements and acts of the present Israeli Government, as well as the statements made in the Security Council by the representative of Israel, leave no doubt, however, that that Government is not willing to comply with the decisions of the United Nations on the cessation of the course of aggression and expansion and the complete withdrawal from all territories occupied in 1967.

38. On the contrary, every day new measures are taken by Israel to suppress the legitimate protests of the Syrian population in the illegally occupied territories of the Golan Heights against the annexation, the policy of occupation is intensified further and open threats of war are addressed to the Syrian Arab Republic. This provocative attitude is accompanied by new aggressive acts against Lebanon. Thus the apprehensions expressed by representatives of many States have proved true, namely, that in addition to the declared aim of systematically annexing all Arab territories occupied by Israel, the present Israeli Government is preparing new acts of aggression against the Arab States. Nobody will be able to

contest that such actions threaten peace and international security, further challenge the United Nations and disregard the will of world public opinion.

39. The United Nations today faces the fact that so far the application of effective mandatory measures against the aggressor Israel has been prevented, and, as is known, the United States of America bears the main responsibility for that.

40. The results of the latest series of Security Council meetings demonstrated that once again. The attitude of the United States of America and Israel has shown again who acts against the vital interests of the peoples, in particular those in the Middle East, and against the will of the overwhelming majority of United Nations Member States and from where the real threat to the peoples and States of the Middle East comes. The biggest military Power of the West has again, in a demonstrative way, sided with those who endanger to the utmost the peace of the world by their policy of expansion and hegemony. The veto by the United States in the Security Council characterizes the alleged "regret" for the Israeli annexation of the Golan Heights, as we heard from Washington in December last year, as only a deceptive tactic to calm down indignant world public opinion.

41. With full justification, the double-dealing of the policy of the ruling circles of the United States of America has repeatedly been exposed before this forum. In fact, while the United States prevents the imposition of sanctions against the aggressor Israel, toward sovereign and peace-loving States a policy of massive interference in their internal affairs, of "punishment", sanctions and blackmail is being pursued, thus violating international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

42. The decision by Tel Aviv to expand Israeli laws, jurisdiction and administration to the occupied Syrian Golan Heights is an attempt to perpetuate the results of the aggression of 1967. This is an outrageous breach of international law and without legal effect. This appropriation by Israel of foreign territories by means of force, this violation by Israel of the sovereign rights of the Syrian Arab Republic and of the right of the Syrian population of the Golan to self-determination must be condemned most resolutely. And not only that: it is necessary to force the aggressor to withdraw from all Arab territories occupied in 1967. Israel's arbitrary acts are again an insolent challenge to the United Nations and an unparalleled negation of the will of the majority of its Members, as set forth in numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

43. Like the majority of the Members of the Organization, the German Democratic Republic considers the renewed escalation of tension in the Middle East by Israel to be by no means an isolated incident. The provocative and challenging actions taken by Israel must be seen as part of the efforts being made by the most aggressive forces of imperialism to spread over the world a network of trouble spots, to produce new tension and to aggravate the international situation. Like scarcely any other State, Israel profits today from these attempts to return to the cold-war period. One must state that, through the policy of confrontation and the arms drive of imperialism, in particular of the United States of America, Israel is encouraged and prompted to make ever new attacks on the vital rights of the Arab peoples. This open annexation of the Golan Heights by the ruling circles of Israel is only another proof of that.

44. The so-called strategic alliance between the United States and Israel obviously has opened the way for the Begin Government to carry out its plans for predom-

inance in the Middle East and has whetted its appetite for foreign territories.

45. Even after the latest act of aggression it was declared in Washington that, in the future also, comprehensive support and, above all, military assistance by the United States will be guaranteed to the aggressor. The experience of the peoples, especially in the Middle East, however, shows clearly that alliances of that kind, in the same way as the Camp David agreements,⁴ run counter to a peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict. And more, they intensify tension and encourage the aggressor for ever-bolder actions against its Arab neighbours. In that light, the peoples are definitely justified in their apprehension that the intended deployment of the so-called multinational forces on Sinai increases the military presence of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] and is designed to convert that region into a zone of action of that imperialist military organization.

46. The German Democratic Republic declares again emphatically that it condemns most resolutely the illegal annexation of the Golan Heights by Israel and considers the annexation null and void. Those arbitrary acts of Israel must not be recognized by anybody. Already in December last year, in its capacity as a non-permanent member of the Security Council, as well as in the debate of the Security Council in January, the German Democratic Republic advocated resolute measures to be taken by the United Nations to reverse that annexation. The German Democratic Republic continues to support the demand that the Security Council take measures against the aggressor Israel under Chapter VII of the Charter.

47. The Middle East continues to be one of the most sensitive places on earth. The comparison with a powder keg is quite appropriate. It cannot be in the interest of the peoples of that region or that of all mankind for the Middle East to become the starting point for ever new tensions and conflicts which conjure up the danger of a new war. The German Democratic Republic confirms its well-known point of view, namely, that peace and security in the Middle East can only be guaranteed by the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all territories occupied in 1967, the safeguarding of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to return to their homeland, their right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State of their own, and the stability and security for all States of the region.

48. The implementation of the proposal to convene an international Middle East conference with the participation of all interested States—including that of the Palestine Liberation Organization—is therefore especially timely and would serve a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem.

49. From this rostrum the German Democratic Republic once again assures the Syrian Arab Republic, a country with which we have been allied for years in friendship and co-operation, of its unrestricted support and solidarity. It confirms its solidarity with the just cause of the Palestinian people and their legitimate leading force, the Palestine Liberation Organization. It will continue to support unreservedly the efforts of the Arab peoples and States to safeguard peace, security and stability in that region.

50. Mr. SANGSOMSAK (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic is happy to see you, Mr. President, presiding over the ninth emergency special session of the General Assembly, whose deliberations are of great importance for the peace and stability of the Middle East as well as for the future of international relations, which, in the interest of world peace

and co-operation, should be based everywhere and at all times on the rules of law and not on the superiority of force or on brute force. In view of your outstanding performance in directing the work of the thirty-sixth session, my delegation has no doubt that you will bring our present debate to a successful conclusion.

51. My delegation, furthermore, would like to extend its best wishes for success to our new Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, in his noble activities as the head of the Organization. We should also like to pay a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who led the Organization for 10 years with great competence and dedication. We wish him every success in his new endeavours.

52. A little more than a month ago, the General Assembly adopted, with respect to the occupied Syrian Golan Heights, resolution 36/226 B, whereby it declared null and void Israel's decision to extend its laws, jurisdiction and administration to the Golan Heights and demanded that Israel rescind its decision. In operative paragraph 6 of that same resolution, the General Assembly expressly requested that the Security Council contemplate the application of measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, if Israel failed to comply with that resolution.

53. In step with the General Assembly, the Security Council that same day unanimously adopted resolution 497 (1981), whose contents were similar to that of General Assembly resolution 36/226 B.

54. The similarity in the positions taken by the Security Council and the General Assembly shows quite clearly the flagrant illegality of the decision taken by Israel, as well as the earnest concern of the members of those two bodies over the implications of that decision for peace and stability in the region. Nevertheless, when the time limit set by the Security Council for Israel to rescind its decision had been reached, far from showing the least sign of complying, Israel, as usual, reacted with unheard-of intransigence. Moreover, the representative of Israel in his statement at the Security Council on January 6, even declared cynically that the decision taken by the authorities of his country was aimed "at reaching peace, to normalize the situation in the area in question".²¹

55. Is that not simply the logic of expansionism? With that logic, one might expect Israel to take over piece by piece all the Palestinian and Arab territories which it has been illegally occupying since June 1967, and possibly the south of Lebanon, where Zionist leaders are no longer making a mystery of their intentions.

56. Turning its back on the legitimate concern of the overwhelming majority of the members of the international community, the United States, in order to protect Israel, made no bones about using its veto to prevent the Security Council from adopting a text which would impose, in accordance with the recommendations of the General Assembly and the provisions of Security Council resolution 497 (1981), enforcement measures against Israel so as to force it to rescind its decision.

57. Hence the negative attitude of the United States in the face of an act posing a grave threat to international peace and security fully justifies the urgent convening of this special session of the General Assembly and, in this regard, my delegation wishes to express its thanks to the non-aligned countries for having taken the initiative.¹⁶

58. The purpose of our present deliberations is quite clear. What it behoves us to do is to consider and, within the framework of legality, to take measures that are called for to induce the intransigent and arrogant Tel Aviv régime to comply with United Nations decisions, thereby reducing the serious tension prevailing in the Middle East. In considering these measures the General Assembly, in

keeping with its tradition of justice and impartiality, is urged to take seriously into consideration two irrefutable facts, as follows.

59. First, the annexation of the Golan Heights took place following a long series of acts of aggression and *faits accomplis* methodically carried out by Israel since 1967, and this situation has deteriorated especially since the current team of leaders came to power in Tel Aviv. In particular, concurrently with the illegal setting up of dozens of settlements in the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip, in 1980 the Israeli authorities, flouting the United Nations Charter and the 1949 Geneva Convention,¹⁴ by promulgating the "Basic Law" annexed the City of Jerusalem and a large part of the adjoining West Bank. During the year 1981, continuing with increased intensity its policy of oppression, aggression and expansionism, Israel has, in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, stepped up enormously its confiscations of Arab properties and lands, evictions of the lawful inhabitants of the country, expulsion, dispersal, exile, physical elimination, massive arrests and torture as well as other acts in defiance of human rights; Israel has committed open acts of aggression against Lebanon, savagely bombed Palestinian refugee camps in the southern part of that country, carried out a criminal raid on the Iraqi Tamuz nuclear reactor; and, to top off all that, the Zionist leaders annexed the Golan Heights.

60. Following these actions, which both the General Assembly and the Security Council sternly condemned, Israel's recent decision with regard to the Golan Heights is part and parcel of the premeditated and planned Zionist programme of pillage and annexation of territories belonging to others with a view to the territorial expansion of the Israeli State. There is no need to emphasize that, if this trend is not reversed, it will lead directly to another widespread conflagration in the Middle East.

61. Secondly, for more than three decades the United Nations has adopted countless resolutions on the Middle East and Palestine aimed at paving the way for a just and lasting solution to the problem of that region. But Israel, whose ungratefulness towards the Organization is equalled only by its zeal for expansion, has made a mockery of all these resolutions. Hence, one can say without fear of contradiction that, if there is among us a State which, like racist South Africa, has not yet been forced to retire to the sideline for constantly violating the resolutions and the Charter of the United Nations, it is certainly Israel. It would be a great fallacy to hope that Israel might repent and wholeheartedly comply with decisions of the Organization.

62. That is why my delegation, along with the delegations of the non-aligned countries, the socialist countries and other countries that love peace and justice, has for many years now vigorously called for the imposition of the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter against Israel to force it to comply with international legality.

63. Given the two illuminating facts I have just described, the General Assembly with a view to upholding the principles and purposes of the Charter and defending the sovereignty of States, should give serious consideration to the valid complaint of the Syrian Arab Republic and take all necessary measures likely to foil Israeli intransigence.

64. It is quite well-known that, if Israel did not receive assistance and unconditional support from the United States, it would never have embarked upon the path which has put it in the dock where it now finds itself. But the great dichotomy is that, while continuing to defend Israel's acts of aggression against Arab peoples

and States, the United States continues to repeat that it is the friend of the Arabs, obviously forgetting that friendship, like sincerity, is based on actions and not on words. The United States would be well advised, in order to justify its true friendship for the Arabs, to bring pressure to bear on its Israeli strategic allies to make them respect the sovereignty and rights of the Arab peoples, including the sovereignty and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

65. The latest turn of events in the Middle East has made more necessary and urgent than ever the search, within the framework of the machinery established by the United Nations, for a comprehensive solution of the problem of the region. After more than 30 years fraught with passion, tension and bloodshed, all the peoples of the Middle East are entitled to a just and equitable peace. And this peace can be attained only with the full and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and with the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to set up an independent State in Palestine.

66. In the interest of peace and stability in the Middle East and throughout the world, the current session of the General Assembly, in addition to finding a just and timely solution to the problem before us, should mobilize all of its resources to make people aware of this inevitable necessity.

67. Mr. MRANI ZENTAR (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): The endless chain of Israeli acts of aggression in Palestine, Jerusalem and occupied Arab territories and against neighbouring Arab States has for some time shown a very disquieting trend towards acceleration and dramatic escalation. This trend is characterized by the adoption of unilateral measures resulting in profound and illegal changes in the status of persons and territories under Israeli domination or by unjust acts of military aggression against densely populated regions or against peaceful economic installations of neighbouring countries.

68. We were already familiar with all the dastardly measures adopted in occupied Palestinian territory and also, in particular, in Jerusalem, to change the Arab and Islamic characteristics and to try to erase everything likely to remind us that these holy places have for centuries been revered by hundreds of millions of believers and that they are deeply rooted in our sacred history, a history imbued with humanism, piety and self-denial, but also with courage, gallantry and sacrifice.

69. We are familiar with the inglorious acts of aggression against populated regions of Lebanon by which Israel has blindly added to the sufferings of a peaceful people that wants only to achieve national unity, respect for its territorial integrity and peace.

70. The United Nations has witnessed the Israeli aggression against the atomic installations of Iraq, installations whose peaceful character has been established and confirmed by third parties that are above suspicion and which assisted in their construction as well as by international bodies supervising the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

71. Following the illegal and unilateral declaration that Jerusalem was the united and indivisible capital of Israel, a declaration totally rejected and condemned by the international community, our community is now confronted with a new aggressive act, this time against the territorial integrity of the Syrian Arab Republic, a Member State of the United Nations, whose international boundaries are clearly established and internationally recognized.

72. By means of Law 5742/1981, the Knesset has extended Israeli legislation to the Golan Heights, an integral part of Syrian territory, and has in fact transformed it into a province under full Israeli sovereignty. Such violations of the most commonly accepted international laws and such provocations *vis à vis* States having inalienable rights that are clearly guaranteed by the United Nations Charter are beyond reason and quite intolerable.

73. On 17 December 1981, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 497 (1981), which declared null and void the decision of Israel to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration in the Syrian Golan Heights. It also requested Israel to rescind that decision and added that in the event of non-compliance by Israel, the Council would meet to consider taking appropriate measures in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

74. On the same day, the General Assembly adopted resolution 36/226 B, the provisions of which are almost identical, which further calls upon all Member States and specialized agencies not to recognize the Israeli decision.

75. The Security Council also unanimously established the deadline of 5 January 1982 for the consideration of appropriate measures to prompt Israel to implement resolution 497 (1981) in the event of non-compliance.

76. Of course, as usual, Israel has in no respect complied with the Security Council's decision, thus adding another act of defiance to the many others with which it has already faced the Organization. In the face of that unparalleled arrogance, it was our hope that the Security Council would not be paralysed as it unfortunately was; we would have liked the Security Council to take precisely the measures under the Charter that would prompt Israel to comply with international decisions.

77. Since, regrettably, that was not possible, it will be necessary to propose or accept an alternative: it will be necessary to do justice to the Syrian Arab Republic, whose recognized national territory might well be definitively, illegally and unjustly lopped off; it will be necessary to restore the status of Arab Jerusalem in order to enable millions of the faithful to worship in the serenity and with the fervour appropriate to the holy places of their faith; it will be necessary to do justice to the people of Palestine, chased out of their homes time and time again even though their inalienable rights in their national territory are recognized by the overwhelming majority of the international community. And we shall have to protect peaceful Lebanon from violations and greed and guarantee its unity and territorial integrity.

78. If the Organization does not react with the utmost vigour to such outrageous acts of defiance, if it countenances new cases of *Anschluss* under the cloak of a new Munich, the Middle East will not be the only region of the world to be threatened by the conflagrations which cannot fail to follow. The Second World War had similar origins, and 40 years later mankind has not yet fully recovered from it.

79. Member States have the primary duty to respect and if necessary to enforce respect for the Charter of the United Nations and the principles and objectives of peace, justice and equity in international relations. The credibility and authority of the Organization must be upheld and respected at the national and community level in the interest of all States.

80. At this ninth emergency special session the General Assembly must therefore condemn Israeli aggression against the Golan Heights as a violation of Article 39 of the Charter, and it must demand Israel's withdrawal from

Jerusalem and the Palestinian territory and from all Arab territories occupied since June 1967.

81. There can be no comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East as long as Israel refuses to comply with the international resolutions requiring the restitution of occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and the re-establishment of an independent Palestinian State on its national territory. Any delay on the part of the Organization in enforcing these realistic and equitable decisions in the Middle East would bring the international community perilously close to the brink of the tragic events of sad memory.

82. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The convening of this emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly to consider Israel's annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights is an event of great importance, showing that the international community recognizes the serious danger arising from the policy of aggression and expansion pursued by Israel *vis-à-vis* the Arab peoples. With every day it becomes ever clearer that the absolute majority of Members of the Organization does not intend to resign itself to systematic Israeli violations of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international conduct.

83. The Soviet delegation listened with great interest to the statement made at this session by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic, Mr. Khaddam. We have a profound understanding of the concern and alarm that were expressed in that statement along with the firm determination of the people of Syria to deter Israeli aggression.

84. The Soviet Union has consistently favoured peace and justice in the Middle East and the restoration and protection of the legitimate rights and interests of the Arab peoples. The Soviet Union sternly condemned Israel's annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, a most flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles upon which the Organization was founded, and a violation of international relations in general.

85. In undertaking that act of aggression, Israel purposely violated certain well-known resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly concerning a settlement in the Middle East.

86. The inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force—the inadmissibility of seizing territory in general—is one of the key provisions of those resolutions. The General Assembly cannot fail to express its most stern and categorical condemnation of the provocative, rapacious policy of Israel. The world community must demand the immediate rescission of the Israeli decision on the Golan Heights. The General Assembly must also express itself, in accordance with the Charter, in favour of the application against Israel of the necessary international measures which would force it to refrain from pursuing a piratical policy. Finally, the General Assembly must, if it is prepared truly to face the task it has before it, urge all of those who protect Israeli expansion to end their support for the aggressor and to stop lending it military and economic assistance.

87. We know how tense and how explosive the situation is in the Middle East, where, in recent decades, on more than one occasion, war has broken out and where one spark is enough for the flame of war to break out again, threatening to spread beyond the confines of that area. We also know that the culprit responsible for the constant aggravation of the situation is indisputably Israel. Such a policy can be called nothing other than irresponsible with regard to international peace and adventurous from

the standpoint of the interests of that country itself and of its own people.

88. The Israeli action on the Golan Heights confirms the fact that the very basis of Israel's policy is territorial expansion through Arab lands, a step-by-step annexation of the occupied territories and the inclusion of those territories in the State of Israel. By its very essence this policy is designed and directed against an honest and just settlement of the Middle East conflict and reflects the lack of interest of the present Israeli leaders in the establishment of relations of peace between Israel and its neighbours. Even Tel Aviv's most fervent protectors are not in a position to deny this today. The annexation of East Jerusalem, the continued raids into Lebanon, the barbaric bombings of Beirut, the attack on the Iraqi nuclear-research centre and, finally, the annexation of the Golan Heights is a short list of Israeli actions over the recent past. Would anyone venture to assert that Israel will stop at this and that the zeal for territorial aggrandizement will not propel it further along the path of military adventures and expansion?

89. It is hardly a secret that, as a basis for their economic ambitions the Israeli rulers have made assertions about living space for Israel. Only a few days ago the Israeli Foreign Minister cynically and with great candour stated that one could only ensure the existence of Israel if the Golan Heights and the West Bank were within its boundaries. Quite obviously in Tel Aviv there is a preference for forgetting the lessons of world history, and it would be worth while to recall the catastrophe which resulted for Germany from a policy of aggression and expansion which was accompanied by claims for living space.

90. The fact that the Israeli leaders continue stubbornly not to take into account the requirements, not only of legality but of reality, relying on their expansionist plans, can be explained, of course, first and foremost by the support lent them by the imperialist circles of the United States of America. The aggression by Israel against the Arabs would long have ended and, furthermore, no doubt a peaceful settlement would have been reached in the Middle East if from beyond the ocean there had not been a constant flow of death-dealing weapons and millions and millions of dollars supplied to feed the Israeli military machine. It would not be wrong to state that Israeli aggressiveness is in direct proportion to American assistance. It is quite instructive that the new hostile step against the Syrian Arab Republic taken by the Israeli leaders was decided on immediately after the signing of a special agreement calling for further Israeli-American strategic co-operation. Hence the mandate for the annexation of the Golan Heights was really received by Israel from the United States, however much the United States may try to dissociate itself from Israeli expansion by symbolic protests. The propagandistic spectacle, with the temporary cancellation of the strategic co-operation agreement, was designed to gain time and to create the illusion among Arabs that United States policy in the Middle East could supposedly become a balanced one.

91. No verbal machinations can, however, refute the fact that Washington and Tel Aviv have become direct participants in anti-Arab actions. The United States once again has exposed itself by using the veto in the Security Council so as not to allow the adoption there of even a minimum of measures against the aggressor. The American veto is in fact strategic co-operation in action.

92. Through its vote in the Security Council, the American administration has shown that in future it will give its blessing to Israel for new acts of aggression and annexation and will encourage its territorial claims. At the

same time, Washington once again showed disdain for the legitimate interests and demands of the Arab peoples and its indifference to the fate of peace in the Middle East. The policy of the United States on the annexation of the Golan Heights revealed the unseemly essence of Washington's policy in the Middle East, a policy designed to reaffirm a state of affairs which would enable the United States to have military and strategic control over that entire area and to deal as it sees fit with its enormous natural resources.

93. We cannot fail to see that all of this is part of an over-all policy of the United States to achieve military superiority in the world, to whip up international tensions, to give further impetus to the arms race, to undermine détente and to stir up international conflicts. In essence, this is a policy for hegemony in international affairs and a policy of forcing other States to act as the United States would like them to.

94. Anyone who follows developments in the Middle East sees clearly that the aggressiveness of Israel increased especially after the conclusion of the Camp David agreements,⁴ for it was Camp David accords that untied Israel's hands and led its leaders to believe that they would go unpunished. There was a far-reaching plan for the Israeli annexation of the Golan Heights. The Israeli leaders clearly intended to punish the Syrian Arab Republic for the fact that it was rejecting the Camp David agreement and actively trying to achieve a pan-Arab policy of non-capitulation and against separate deals by all the Arabs; this the logic of the aggressor and of those who support it, but if they wish to strengthen Israel's occupation of other lands, these plans are in vain. Neither the annexation of the Golan Heights nor any other aggressive actions by the Israelis and the United States will help to break the determination of Syria and the other Arab States and peoples in their defence of their legitimate rights and interests. The Syrian people and Arabs as a whole will never resign themselves to occupation and will never get on their knees, nor will they cease their struggle for their just cause and for a just peace in the Middle East, and they have long shown this.

95. The act of illegality committed by Israel against the Syrian Golan Heights has aroused the indignation of the whole world. Not only Arab countries, but the young States of Asia, Africa and Latin America have shown close solidarity with the Syrian Arab Republic. They fully understand that their support for Syria in its struggle against the aggression and expansion of Israel serves to thwart the racist and imperialist forces which, to date, have not stopped at aggressive and annexationist ventures, be it in the south of Africa, in Asia or in Latin America. They expect from the Organization effective measures designed to condemn and call to task the aggressor and to promote a just solution to international conflicts and for an over-all improvement in the situation in the world.

96. As regards the position of the Soviet Union, from the very outset it has sternly condemned the actions undertaken by the Government of Israel, and it has warned that those actions will lead to a more dangerous situation in the Middle East, create new obstacles to the achievement of a truly just settlement in that area and hinder the establishment of a truly just and lasting peace. In that connection, the Soviet Government clearly and unambiguously announced its support for Syria and for other Arab countries in their struggle to protect their sovereign rights.

97. The struggle to put an end to Israeli aggression is inextricably linked, furthermore, with the struggle to achieve a comprehensive and just settlement in the Middle

East. The Soviet Union has always been, and will continue to be, in favour of a settlement and the establishment in the Middle East of a just and lasting peace. Our position is one of principle and it is unchangeable. It provides for the full withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; it provides for granting the Arab people of Palestine the opportunity fully to enjoy their inalienable national rights, including their right to establish their own independent and sovereign State; it provides for ensuring the sovereignty and security of all States in that region. Such a settlement can only be achieved with the assistance of the honest collective efforts of all parties concerned, including of course the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

98. In its efforts to eliminate crisis situations in the Middle East, the Soviet Union is prepared to co-operate with all who cherish the ideals of justice and who strive towards genuine peace in that region. The sooner headway can be made on a Middle East settlement, the greater the gains for the peoples of the Middle East and for lasting peace on our planet.

99. In expressing our country's readiness to co-operate constructively with all who cherish the ideals of the United Nations and the principles of the Charter, we would recall in that connection that we are now celebrating the 100th anniversary of the birth of a great statesman, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. We remember him well in our country as one of the leaders of the anti-Hitler coalition in the years of the Second World War, when the Soviet Union, the United States and other countries waged a heroic struggle against the aggression and expansionism of fascism. We also honour the memory of Franklin Roosevelt as one of the founders of the Organization, which was established first and foremost as an instrument that was called upon to save future generations from war and effectively support international peace and security.

100. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): Mr. President, the delegation of India wishes at the very outset to express its satisfaction at seeing you preside over the proceedings of the present emergency special session of the General Assembly to consider Israel's illegal annexation of the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. Having witnessed the exemplary manner in which you conducted the complicated work of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, I have no doubt that you will acquit yourself in the present session, too, with wisdom and impartiality. On behalf of my delegation, I pledge to you our goodwill and co-operation in your difficult task.

101. Since this is the first occasion on which our new Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, is at the rostrum of the General Assembly, it is appropriate that I should again convey to him our felicitations and good wishes and express the full confidence and high expectations which my delegation, and no doubt the entire Assembly, place in him. His discretion, dedication and determination characterize a personal style that has already made a mark on the Organization in the short time since he assumed the leadership of the Secretariat.

102. We have heard with particular attention the declaration made last Friday by the Deputy Prime Minister of the Syrian Arab Republic, Mr. Khaddam. Our concern over the gravity of the situation has been deepened. It is indeed a sad irony of the times that a question which was the subject of consideration at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly late last year should once again have become an issue engaging the attention of the world community—and, indeed, at an emergency special session of the General Assembly. When the Assembly considered this question last December, it expressed its legitimate

expectation that the Security Council would take full account of the seriousness of the situation created by Israel's blatant attempt to consolidate and legitimize its illegal occupation of the Syrian Golan Heights by applying Israeli law, jurisdiction and administration to that portion of Syrian territory. The international community had expected that the Security Council would not only condemn Israel's action as being a serious violation of international law, of the principles of the United Nations Charter and of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, and declare Israel's actions null and void, but also that it would take effective steps to ensure that Israel would immediately revoke and abrogate those annexationist measures. The unanimous adoption by the Security Council of resolution 497 (1981) had further led the international community to believe that the Council was indeed mindful of its responsibility as the guardian of international peace and security. Having called upon Israel to rescind its measures forthwith, the Council should also have given serious consideration at that time to the consequences of a possible rejection by Israel of this call, with a view to taking further action to give credibility to its decision.

103. The world was dismayed, but not surprised, at the failure of Israel to heed the injunction of the Council. The manner of Israel's repudiation of Security Council resolution 497 (1981) left no doubt that the Council would have seriously to consider appropriate measures against Israel in order to secure implementation of its own decision.

104. When, therefore, the Security Council met in early January this year to consider the situation created by Israel's refusal to abide by the Council's decision, my delegation expressed the belief shared by many others, that the Council would act without delay or hesitation and invoke the punitive provisions contained in the Charter to enforce compliance by Israel. It was our hope that, in the spirit of rectitude that had animated them at the time of the unanimous adoption of Security Council resolution 497 (1981), the members of the Council would once again act with unanimity to uphold the credibility and force of the Council's earlier decision.

105. The failure of the Security Council to take any action in furtherance of an explicit commitment contained in its resolution 497 (1981), which has necessitated the convening of the present emergency special session, raises strong doubts in the minds of many delegations as to the ability or willingness of the Council to discharge its responsibilities under the Charter for the preservation of international peace and security. The fact that the most recent failure was the result of a negative vote cast by a permanent member of the Security Council does not increase the confidence of the preponderant majority of the States Members of this Organization in the "special responsibility" claimed by that member for safeguarding the fabric of international law and for ensuring world peace. If anything, that confidence stands seriously undermined.

106. The position of the Government of India on the question of the annexation of the occupied Syrian Golan Heights by Israel is well-known and has been reiterated more than once in the Security Council and other forums. Our steadfast support for and solidarity with the people and Government of Syria have also been reaffirmed. The spurious arguments advanced by Israel in support of the occupation and annexation of that portion of Syrian territory carry no conviction, because the history of Israel's policy of confrontation with its Arab neighbours, its

occupation by force of Arab territories and its gradual annexation of foreign lands are all too well known. The armistice régime between Syria and Israel was violated on several occasions by Israel, and the Security Council has rebuked it time and again for committing breaches of the peace in the region. Israel itself has acknowledged the status of the Golan Heights as occupied territory; surely it does not expect the world to believe that by consolidating its authority over that territory it has brought peace to the Golan Heights or enhanced the prospects for a settlement. The people of the Golan Heights are entitled to Syrian laws and administration, and can enjoy no peace until that territory is returned to Syria.

107. The responsibility for the prevailing tension and conflict in West Asia lies squarely with Israel. The basic fact of the matter is that Israel has deprived the Palestinian people of their fundamental rights and is in forcible military occupation of sizeable portions of Arab lands, including Jerusalem, taken consequent to the 1967 war unleashed by Israel on its neighbours. Since then, Israel has defied every United Nations resolution, including those of the Security Council, which has demanded the vacating of Arab territories and the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable right to establish a State in their own homeland. Instead of moving towards the eventual withdrawal from territories occupied by force and towards the establishment of peace with its neighbours, Israel has been engaged in a systematic depletion of the natural resources of the occupied areas and the establishment of Israeli settlements there as a prelude to outright annexation. The action taken in respect of the Golan Heights represents the culmination of yet another stage in Israel's ambitious programme of territorial expansion. It is, without doubt, another renewed act of aggression worthy of universal condemnation. To call it an act of self-defence or to justify it as an invitation to negotiation is to indulge in distortion and duplicity.

108. In spite of the cynical mockery with which Israel has reacted to world opinion and to the call of the United Nations, there are still some among us who believe that we should persevere with patient persuasion and reasoning. I recall the old saying that you can only wake a man who is really asleep, and not one who is merely pretending to sleep. Israel's posture of reasonableness is a palpable pretence. We cannot reason any longer with someone who has gone beyond reason.

109. As long as Israel and its most powerful benefactors continue to feign indifference to, or wilfully to ignore, the reality of the situation in West Asia, that region will remain a dangerous powder-keg of international tension. The reality of the situation is that a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in West Asia can be attained only as a consequence of the withdrawal by Israel from all the occupied Arab territories and the exercise by the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, of their inalienable right to establish a state of their own. Such a reality also implies the inevitable bankruptcy of a policy based on the forcible legitimization of so-called spoils of war.

110. Israel continues to deny these realities, to defy world opinion, and to repudiate United Nations decisions. Today, in the eyes of an overwhelming majority of the nations of the world, Israel stands condemned for having perpetrated yet another cynical act of aggression.

111. Only the adoption by the Assembly of a resolution which calls upon the nations of the world to adopt appropriate punitive measures in the military, economic and

political fields can compel Israel to turn back from its expansionist and annexationist policies. Only by taking such action can the General Assembly justify the expectations placed in it by the convening of the present

emergency special session and live up to its commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.