



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Traoré (Mali),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 33

**Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa
(continued).***

- (a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid;
- (b) Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against Apartheid in Sports;
- (c) Reports of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to draft resolution A/37/L.46, circulated this morning, which concerns a further appeal for clemency in favour of South African freedom fighters. In view of the urgency of this question, the President proposes, taking into account the request submitted by the Group of African States, that the Assembly proceed to take a decision on this draft resolution as the first item tomorrow morning.

Organization of work

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): As members will recall, the Assembly decided, on 29 November [83rd meeting], that consideration of agenda item 140, entitled "Observance of the quinquenary of the discovery of America", would be postponed until today to allow for consultations on the draft resolution [A/37/L.36]. However, the sponsors of the draft resolution have requested that consideration of the item be further postponed to allow for additional consultations.

AGENDA ITEM 34

**The situation in the Middle East: reports of the
Secretary-General**

3. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): The question of the Middle East has been a subject of debate by the General Assembly year in and year out for 15 years, in the aftermath of Israel's sneaking and treacherous attack against Egypt, Jordan and Syria at dawn on 5 June 1967. Since that day of perfidy and in spite of numerous Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, Israel has not only remained in occupation of vast Arab and Palestinian territories but has also

engaged in a systematic programme of colonization and annexation of those territories, in violation of all rules of international law, the Charter of the United Nations, international conventions and mandatory United Nations resolutions. This has transformed the entire region of the Middle East into a powder-keg, thus posing a continuing grave threat to international peace and security.

4. Some Members have on occasions asked a very valid question that deserves a credible answer. It is this: since the question of Palestine is the essence and core of the Middle East conflict, why have two seemingly overlapping debates on the same issue—one on the question of Palestine, which we considered only last week, and the other under the item entitled "The situation in the Middle East"? The answer is that an unresolved question of Palestine, the passage of time and tragic inaction have merely compounded and caused great proliferation of the fundamental issue posed by the 1967 Israeli aggression, thereby rendering the problem of the attainment of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East even more intractable. That is why it is important to discuss the situation in the Middle East in its full dimensions.

5. What we are confronting today has, without doubt, all the elements that can only be described as constituting a recipe for disaster. Bleak as the overall international situation is, we must hope that, with effort, mutual trust and good will, it could be ameliorated, if not made normal. The strategic Middle East has all the potential to ignite a large-scale conflagration which it might be extremely hard to contain within the region. That is not, nor is it intended to be, a doomsday prognostication, for it is based on cool, concrete and objective calculations of which the United Nations must be made aware before the situation becomes unmanageable.

6. In a speech at Columbia University a few days ago, a research worker of high academic standing analysed the underlying causes that had led him to predict that if a nuclear war were to break out—and let us hope it will not happen—its beginning will be linked with the fate of the Middle East, the cradle of civilization, an area of consensus and tranquillity for long ages which, sadly, has been transformed by the manipulations of a small cluster of fanatical, retrogressive and unscrupulous Zionists into an area of dangerous dissension, doomed to perpetual and unfathomable conflict in an already perilous world.

7. Over most of the past 35 years, the real issue discussed by the United Nations in varying formats has been the denial of the usurped and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as the cause of literally every event, development, turmoil and war—and there have already been five major wars which have afflicted

* Resumed from the 68th meeting.

the peoples of the Middle East during that period, not to speak of peripheral conflicts. Yet, while the underlying cardinal cause remains, and will always remain, the unresolved question of Palestine, the crisis of the Middle East has been gathering a momentum of its own, and there is no sign that its end is in sight. The main features of this deteriorating situation—and I am going to talk merely about the visible highlights—are: first, the emergence in the latter part of the twentieth century of Zionist imperialism, recolonization and the thrust for hegemony, thus catastrophically reversing over three decades of the progress of the United Nations and mankind in decolonization, human rights, freedom, the rule of law, the struggle against racism, and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, enshrined in the Charter and reflected in Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

8. It is a startling coincidence that Mr. Timerman, a well-known news reporter and author who became an Israeli citizen three years ago, in an appearance on the CBS programme "60 Minutes" last night, used language almost identical to my own in describing current Israeli policies and practices. He said that Israel had adopted "Israeli imperialism" and its aim was to subject the Middle East to its will. He expressed revulsion at the actions of Israeli soldiers and police who, amongst other heinous deeds, were forcing inhabitants of the West Bank at bayonet point to crawl on all fours and bark like dogs. In his revulsion, he explained that such acts of cruelty reminded him of his own similar experiences as a Jew, in another land. It is extremely reminiscent of the rise of nazism in its theoretical conceptual creed of racism, expansion and hegemony, which subsequently erupted in one of the most devastating wars of this century and the total breakdown of the League of Nations and international law as arbiters of relations among nations. That is not a vain or propagandist analogy, for while the motivating theoretical frameworks are identical in both movements and the cataclysmic culmination of one came with the massive deluge of the Second World War—and ironically the Jewish people were then the major victims—the second, namely, the Israeli-Zionist thrust, is at the middle stage of its unfolding, stupendous as the early stages have been. Instead of terminating the 15-year Israeli occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories, the world has been an eye-witness to the full-fledged fury of an Israeli invasion during the summer of 1982 of yet a fourth independent and sovereign Arab country, Lebanon. A few callous players in the deadly "game of nations" have been investigating the material and technological aspects and costs of that genocidal invasion—asking how many billions of dollars it cost, which weapons system is superior to which, and other unseemly questions.

9. To us, as Members of the United Nations, the criterion of measurement remains—as it should be—the human cost: a mother who lost all her nine children and her husband, and was herself wounded; an elderly woman who saw all 40 of her immediate family members bulldozed into the abyss of a mass grave; tens of thousands maimed for life; and cities, towns, refugee shelters and villages devastated to the point of obliteration. As if all that were not enough cruelties inflicted by the massive application of internationally prohibited weapons, several thousands—the

real meaning of such deceptive clichés as "over 300"—were mutilated and massacred with axes, knives and other primitive lethal tools. The worst aspect of that was that, according to two European correspondents who were eye-witnesses, the free flowing trails and pools of blood showed that torture and mutilation had preceded death. In the narrow streets of one small area of the Sabra refugee camp, the two correspondents saw and photographed hundreds of mutilated bodies. The exception was one family, two parents and three small girls, who had been "mercifully" machine-gunned in their bedrooms.

10. When Ralph Shoenman and Mya Shone were asked to elaborate on evidence that the massacre of thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese children, women and elderly persons in Sabra and Shatila—I emphasize once again "thousands" and I am sure that the investigations will bear me out—was part of a co-ordinated military operation under the full command of Israeli armed forces, they replied:

"First, it should be made clear that what took place in Sabra and Shatila [in Beirut] had already been prepared for by the destruction of the camps in the south of Lebanon and the nature of the occupation there."

They added:

"Bear in mind that the aerial bombardment had reduced these camps to rubble and caused terrible destruction, resulting in tens of thousands of casualties. Then, after the Israeli invasion of West Beirut, the intense shelling of the camps caused further devastation. This shelling continued from Wednesday, 15 September [a day before the massacres started]. It was an important factor in preventing people in West Beirut from knowing about the massacre immediately, because people couldn't reach the camps. [They were in shelters because of the Israeli shelling.]"

Asked when the killings inside the camps started, they replied:

"It began on Wednesday night. It began, moreover, after Israeli armed forces had sealed off the camps, preventing the civilian population from escaping. It is crucial to realize that the Israeli army had total military control of the area. The killer units which carried out the slaughter did so in full co-ordination with Israeli armed forces. They could not enter the camps or carry out a military operation without the full cognizance of Israeli command officers."

The interviewer asked the two correspondents:

"But why assume that Israeli officers and soldiers knew that the militia were slaughtering civilians inside the camps?"

The answer was:

"It is no assumption. By Thursday, despite the Israeli fire directed against escaping civilians, some 1,500 refugees managed to reach Gaza Hospital in the north of Sabra camp. They were in panic and hysteria and filled the basement and corridors of the hospital. They told the Norwegian, Finnish and German doctors and nurses about the killing in the camps and that Israeli forces were firing on the camp, having sealed it off."

This interview¹ and two other reports² will be distributed as official documents of the General Assembly and the Security Council. I have quoted excerpts just to give a glimpse of what Israeli expansionism, racism and hatred had caused in a mere three months, with the dead, wounded and missing reaching a total of approximately 100,000 in a tiny country like Lebanon, with a small population.

11. Since I have raised the question of the missing, I am sure that all of us were shocked to see on television last night a march by Palestinian women, in agony, in the streets of Beirut asking the authorities, after asking the Israeli occupation authorities who are in control of the environs of Beirut, to inform them as to the fate of almost 5,000 Palestinian men who had been rounded up in Beirut for interrogation. Mothers, wives and children are entitled as human beings to know the fate of their loved ones. The General Assembly is also entitled to know whether those 5,000 missing persons are dead or alive, and where they are. The International Red Cross and the Commission on Human Rights are duty-bound to ascertain their fate.

12. I wish to propose, and I hope it will be agreed by consensus, that the President of the General Assembly and the President of the Security Council formally ask for information about the fate of the 5,000 missing persons.

13. In the first place, what has been inflicted on a few hundred thousand refugees and Lebanese civilians has not been lost on the States and peoples of the entire region. It will no doubt become incorporated in the spiralling violence and brutality of the Israeli-Zionists, who will have no compunction, if they have the opportunity, about inflicting the same thing on the rest of the region. Furthermore, it is already six months since the 5 June invasion of Lebanon, yet few people believe that the Israeli army of occupation is in any hurry to withdraw, if it ever withdraws, unless the Israelis can ensure their dominance over Lebanon's internal as well as external policies—and they have said so publicly.

14. My colleagues may have read in today's newspapers about the refusal of Israel to withdraw from Lebanon except on its own dictated terms and about its determination to continue to maintain a military presence in the south even if its diktat is obeyed.

15. Even if the imposition of a virtual protectorate is achieved—and I am sure that the Lebanese people will see to it that it is not—Israel will continue to implement its long-prepared design against southern Lebanon and the waters of the Litani River, which they have coveted for many, many decades. This means the dismemberment of Lebanon and the undermining of its independence and territorial integrity. If the Israelis had more people, I am sure that they would not hesitate to colonize southern Lebanon, as they have massively colonized the occupied territories of Jerusalem, the rest of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights.

16. The second factor which forebodes inevitable disaster for the Middle East and far beyond is the utter collapse of the application of any norms of international law in all questions pertaining to the Middle East.

17. Suffice it here to read the report of the Secretary-General [A/37/525]. The question of Palestine, the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, military developments and United Nations peace-keeping operations, the situation in the occupied territories, the Palestine refugee problem and displaced persons, the search for a peaceful settlement based on United Nations resolutions—all this tells a sad and sordid story of a State created by the United Nations itself which refuses to heed any and all resolutions of the United Nations, which conditionally brought it into existence in the first place.

18. It is a supreme irony that the Security Council, the highest executive organ of the United Nations, has not even been allowed to send its own three-member Commission to inquire into the ongoing process of colonization in the occupied territories. The peace-keeping forces in southern Lebanon—an arm of the Security Council—were trampled upon when the Israeli invaders either overwhelmed their area or bypassed it, even though those brave men are symbols of and carry the full weight and prestige of the United Nations and of the Security Council.

19. During the summer invasion of Lebanon, resolution after resolution of the Security Council—508 (1982), 509 (1982), 511 (1982) to 513 (1982) and 515 (1982) to 521 (1982)—was adopted, only to be ignored with disdain. The question then arises: does Israel recognize the United Nations system and, if it does not, why should the United Nations take its humiliation lying down? This is a burning issue and the time has come to address it seriously.

20. The third factor is that Israel, which has adamantly rejected any resolution of either the Middle East question or the Palestine question, has fully embarked upon a programme of nuclear as well as conventional armaments and production. It has refused to adhere to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], while giving itself licence to carry out a sneaking and unprecedented attack in June 1981 against the Iraqi nuclear installation Osirak, 1,000 kilometres away, which is devoted solely to scientific and peaceful purposes and is under international control and inspection, as Iraq has signed and ratified the Non-Proliferation Treaty. As a matter of fact, those very installations had been inspected a mere few weeks before the treacherous Israeli attack was carried out against Osirak.

21. As if this were not enough, the Israeli authorities have openly and audaciously declared their determination to carry out similar aggression against any new nuclear research facilities which may be established in Iraq or beyond, or anywhere else in the region.

22. Israel is bent on maintaining a nuclear monopoly and political blackmail. Such being the case, it is extremely ominous to read a *United Press International* [UPI] news dispatch from Tel Aviv, published in *The New York Times* of 6 December 1982, which states:

“Edward Teller is in Israel to advise the Government on building a nuclear reactor for [*so-called*] peaceful purposes, a spokesman for the Ministry of Science said today.

“Dr. Teller, a Hungarian-born American now 74 years old, worked on the Manhattan Project that resulted in the development of the atomic bomb in World War II. He was a leading member of the group that developed the hydrogen bomb in 1952.

“‘He is here mainly to advise us on the utilization of nuclear energy,’ the [*Israeli*] spokesman said.

“Asked to comment on a statement last month by Science Minister Yuval Neeman that Israel had the technology to build a nuclear reactor, the spokesman said, ‘This is one of the reasons he is here’.

“Mr. Neeman, who noted that Israel had unsuccessfully tried to buy a reactor from the United States and France, has said Mr. Teller would present the Government with a plan to build a reactor. ... Israel already has a reactor at Dimona in the Negev.”

23. Mr. Teller presumably has classified information at his disposal because he has full access to American nuclear technology and advances in their technology. Is it not the height of dangerous permissiveness to permit such a transfer of lethal technology to a country which has persistently refused any inspection of its nuclear facilities and is not a signatory to the Non-Proliferation Treaty? The answer is all too obvious and needs no explanation or elaboration.

24. The fourth factor is Israel's decision in 1981 to construct a canal linking the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea, unilaterally and in defiance of all norms of international law; that decision is a blatant act of aggression against the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and against the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. A whole people can be as effectively decimated by rendering its lands barren and its water saline for many generations as by atomic devastation. The General Assembly has all but unanimously condemned this destructive, multilateral project, the exceptions being Israel and the United States. We are grateful to all the Member States which have scrupulously respected the norms of international law and justice and the affirmation of life, without regard for extraneous, malign influences.

25. It will be seen that Israeli Zionist exclusiveness, the quest for expansion and hegemony, nuclearization and colonization will undoubtedly keep the Middle East in a situation of perpetual turmoil with unforeseeable consequences.

26. The arrogance and corruption of power have reached the point where Israeli Foreign Minister Shamir stated yesterday that the Reagan Administration's attempt to block an increase in American aid to Israel of \$159 million could threaten Middle East peace, even though the level of aid is over \$3 billion. Is he trying to blackmail even a super-Power and a benefactor? It is a tragedy of the first degree that the area of the Middle East, which has every potential for pursuing peaceful development and progress, should find itself, against its will, an arena of world power conflict.

27. The situation in the Middle East, which initially was debated within the context of ending the consequences of Israel's aggression of 1967, has taken a sharp turn for the worse. The stage has been set for a collision course, part of whose consequences have

begun to unravel in 1982. Who knows what the years 1983 and beyond have in store?

28. I feel duty-bound to alert the General Assembly to the fact that, while the Arab world and the Palestinian people have expressed a genuine desire for peace, Israel has categorically rejected any viable and just peaceful solution. The United Nations collectively should see to it that the forces of peace prevail over the forces of evil, unbridled aggression and expansion.

29. Mr. MOUSSA (Egypt): The General Assembly has just concluded its debate on the question of Palestine. Now we are embarking on a debate on another closely related question—the situation in the Middle East. We have rightly been preoccupied over the past several months with this twin problem. We recall the long summer nights in the Security Council during which strenuous efforts were made to arrest the rapid deterioration of the situation in the Middle East and to try to pursue charted and uncharted avenues towards a just settlement and a durable peace.

30. The connecting thread running through our debates was that it was high time that we undertook, on the most urgent basis, a major effort to deal with this festering situation. The view has been aired that perhaps the invasion of Lebanon, macabre as it is, has created the conditions for such an effort. The authors of this view argue that because of, and not in spite of, the enormity of this invasion, a favourable opportunity arises for a general settlement. I wish to emphasize once again that Egypt does not subscribe to this view. Out of invasion and aggression, foreign occupation and creeping annexation, no brave new world can be awaiting us. What prompted us all to act was not the new vistas of peace arising from brutal and naked aggression; it was rather the Middle East being broken asunder and falling into anarchy, as well as the deterioration of the prospects for peace and security, that prompted us to embark on fresh and urgent efforts towards peace. This distinction will help keep matters in proper perspective.

31. I propose to tackle the agenda item entitled “The situation in the Middle East” in the following dimensions.

32. First, there is the Israeli dimension. Recently, Israel has been carrying out a strategy to achieve hegemony in the Middle East, relying on what could be described as a long-arm policy. Encouraged by massive military and financial aid, Israel has been able: first, to reach the outskirts of Baghdad and destroy a peaceful nuclear research facility designed to help development efforts in Iraq; secondly, to invade Lebanon and occupy its capital, Beirut, in the process sowing havoc all over that country and laying much of Lebanon to waste, in addition to overseeing the carnage in Shatila and Sabra—the Palestinian holocaust; thirdly, to entrench itself in most of Lebanon, with avowed designs of continued occupation or *de facto* annexation; fourthly, to declare the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights; fifthly, to declare the annexation of the occupied Arab city of Jerusalem; sixthly, to continue the illegal policy of settling the occupied territories; seventhly, to violate certain contractual obligations; eighthly, to reject all initiatives for a peaceful settlement, including its offhand and outright rejection of President Reagan's peace initia-

tive of 1 September 1982;³ ninthly, adamantly to deny the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people and to attempt to impose or to propose the absurd idea of the so-called alternative Palestinian homeland.

33. In view of this, it is not difficult to conclude that those policies and practices are the main obstacle to peace in the Middle East. Consequently, we call upon all Member States to stand firm behind the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to take concerted action to prevent Israel from pursuing such a subversive and irrational course. Time is of the essence. We must act now, before the Middle East is hurled even deeper into the chaos of wanton destruction and mindless violence.

34. Having said this, I hasten to emphasize that any peaceful comprehensive settlement should duly take into consideration the right of Israel to existence, recognition and security, on the basis of equality and reciprocity.

35. The second dimension is the Palestinian dimension. I begin by stating once again that the Palestinian problem is the crux and the centre of the conflict in the Middle East and that no viable peace will be achieved without the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. In our view, a viable solution must take the following points into consideration.

36. First, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination is undeniable. In fact, General Assembly resolution 181 (II), of 29 November 1947, provided for the right of the Arab people of Palestine to establish their own State. Article 3 of section A in part I of the Plan of Partition of Palestine, annexed to resolution 181 (II), states that: "Independent Arab and Jewish States ... shall come into existence".

37. Secondly, resolution 181 (II) is indivisible, in the sense that the acceptance of the existence of the State of Israel should lead to the acceptance of the right of the Palestinians to enjoy equal rights.

38. Thirdly, resolution 181 (II) should, however, be read in conjunction with all subsequent United Nations resolutions pertaining to the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East, and in particular Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in all its parts.

39. Fourthly, resolution 242 (1967) is essential for the Palestinian entity and for a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. The inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by war is an essential part of that resolution. It clearly calls on Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories, including, of course, the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, a matter which would provide the basis for the Palestinian entity or State to be established.

40. Fifthly, the declaration by Chairman Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], that he accepts all United Nations resolutions pertaining to the Palestine problem is therefore welcomed and should be properly assessed and duly understood.

41. Sixthly, we believe that the logical overture towards a peaceful settlement is the mutual recognition of the legitimate rights of both parties by the Palestinians and Israelis, as provided for in the Franco-

Egyptian initiative,⁴ which was submitted to the Security Council on 28 July 1982 and still stands.

42. Seventhly, no interference should be permitted with the right of the parties to choose their own representatives. We cannot deny the authenticity of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

43. Eighthly, the phase we are going through is crucial and delicate to an unprecedented extent. Therefore, the Palestinians are urged to assess the situation very carefully and congenitly. We welcome their positive attitude towards the proposals or initiatives of peace. We urge our Palestinian brothers to consider all initiatives that are on the table now which should all be regarded as complementary. Such initiatives, if accepted, would prevent the possible erosion of the Palestinian question. A case in point is the Reagan initiative of 1 September 1982, which contained a wide spectrum of objective and practical elements, the realization of which would be indeed very instrumental in preserving the Palestinian rights in the West Bank and Gaza.

44. Ninthly, we would call upon the Palestinians to consolidate their position by joining other viable Arab partners in order to embark on a much-needed immediate process of peace, and here we wish to express our satisfaction with the progress made in the talks between the PLO and Jordan.

45. Tenthly, again because time is of the utmost importance, we call upon the PLO to weigh things from the standpoint of their national goals and aspirations and take well-calculated, well-considered and courageous practical steps. We call insistently on all Palestinians to close ranks. By the same token, we must emphatically urge a policy of "hands off the Palestinian people". Let them decide their own priorities without the heavy hand of parochial policies and narrow interests from within the region and beyond.

46. The third dimension is the Lebanese dimension. We believe that the situation in Lebanon as a result of the Israeli invasion and occupation is very serious and requires close attention and consistent efforts to ensure a total and immediate Israeli withdrawal and to counter Israeli efforts to procrastinate and designs to prolong their occupation. In this respect, Egypt calls for the following measures.

47. First, the total withdrawal of all Israeli forces and personnel from Lebanon in accordance with a well-defined timetable.

48. Secondly, the termination of all forms of foreign intervention in its internal affairs and the withdrawal of all foreign forces.

49. Thirdly, respect for the legitimate authority in Lebanon and for the rights of all the Lebanese people.

50. Fourthly, support for efforts for the reconstruction of Lebanon.

51. Fifthly, the preservation of mutual security through international peace-keeping forces, with emphasis on the role of the United Nations since security cannot be the security of Israel alone.

52. Sixthly, the rejection of all attempts to impose certain conditions on Lebanon, especially in the present circumstances.

53. There is no viable argument that could be accepted from Israel as to its claims to security and the need for its forces of occupation to stay in Lebanon. A process of withdrawal has to be initiated. The passage of time will only exacerbate tension, and the failure of the current efforts—under whatever pretext—will only contribute to the erosion of the credibility of such efforts.

54. The fourth dimension is the American dimension. The United States has indeed a unique role in the Middle East that has never been so widely acknowledged. That acknowledgement cannot be an end in itself; it should be an added incentive for positive and prompt constructive action to redress the existing serious situation. We believe that President Reagan took a statesmanlike initiative on 1 September of this year, which is designed to break the vicious circle of stagnation and rejection and launch a viable process of negotiations. The Government of Egypt has welcomed the positive aspects reflected in that initiative and wishes to express its satisfaction at the declared intention of the United States Government to stand by its initiative. At the same time, we wish to state the following.

55. First, the credibility of the American initiative lies in its early implementation and not in its mere existence.

56. Secondly, time is running out. Without a sustained, resolved and determined effort to implement it, the initiative would certainly lose momentum.

57. Thirdly, the continuation of the Israeli occupation of Lebanon and any delay in the long-awaited action to effect the Israeli withdrawal would hamstring the prospects of solving the Lebanese crisis and seriously affect the prospects of the overall peace efforts.

58. Fourthly, the continuation of the Israeli policy of settling the occupied territories is a major obstacle, not only to the peace process but to the possibilities of peace altogether. In this, the United States bears a special responsibility. Indeed, had it not been for the abuse by Israel of the massive financial support coming from the United States under different forms of arrangements, Israel would not have been in a position to embark on such a massive build-up of settlements and on its policy of settler-colonialism in the occupied Arab territories.

59. Fifthly, we believe that a constructive dialogue between the United States and the PLO should start as soon as possible. It is only natural that, if the Reagan initiative is to be successfully implemented, the Administration should not fail to contact all parties concerned without exception. A dialogue with the representatives of the Palestinian people should not exclude the possible participation in the process of peace of other parties directly concerned.

60. Sixthly, in trying to reach a final settlement of the Palestinian problem, principles of fairness, equality and justice should always be borne in mind.

61. The fifth dimension is the European dimension. It is the considered opinion of Egypt that security in Europe and the Mediterranean area is closely linked with security in the Middle East, which cannot be achieved without a just solution to the Palestinian

problem. From this standpoint, we believe that Europe has an important role to play as to both the Lebanese question and a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. As a consequence, Egypt and France jointly proposed their initiative of 28 July 1982, in which they stated that the settlement of the Lebanese problem should contribute to the initiation of a durable restoration of peace and security in the region within the framework of negotiations based on the principles of security for all States and justice for all peoples, in order: first, to reaffirm the right of all States in the region to existence and security, in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967); secondly, to reaffirm the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination with all its implications, on the understanding that, to this end, the Palestinian people shall be represented in the negotiations and, consequently, the PLO shall be associated therein; and, thirdly, to call for the mutual and simultaneous recognition of the parties concerned. This initiative has indeed taken into consideration the realities of the situation, as well as the legitimate rights of all the parties concerned.

62. The sixth dimension is the Arab dimension. All the Arab countries share a special responsibility towards their Palestinian brethren. At the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez, the Arab States proved that they could go beyond differences and adopt a pragmatic common position. As part and parcel of the Arab world, Egypt welcomes the Arab approach of reaching out for a fair and forward-looking solution to the problem in the Middle East. We should all work to accelerate action and achieve progress in the peace efforts. We should all strive to give an added impetus to the increased readiness of the Palestinians to respond favourably to the process of peace. By the same standards, we Arabs should work to defend the territorial integrity of the Arab nations. We should not tolerate any invasion of any inch of Arab territory, be it in Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq or any other part of our national homeland. This work should be done by means compatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The Arab countries should benefit from the massive support given by the international community by closing ranks, reading the international situation and international circumstances cogently and correctly and working in the realm of the possible while maintaining their legitimate goals intact.

63. Here I wish to add that Egypt is acutely aware of the grave consequences of the war between Iran and Iraq, not only for the two warring parties but for the entire Gulf region. Egypt appeals to our brethren in Iran to spare the Muslim world and the region further bloodshed and to respond favourably to Iraq's decision to put an end to the war. Having said that, let me state that we are fully willing to help in any way to put an end to this costly war, but we are equally committed to standing behind Iraq, and any Arab country for that matter, while it faces the infringement of its territory or interference in its internal affairs. In addition, Egypt has a vital stake in the security of the Gulf as an integral part of the Arab security to which Egypt subscribes and which it is committed to defend.

64. Despite the appalling and heart-breaking scenes of ruin and ashes in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories and now in Lebanon, the international community cannot fail to detect, at the end of a long, dark tunnel, glimpses of hope, engendered by a growing awareness of a common destiny, a common future, that should ensure the redemption of all peoples and States in the Middle East. It would indeed be a historic moment if all parties responded positively to the challenges of peace.

65. Mr. PRADHAN (Bhutan): As the General Assembly once again takes up the agenda item on the situation in the Middle East, it presents us with yet another opportunity to view this important region more closely. It also permits the international community to continue to seek solutions to the problems of the region. The Middle East, where the crossroads of Asia, Africa and Europe meet, is a region whose developments affect almost the entire globe. Many of the age-old religious, cultural and other influences of today's world emanated from the Middle East. Today, the region's importance has been enhanced because of the vital resources that it possesses and the impact this has had, and continues to have, on the global economy and on international economic relations. In the foreseeable future, the Middle East will undoubtedly continue to have a major and significant impact on international developments.

66. The Middle East is crucial to international peace and security. However, today we confront a host of crisis situations in the area and acts that continue to destabilize the region as a whole. Just recently, the Assembly has considered three major issues pertaining to the Middle East. The bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor by Israel gave rise to many questions for international peace and security. My delegation has always been convinced of the peaceful character of the Iraqi nuclear installation. This has been confirmed by the IAEA and the inspections that were carried out specifically to ensure that nuclear energy was being harnessed for peaceful purposes only. Many other renowned international authorities have also supported this fact. It was in view of this that my delegation condemned the unprovoked act of destruction launched by Israel in 1981 on Iraq's nuclear installation.

67. The hostilities between Iran and Iraq have unfortunately aggravated the already critical situation in the Middle East. My delegation has always joined in the appeal to both these non-aligned nations to put an immediate end to their war of attrition. It is most unfortunate that the conflict rages on. My delegation once again calls upon both countries to terminate hostilities forthwith.

68. The international community has recognized the fact that the question of Palestine is the crux of the problem in the Middle East. I do not wish to deal with this issue at any length as we have only recently examined the question in great detail. However, my delegation would like to reiterate our call for the establishment of a sovereign independent State of Palestine. As we mentioned in our statements delivered here on 13 October [29th meeting] and 30 November [85th meeting], we feel that the situation is now conducive to the settlement of the problem of Palestine. We hope that the PLO will be recognized as a legal and an equal party in all negotiations on Palestine.

At the same time, we believe that all the States of the region have the right to live peacefully within internationally recognized boundaries. My delegation hopes that the question of Palestine will be urgently resolved within such a context.

69. While on the topic of Palestine, one cannot help but recall once more the recent senseless massacre of Palestinian refugees in Beirut. Those responsible for this ghastly and inhuman act must be brought to justice once the various investigations are completed.

70. We are happy to note that the bloodshed in Lebanon has been halted, at least for the moment. However, in order to ensure the long-term stability which is so essential for repairing the damage to that war-torn country, all occupying foreign troops must be withdrawn. From what we have learnt from the media, it has so far not been possible to arrive at acceptable arrangements for such withdrawals, particularly in respect of the occupying Israeli troops. The earlier Israeli invasion of Lebanon brought about the loss of many civilian lives and wrought havoc in every facet of life in the country. My delegation now hopes that the normalization process in Lebanon will go smoothly and that Lebanon will be left to deal with its own domestic and other problems.

71. The continued instability in the Middle East has also resulted in the enormous diversion of valuable economic resources for warfare and defence needs. At a time when the international economy is faced with the battle to eradicate such human miseries as hunger and poverty, the international community must hasten to bring stability to that vital region. If this is done, much of the resources of the area can be utilized to improve the socio-economic well-being of the peoples of the region and other parts of the globe.

72. In conclusion, I wish to sum up by saying that peace and stability can come about in the Middle East only if we ensure the self-determination of the Palestinians, the creation of an independent State of Palestine, the halting of the Iran-Iraq war and the recognition of the right of each State to live in peace within internationally recognized boundaries.

73. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): This past year has witnessed an alarming heightening of tensions in the Middle East. While Japan duly appreciates Israel returning the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt in accordance with the Camp David agreement, it strongly denounces other Israeli actions, such as its effective annexation of the Golan Heights; its continuing policies in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, which prevent the Palestinian people from exercising their right of self-determination; and its invasion of Lebanon. Japan demands that Israel rescind, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, the measures it has taken in the occupied Arab territories of the Golan Heights, the West Bank and Gaza. Japan also demands that Israel, by implementing the relevant Security Council resolutions—in particular resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982)—withdraw its forces from Lebanon immediately.

74. The massacre of a great number of innocent Palestinian refugees in West Beirut in September was an outrageous act of violence. The Government of Japan takes this opportunity once again to express its

deep condolences to the families of the victims. In order to prevent the recurrence of such acts, Japan strongly urges the parties concerned to ensure the life and security of the civilian population in the area, including the Palestinian inhabitants, in accordance with the relevant Security Council and other United Nations resolutions.

75. At the same time, Japan regards the inauguration of President Amin Gemayel as an important contribution to the stability of Lebanon. Japan was deeply impressed by President Gemayel's statement at the current session of the General Assembly on 18 October [35th meeting], and we support his determination to settle the problems of Lebanon and to reconstruct his country. Japan earnestly hopes that the people of Lebanon will be united in their support of the new President so that Lebanon's internal order can be restored on the basis of national reconciliation, and that they will embark on the reconstruction of their country without delay.

76. The recent developments in Lebanon have strengthened Japan's conviction that it is essential to bring about an early settlement of the Middle East peace problem, the core of which is, of course, the Palestinian question. The basic position of the Government of Japan on the Middle East problem, including the Palestinian question, has been presented on numerous occasions. Nevertheless, I should like to take this opportunity to restate it as follows.

77. First, peace in the Middle East should be just, lasting and comprehensive.

78. Secondly, such a peace should be achieved through the early and complete implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and through the recognition of and respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of self-determination, under the Charter of the United Nations.

79. Thirdly, each and every path towards the realization of such a peace must be explored, with careful consideration being given to the legitimate security requirements of the countries in the region and to the aspirations of all the peoples in the region, including the Palestinian people.

80. Fourthly, Japan considers that the PLO represents the Palestinian people. Thus, in order to advance the cause of peace in the Middle East, Japan believes, it is essential that Israel and the PLO participate in the peace process.

81. The Government of Japan expresses its appreciation of the initiative taken by the United States last September³ in presenting its peace proposal, which addresses the Middle East problem directly. Shortly after the United States proposal, the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez, adopted its own peace proposal [see A/37/696]. Japan highly values the fact that Arab countries are united in demonstrating their will for peace. It is our earnest hope that all the parties concerned will bear these proposals in mind and resume efforts immediately to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem.

82. The current suffering in Lebanon brought about by the Israeli invasion is a tragic reminder of the instability of the situation throughout the Middle

East. It demonstrates the necessity of finding as soon as possible a solution to the question of Palestine and to the Middle East problem, and also demonstrates clearly that these problems cannot be settled by using military force.

83. From this standpoint, Japan would like to stress once again its long-standing position that all the parties, including Israel and the PLO, must renounce the use of force and resolve their problems through peaceful negotiations on the speedy achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

84. Mr. ABADA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): This year, the United Nations has indeed devoted many meetings to the numerous grave problems relating to the situation in the Middle East. None the less, the General Assembly's agenda requires us, as in previous years, to analyse in particular the extremely complex problem of the Middle East, to which so many statements and resolutions have been devoted without our seeing any genuine hope of finding a solution that can restore peace to that singularly tormented part of the world.

85. It was six months ago that the Zionist hordes invaded Lebanon, after threatening to do so for a year, using fallacious and inadmissible pretexts. That outright violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of an independent State, a Member of the United Nations, accompanied by an actual occupation of its territory and offences against its population—an operation cynically called a "peace campaign" by the Zionist leaders—in fact stems from the same blind obstinacy of those leaders and their insatiable appetite for further territorial conquest, in the absurd hope of achieving their Greater Israel, which would extend from the Nile to the Euphrates.

86. This act, which is unacceptable from the standpoint of morality and international law, bears the double seal of Zionist territorial expansionism and the clearly expressed desire to proceed with the elimination of the Palestinian people by pursuing it even into the Beirut camps where it was obliged to take refuge.

87. In spite of broad international condemnation, the Zionist leaders continued their incursion into Lebanon and imposed an implacable siege on its capital which neither the demands of the community of nations nor the resolutions of the Security Council managed to have lifted.

88. Painstaking attempts to prevent the Israeli forces from entering Beirut, the departure of the valiant Palestinian fighters to avoid additional suffering for the already severely tried population, far from dissuading the Zionist troops from penetrating into the Lebanese capital, only delivered Beirut to the offensive of the Israeli forces, after the hasty departure of the international forces.

89. The massacres committed under the direct responsibility of the Israeli troops against civilians, basically children, women and old people, the untold horror of which the world media helped us to grasp, constitute new crimes to be added to the already long list of crimes by the Tel Aviv leaders which have remained unpunished.

90. The tragic events that have taken place in Lebanon constitute, in fact, one of the last stages of a

political scenario designed by imperialism and zionism which we have ceaselessly denounced in this very Hall and which, following the neutralization of a front-line Arab country, was meant to widen the field of application of the Camp David agreements and eliminate the Palestinian resistance once and for all with a view to imposing on the entire region an Israeli-American peace.

91. To believe in the physical liquidation of the Palestinian resistance and that it might be possible to silence a people which for 35 years has refused to die and has proclaimed to the entire world, without weakening, the injustice that has been done to it, is to disregard the unshakable law of history that a people which defends its right to live is invincible.

92. While continuing their policy of conquest, aggression and expansionism, the Zionist leaders have continued to implement their criminal attempt fundamentally to modify the legal status of the Arab territories occupied since 1967. The effective annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights—following the adoption by the Knesset of the December 1981 so-called law on the annexation of the Golan Heights—which took place after the annexation of the Holy City of Al-Quds, constitutes an act of juridical piracy which the Security Council and the General Assembly have unanimously rejected and strongly condemned. That act, which international law governing warfare prohibits, since it denies the Power occupying a foreign territory any sovereignty over that territory, must once more be denounced strongly by the international community because it constitutes a grave precedent and a defiance of the United Nations.

93. Similarly, measures taken by the occupying forces to extend their legislation to the inhabitants of the Syrian Golan Heights by requiring that they carry Israeli identification cards should be firmly condemned and considered null and void.

94. The fierce resistance of the people of the Golan Heights to these attempts at assimilation and zionization clearly testifies to their staunch refusal to renounce their Syrian identity and to yield to blackmail and the policy of *fait accompli*.

95. The repeated acts of aggression by the Zionist forces against the neighbouring Arab countries, the destruction of the Tamuz nuclear power plant, the invasion and dismemberment of Lebanon, the zionization of the occupied Arab territories and the annexation of the Holy City of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights all constitute epiphenomena and are part of a deliberate policy to side-step the central element of all these crises—the question of Palestine.

96. It is an established fact that the Zionist leaders are widening the sphere of action of their aggressive behaviour precisely to divert the attention of the international community from the original crisis of the Middle East. The increasing scale of aggression against the Arab peoples of the region attests to an insatiable appetite for the *faits accomplis* that unflinchingly promote tension and fuel the remorseless militarism of the Zionist leaders.

97. My delegation remains more than ever convinced that until the Palestinian people, robbed of its homeland and its property and reduced to the state of a homeless people, can determine its destiny freely,

until it has a homeland in which it will be able to create a sovereign, independent State, and until the occupied territories are restored to the Arab countries concerned, no solution will be found to the problem of the Middle East and that part of the world will, unfortunately, continue to be a stormy region with incalculable risks of widespread conflagration.

98. Mr. PASHKEVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): For decades, the United Nations has been devoting great attention to the Middle East problem. In the United Nations system, there is not a single specialized agency or body that has not dealt with this burning issue. It has inevitably been raised in discussions in almost all the other international forums and in meetings between leaders of States. The diplomats taking part in discussions and considerations of the Middle East issue change from generation to generation, but the essence of the problem remains the same: it is that Israel, with the comprehensive support of its defender from across the seas, for more than a third of a century now has cynically and flagrantly been pursuing a criminal policy to subdue the Arab people of Palestine, annex Arab lands and implement a policy of terrorism against the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories and of sovereign Arab States.

99. Because of Israel's criminal actions in the Middle East the situation is becoming increasingly worse, and the region is being systematically emptied by the bloodshed and the wars carried out by Israel. The history of the Middle East tragedy is being supplemented by more and more pages recounting Israel's evil deeds. These include, *inter alia*, Israel's recent aggression against Lebanon, its savagery against the unarmed civilians in the Sabra and Shatila camps, the rising scale of construction of Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab lands, the threat to repeat the marauding raids against the peaceful nuclear facilities of the Arabs, and so on. There has been much detailed talk about all these criminal activities of Israel at the current session of the General Assembly and these actions have been described in detail in international documents.

100. As a result, the cause of a Middle East settlement has become even more complicated and has suffered a reverse. The tension which has accumulated over the years in the region has now become so intense that it is a direct threat to international peace and security. All this cannot fail to arouse serious concern among the international community, and this concern is shown by the fact that, for example, urgent appeals were made for a swift and just settlement of the Middle East crisis in the statements made by 133 delegations during the general debate at the current session of the Assembly.

101. At this critical moment, when the situation in the Middle East is threatening the very existence of the Palestinian people and is fraught with the danger of a most serious conflagration, the world community and the United Nations must take very firm action to settle the situation in the region.

102. The underlying premise of our approach to this issue is that peace in the Middle East is indivisible and must be based on a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the whole Middle East question. It must ensure the complete and unconditional with-

drawal of Israel from all Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. It must allow the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, to exercise their inalienable rights, including their right to self-determination, national independence and the establishment of their own sovereign State in Palestine, as indeed was provided for in the well-known General Assembly resolution 181 (II), adopted on 29 November 1947. We also proceed from the premise, in resolution 36/226 A, that the General Assembly

“Rejects all partial agreements and separate treaties in so far as they violate the recognized rights of the Palestinian people and contradict the principles of just and comprehensive solutions to the Middle East problem to ensure the establishment of a just peace in the area.”

103. It is generally recognized that there will be no true progress towards a settlement of the Middle East problem until all the legal rights of the Arab peoples of Palestine are recognized and exercised, including the right to establish their own independent State. There must be full respect for the status of the PLO, confirmed by the United Nations as sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

104. In other words, we must proceed from the premise that the world community, and the United Nations in particular, have long since diagnosed the Middle East problem beyond any doubt and have worked out realistic ways and means of achieving a just political settlement of that problem in the interests of all the States and peoples of that region. The obstacles on that road are Israel's senseless stubbornness and, ever more substantive, the Middle East policy of the United States. It is not mere chance that Israel and the United States are named together when various aspects of the Middle East problem are discussed; it is not mere chance that they vote together, the two of them alone, against the relevant resolutions; and it is not mere chance that, in the Security Council, the United States defends Israel from just sanctions in connection with its failure to implement decisions unanimously adopted by the Council. It is quite evident—and it is not hidden in either Washington or Tel Aviv—that the United States regards Israel as its most reliable and faithful ally in the Middle East. That is why Washington is willing to satisfy the ever-growing appetite of Tel Aviv, to the detriment of the Arabs.

105. The mutual understanding between the United States and Israel and their relations as allies hinges on the strategy of reducing and subordinating the Arab world and leaving it to the mercy of Israel.

106. Attempts have been stepped up to establish an American military presence in the region and, in order to carry out punitive expeditions, primarily in the area of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, the so-called rapid deployment forces have been formed. Nobody can be misled by the ploy of a squabble between the United States and Israel which recently has been used as a bait to try to make people believe that there has been some so-called change in United States policy in respect of Israel. The balance of forces in the Middle East is such that no true defender of the national interests of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples can fail to oppose Washington's policy in the

Middle East, which continues to this day. Recent proposals by the United States made public on the eve of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez, obviously to influence its outcome, basically contradict the position taken by the Arab countries at that conference in that they do not contain the main ideas—recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to establish their own independent State and the requirement that Israel relinquish all occupied Arab lands and recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. Therefore, the position stated recently by the PLO in relation to the American plan is fully understandable.

107. The sad experience of decades filled with acts of aggression and military conflicts has shown that the paths of armed confrontation and of separate deals have not led and will not lead to a settlement of the Middle East problems. These problems can be justly resolved only through the collective efforts of all interested parties, including the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

108. Bearing in mind this evaluation, the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic would like to emphasize once again the relevance of the well-known proposals of the Soviet Union, put forward on 15 September 1982 [A/37/457] for a settlement of the Middle East problem. The content of those proposals is fully in accordance with the principles of a settlement of the situation in the Middle East contained in United Nations resolutions on this issue. Nor do the proposals diverge from the basic approach to the settlement of this problem drawn up at Fez.

109. The particular feature of the Soviet approach—which, as can be seen from the consideration of the Middle East problem at the current session, is supported by many delegations from different countries—is that, together with the carefully balanced parameters of the political settlement of the Middle East problem in the interests of all the States and peoples of the region, it also provides for a mechanism for preparing for such a settlement, namely, an international conference on the Middle East problem, with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

110. There are no self-serving calculations underlying the Soviet proposals. Their only aim is to provide a comprehensive settlement and to turn the Middle East from a powder-keg into a zone of a peaceful life for States and peoples. They are designed not to split up the Arabs but rather to unite them around a programme intended to eliminate the consequences of aggression, and at the same time are in the interest of the independence, security and territorial integrity of all parties to the conflict.

111. The struggle for a just Middle East settlement has become an inseparable part of the efforts made by the countries of the socialist community and by other countries in support of the efforts of peoples that are defending their independence, freedom and right to determine their own future, to avert the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, to preserve and develop the process of détente and to strengthen international peace and security. The Byelorussian SSR will continue in the future also consistently to follow this course, which will undoubtedly lead to the implemen-

tation of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to their land and to a free and independent existence, and to the long-awaited peace and stability in the Middle East.

112. Mr. NOORANI (Pakistan): The situation in the Middle East is once again before the General Assembly for its consideration. This year the debate on this item is taking place in the aftermath of a terrible tragedy for the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and for Lebanon itself, whose sovereignty and territorial integrity were violated by the Israeli invasion, in total disregard of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the accepted norms of international behaviour.

113. The fact that such a tragedy could have taken place despite the efforts which had been made over the years within and outside the United Nations to resolve the Middle East conflict, at the heart of which lies the Palestine question, shows the gravity of the challenge that Israel has hurled at the international community by its policy of continued aggression.

114. To quote from the report of the Secretary-General:

“... instead of general peace, there have been in the Middle East a succession of cease-fires. ... in the absence of a resolution of the underlying political and security issues, the situation remained unstable, and over the years the cease-fires were marred by numerous incidents and five full-fledged wars. With the development of increasingly sophisticated weapons, each succeeding war has become more destructive and each new round of fighting has added to the complexity of the conflict and made it more difficult to resolve. The recent tragic events in Lebanon have forcefully highlighted the urgent need to seek a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian problem and other aspects of the Middle East conflict.” [A/37/525, para. 88.]

115. The nature of the Middle East conflict is such that, unless the primary issue that lies at its core—that is, the Palestine question—is resolved, not only will the region itself be confronted with explosions of increasing intensity but serious conflicts may erupt even beyond the region.

116. Israel's invasion of Lebanon, the attendant savagery and the massacre of hundreds of innocent Palestinian men, women and children in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps have aroused the strongest condemnation of the international community. Israel may have had some temporary military gains, but its outrageous actions in Lebanon have certainly exposed it and the nature of its aggressive policies to the international community. On the other hand, the Arab and Palestinian cause has gained greater recognition, and the restraint exercised by the PLO in the face of the Israeli onslaught has evoked wider international acclaim.

117. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon is a sequel to the Israeli policies of occupation and annexation of the Arab and Palestinian territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and its repression of the Palestinian people. The inability of the United Nations to compel Israel to reverse these policies has further encouraged it to intensify its violent and oppressive policies against the Palestinian people by denying them,

with impunity, their human and fundamental rights and resorting to expropriation of their lands and properties. Driven by its expansionist ambitions, Israel is carrying out outright annexation of the Arab and Palestinian territories and is also attempting to change the demographic, historical and cultural features of these ancient lands. It is terrorizing the Arab and Palestinian inhabitants and their leadership in the occupied territories by subjecting them to arbitrary arrest, expulsion, harassments and unbridled persecution.

118. Demonstrating a restraint and a commitment to peace which have earned universal admiration, the Arab leadership and the PLO offered a new opportunity for peace when they met at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez last September. They have come forward with a Final Declaration [A/37/696, annex] containing a realistic peace plan based on justice and reasonableness. Their response to other peace plans, in particular the proposals made by President Reagan, also reflects a sense of responsibility and a readiness to seize opportunities for peace in the Middle East. The Arab leaders have also actively pursued their efforts for peace and have undertaken important contacts and consultations as a follow-up of the Fez peace plan. Their efforts in this regard are worldwide and we had the honour of receiving last Saturday the committee of Arab Foreign Ministers, which, under the leadership of His Majesty King Hussein of Jordan, is visiting various capitals.

119. On the other hand, the Israeli response to these peace initiatives has been entirely negative. It has rejected the Fez peace plan as well as the proposals made by President Reagan. In the circumstances, it is the responsibility of the international community, in particular those Powers which have influence with Israel, to ensure that it respects the imperatives of peace and justice and co-operates in international efforts for a just and peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict.

120. In welcoming the various peace initiatives, we cannot ignore the fact that no settlement can be viable which does not provide for the fulfilment of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination in Palestine, and which does not recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

121. It must also be clearly recognized that only after Israel's withdrawal from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and following the exercise of the national rights of the Palestinian people can security be ensured for all States in the region.

122. Pakistan has consistently supported these imperative requirements for peace in the Middle East and continues to believe firmly in their validity. These imperatives are also part of the decisions of the United Nations. The stumbling-block on the path towards peace is Israel's contemptuous disregard of those decisions and its persistent intransigence in the face of censure by the international community.

123. This situation calls for meaningful action by the United Nations to secure Israel's compliance with the collective demands of the membership. The Security Council, with its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, must take all the necessary enforcement actions under the

Charter to ensure that United Nations decisions in respect of the Middle East are carried out. A failure in this regard could lead to incalculable consequences, since the Middle East conflict continues to be the gravest threat to international peace and security.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.

NOTES

¹ A/37/706.

² A/37/704 and A/37/705.

³ *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1982), vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

⁴ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1982*, document S/15317.