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*President:* Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA  
(Zambia).

**AGENDA ITEM 36**

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

1. The PRESIDENT: In connection with the Assembly's consideration of this item, three draft resolutions have been submitted [A/39/L.19 and Corr.1, L.20 and Corr.1 and L.21 and Corr.1].

2. Mr. OCHIENGHS-WELLBORN (Uganda): The Middle East crisis is one of the most formidable and intractable problems in the international arena. For four decades, the region of the Middle East has hardly known peace or tranquillity. Five wars have broken out, resulting in much destruction of lives and property. The grave situation in the Middle East is of concern to the whole of the international community, as it threatens world peace and security and could be the flash-point of big-Power confrontation.

3. The ramifications of the wars in the region have been felt all over the world. Therefore, as we approach the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, we are reminded that the achievement of a peaceful solution to the Middle East crisis has been, and remains, one of the most pressing and challenging tasks on the United Nations agenda.

4. As the Secretary-General points out in his report:

"The search for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East has followed a pattern that has become all too familiar. Each of the five destructive and inconclusive wars has been followed by a new peace effort, spurred by the renewed awareness of the dangers of continued stalemate. On each occasion proposals were put forward and in some cases partial agreement reached, but the peace effort soon became deadlocked . . . In time, the sense of urgency was lost and a deadlock was once again allowed to persist until the next major crisis." [A/39/600, para. 35.]

5. All the peace proposals have foundered because of Israeli intransigence, due in turn to Israel's avowed aim of frustrating the restoration to the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights.

6. It will be recalled that two years ago the brutal and totally unjustified Israeli invasion of Lebanon, with its attendant and horrifying massacres of Sabra and Shatila, jolted the conscience of the international community as a whole and made it realize the urgency of resolving the problem.

7. Even the United States has acknowledged that a comprehensive solution to the Middle East situation was necessary and must take into account the rights of the Palestinian people. Consequently, President Reagan outlined his peace initiative on 1 September 1982.<sup>1</sup> On 15 September 1982, the Soviet Union outlined its proposals for resolving the crisis.<sup>2</sup>

8. The Arab States as well as the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] responded positively to the proposals for a just peace when they offered their peace plan, which was embodied in the Final Declaration of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982.<sup>3</sup> Despite the provocations of the unjustified Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the continued establishment of colonial settlements in the occupied Arab territories, they have stood by the offer of the Fez plan. That plan offers a basis for a just and lasting peace in which all States in the region could coexist within secure and internationally recognized borders. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983, and the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly welcomed the Fez plan and called for an international peace conference on the Middle East.

9. Regrettably, Israel's response to these proposals was negative and provocative. It dismissed out of hand all the peace proposals from all quarters and proceeded to construct more settlements in the occupied Arab territories.

10. Ever since its inception, Israel has masked its designs and actions to acquire more Arab territories under the guise of its "concern for security within internationally recognized borders". Whenever it has been pressed to withdraw from occupied Arab territories under Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which it accepted, Israel claimed it was holding on to the territories for bargaining purposes only. An impression was given that it would withdraw from the occupied territories in the context of a comprehensive settlement, in exchange for recognition. Israel has rejected out of hand and frustrated all the peace initiatives not because they failed to provide assurances of security to all States of the region; Israel has rejected all these proposals out of hand precisely because they address the problem which is the core of the Middle East crisis. They call for the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories and the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

11. General Assembly resolution 181 (II), of 29 November 1947, from which Israel derives its existence, equally required the establishment of the Palestinian State. But ever since the adoption of that resolution by the General Assembly, Israel embarked on frustrating the realization of a Palestinian State while at the same time absorbing its territories in the

quest for Eretz Yisrael. It is in this context that Israel's actions and its rejection of the peace proposals should be seen by well-meaning people. The annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, the declaration of Jerusalem as the eternal capital, the invasion of Lebanon and the creeping annexation of the West Bank and Gaza through the implantation of colonial settlements are manifestations of the political course that has for decades been pursued by Israel.

12. The Arab population of the occupied territories is being systematically harassed, terrorized politically and economically, and persecuted with the clear objective of forcing it to flee into exile. Contrary to the injunctions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, Israel adamantly refuses to accept the applicability of the 1949 Geneva conventions to the occupied territories. Implicit in this stand is the false notion that these territories are part of Israel. This points to a clear design to annex the West Bank and Gaza.

13. It is Uganda's view that Israel continues to be intransigent because those who are in a position to do so have not applied sufficient pressure for it to comply with the Charter and relevant resolutions of the United Nations. Each aggressive war or action it has conducted has been followed by the infusion of yet more sophisticated weapons to intimidate its neighbours. The region has been transformed into a theatre for testing new and sophisticated weapons. We are dismayed when, instead of being concerned about the terrible suffering caused to the victims by the use of weapons, some relish or view with glee the success of the weapons emanating from their ideological camp. We in Africa view with concern the arming of Israel with sophisticated weapons beyond its defensive needs, in view of its military collaboration with racist South Africa, our sworn enemy.

14. Uganda has always viewed the essentials of a meaningful peace plan as a composite whole, each part being integrally related to the other parts. We have maintained that the conflict can be resolved only through a comprehensive settlement covering all its aspects. The United Nations must provide the framework for a just and comprehensive peace. A framework for peace can be just if it restores the rights of the Palestinian people and it can be comprehensive if it takes into account all the legitimate aspirations in the region and involves the participation of all the parties concerned.

15. Such a solution must include the following elements: first, the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories; secondly, the right of refugees to return to their homeland; thirdly, the exercise by the Palestinians of their right to self-determination.

16. Since the restoration of Palestinian rights constitutes the centre-piece of a settlement, it follows that the Palestinians, through the PLO, their sole and authentic representative, must necessarily be involved in the negotiations.

17. In this connection I wish to reiterate Uganda's support for an international peace conference on the Middle East called for by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine in 1983. We believe that there will be a greater chance for the success of a peace process in the Middle East if there is the participation of the Soviet Union, the United States, the PLO and all the other parties concerned on an equal footing. It is to us a matter of regret that

the Secretary-General's efforts in convening such a conference have been frustrated by Israel, with the support of a reputable State Member of the United Nations. The Secretary-General states in his report:

"As far as the proposal for a Middle East peace conference is concerned, I recall that the previous peace conference that met in December 1973, and of which the United States and the Soviet Union were co-chairmen, did in fact serve a useful purpose in relation to the arrangements that followed the 1973 war in the Middle East" (*ibid.*, para. 46).

18. It is Uganda's firm view that the convening of such a conference would further advance the prospects for peace in the region. We call upon all concerned to give full support to the Secretary-General in this endeavour.

19. Mr. MATTHA (Kenya): The delegation of Kenya sees the origin of the unsettled situation in the Middle East as one created by the persecution of Jews in Europe during the Second World War and their desire to migrate to their alleged ancestral home in Palestine. The land to which they wanted to migrate was not devoid of inhabitants. Another people inhabited the area and also had ancestral ties to the land.

20. When, at the end of the Second World War, the question arose as to what to do with the Jews who had been persecuted in Europe, the General Assembly addressed the problem and in 1947 adopted resolution 181 (II).

21. By that resolution, the General Assembly created an Arab and a Jewish State in the former British-mandated territory of Palestine. Since that time, the region of the Middle East has been turned into an area of tension and war. The tragic events that followed the decision to partition Palestine are well known and I shall not take the time of the Assembly to recount them in detail. Those details are well documented and compose a history full of human misery. The core of the whole problem revolves around Palestine.

22. The United Nations, oblivious of the entirety of the implications of its decision, witnessed in 1948 a conflict that followed the partitioning of Palestine. The solution devised at the end of the conflict essentially took the form of humanitarian assistance. However important that aspect was, it should not have been construed as the final solution needed for the problems resulting from the partitioning of Palestine.

23. There were other dimensions to the problem, the solution of which was not addressed after the 1948 Arab-Israeli conflict. The failure of the United Nations to devise satisfactory solutions to all the aspects of the problem is proved by the fact that, in the past 37 years, the region of the Middle East has been devastated by five wars and countless breaches of the peace and of security. These unhappy events have arisen because of the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the region and the unresolved question of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights.

24. The General Assembly, at its twenty-ninth session, in 1974, in an attempt to find a suitable and just solution to the problem of the Middle East, departed from its past practice of looking only at the refugee aspects of the problem in the Middle East and instead started to look at it in its entirety. At that session, my delegation was happy to endorse the

inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of the item entitled "The question of Palestine". We continue to believe that the question of Palestine demands urgent international attention until such time as a just and lasting solution of the problem has been found.

25. The twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly was a very important session in that it marked a political turning-point on the question of Palestine. It was at that session that the Assembly discussed for the first time in plenary meetings the question of Palestine. It was also at the same session that the Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable right of the uprooted and dispossessed people of Palestine to self-determination and a homeland of their own. The session also recognized that the Palestinians were an indispensable party to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. My delegation is delighted to see that the Assembly did itself come around to accepting what should have been accepted and firmly upheld prior to the calamities that befell the people of Palestine in 1947 and 1948 and which have for so long disturbed the peace and security of the entire region of the Middle East.

26. We hold the view that the General Assembly, having taken the original decision to partition Palestine, must continue to find ways and means of resolving all the problems arising out of its own decision. What is needed is a comprehensive solution that is just, lasting and able to bring peace to the region.

27. At the centre of all the problems afflicting this unhappy region is the fate of a people, the Arab Palestinians. Though large Palestinian populations were uprooted, displaced and removed from their ancestral homes, their rights must in no circumstances be flouted, overlooked, sacrificed and/or minimized. These people have been scattered far and wide, but the majority still live in refugee camps not far from their known homelands and others live in the territories of neighbouring Arab States. They have not disappeared from the earth. Consequently, their right to a place of their own under the sun and in the country of their forefathers must never be an issue of dispute and should be urgently realized. It is time that the United Nations came to grips with the reality of the problem, that of restoring the rights of the Palestinian people. My delegation approaches the question of Palestine guided by the following principles: that the Palestinian people, the displaced Palestinian people, have a right to a homeland and, should they so wish, a State of their own in their ancestral lands, free, independent, sovereign and separate from the State of Israel; and that the Palestinian people have a right to participate in any forum that is convened to find solutions to problems affecting them.

28. With the adoption of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) a process of negotiations was established. The process was further widened after the hostilities that broke out in 1973 and the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 338 (1973).

29. At the same time, the General Assembly, in resolution 3089 D (XXVIII) of 7 December 1973, reaffirmed that the people of Palestine are entitled to exercise their right to self-determination, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and declared that the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people is indispensable to the

establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

30. My delegation accepts the provisions of those resolutions and believes that, for a durable peace to be achieved, the Palestinians must be involved in the deliberations that affect their future. We call upon Israel to recognize that lasting peace will elude it as long as the displaced Palestinians are not listened to and fully involved in all negotiations and decisions affecting them.

31. We note with regret that, despite the many Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on the question of Palestine, Israel continues to ignore and defy the demands made in those resolutions.

32. Israel has been called upon to allow the return of Palestinian refugees to their homes and property and has defied that request, even to the point of militarily destroying refugee camps in areas over which it has no legal jurisdiction and which it has occupied by force of arms. Israel has been called upon to negotiate with the representative of the Palestinian people on an equal footing but has refused to do so.

33. Israel has been called upon to comply fully with the provisions of Security Council resolutions 465 (1980) and 478 (1980) and General Assembly resolution ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980. It has not done so. It is not only those resolutions that Israel has defied with impunity, but practically all Assembly and Council resolutions that have ever been adopted on the subject of Palestine.

34. The Kenya delegation's stand remains unchanged, and during the current session of the General Assembly Kenya will take a stand similar to the one it has taken before on this item. We cannot depart from our position of principle, in particular since Israel has continued to defy the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and by so doing has obstructed the attainment of the legitimate and inalienable right to self-determination of the Palestinian people.

35. In conclusion, we continue to uphold our position that Israel must withdraw from all Arab territories occupied since the June 1967 war. We simply cannot accept acquisition of territories by force, as in the case of Israel with respect to Palestine and other Arab lands. We will continue to reject, and object to, any assistance to Israel the purpose of which is to further Israeli intransigence and aggression against the people of Palestine and the Middle East as a whole. We will continue to condemn defiance of the international community by the State of Israel. Equally, we will continue to uphold the right of all States to exist within secure and recognized borders.

36. Mr. MBANZE (Mozambique): The question of the Middle East has been before the Assembly for more than three decades now. Needless to say, during this long period numerous resolutions and decisions have been adopted by both the General Assembly and the Security Council.

37. During the debate on this issue at the thirty-eighth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 38/180 D, in which it condemned, *inter alia*, Israel's continued occupation of the Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem, and demanded once again that Israel withdraw immediately and unconditionally from all the territories occupied since 1967.

38. The fact that in 1984, at the current session of the General Assembly, the international community still has to make the same demand as that made in 1967 is indicative of Israel's intransigence and its total lack of respect for the Charter of the United Nations. While calling upon the United Nations to redouble its efforts in the pursuit of a just and lasting peaceful solution to the crisis in the Middle East, my delegation recognizes the role played by the Organization in the search for a just solution to the situation in the Middle East.

39. The responsibility for the continuing crisis in the Middle East rests with Israel and some Members of the United Nations which have prevented it from taking further appropriate measures in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter, in particular those falling under Chapter VII.

40. The international community has been very imaginative in its endeavours to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Many proposals and initiatives have been put forward in this direction. Delegations which have spoken before us have made reference to those initiatives.

41. Israel has not only rejected those initiatives but, in its annexation of the eastern part of Jerusalem and its decision to extend Israeli jurisdiction and administration to the Syrian Golan Heights, also further violated the fundamental principles of international law. The tragedy in Lebanon is another glaring example of the stepping up of Israel's aggressiveness.

42. My Government views with great concern the increasing collaboration between Israel and the *apartheid* régime, as well as between Israel and some Member States, in so far as it undermines all peace efforts in the Middle East and encourages the régime to continue its militaristic, genocidal and expansionist policies.

43. My delegation joins other Member States in condemning this collaboration and in appealing to those States concerned immediately to cease their collaboration with the Zionist régime.

44. A just and durable peace cannot be established in the region except on the basis of Israel's total and unconditional withdrawal from all Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. A comprehensive settlement in the Middle East will also have to be reached through a just settlement of the Palestinian problem based on recognition of the legitimate and inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establish their independent and sovereign State, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2236 (XXIX).

45. The Arab peace plan,<sup>3</sup> adopted on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez, and supported by both the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, and the General Assembly, constitutes a sound framework for the establishment of lasting peace in the region. If Israel is willing to contribute to the promotion of a climate of peace in the region, it should consider abiding by the provisions of that plan.

46. My Government's position on the situation in the Middle East is well known. It has been reaffirmed time and again here in the United Nations and elsewhere. We strongly believe that peace in the

region will result from the recognition by Israel of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of their own sovereign and independent State. We reaffirm our support of the PLO. Israel should withdraw its forces from the occupied Arab territories and respect and acknowledge the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the States in the area and their right to live in peace, free from the threat or use of force.

47. My Government reiterates its support for the Geneva Declaration on Palestine and the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights,<sup>4</sup> adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva in 1983, as well as for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East.

48. My delegation wishes to commend the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 38/180.

49. Mr. SALLAM (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of Yemen listened to the Israeli representative when he spoke here [72nd meeting] about problems in the Middle East, problems which crop up daily between brothers and between father and son within the bosom of the Arab family. He spoke about the war between Iran and Iraq; he spoke about misunderstandings between members of the single Arab family which stretches from one end to the other of the Arab world; and he spoke about what he called the occupation by Arab Egypt of Arab Yemen. However, he did not speak at all about the situation in the Middle East, which is the item under consideration, that is to say, the Arab-Zionist conflict.

50. Even if the Arabs have different opinions and take different paths towards the objective, in the final analysis they remain Arabs bound together by one interest and destiny—be they Jews, Christians or Muslims. The Jews of Yemen, for example, are Arabs just like the rest of the Arabs; they are bound to the Arab peoples by common ties of blood, parentage and heritage.

51. As for the Israeli representative with an American accent, who two days ago came here to speak in the Assembly, he is an intruding colonialist who does not belong at all to that good land. The Israeli representative's intention, as made plain in his statement, was to scorn the important activities of the General Assembly. He transformed serious and dangerous concepts into farce and irony. Does he feel no shame when he stands up with arrogance and vainglory to mock the activities of the Assembly, which bears major responsibility for Israel's creation? Does he feel no shame when he mocks the United Nations, the Organization born amidst the ruins of the Second World War which, as he said, took a toll of six million innocent Jews massacred by the arrogant Nazis who claimed that the Germans were a superior race and that Germany was above all other nations?

52. How similar today is to yesterday!

53. Since the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 38/180 on 19 December 1983, no noteworthy progress has been achieved towards a peaceful solution of the Middle East problem. The Syrian Golan Heights continue to languish under Zionist occupation. The inhabitants of southern Lebanon continue to suffer under the burden of occupation:

they are subjected daily to repression, terrorism and arrests, their homes are demolished, and they are banished from their homes and families. We fully condemn this abhorrent Zionist occupation of southern Lebanon, and we pay tribute to the heroic resistance of the courageous fighters, the sons of Lebanon, who are defending Lebanese soil, which is an integral part of Arab territories within the Arab world.

54. The inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, both of which are occupied, have been no more fortunate than their brothers in the Golan Heights and southern Lebanon. They, too, are subjected daily to acts of repression, terrorism, expulsion and arrests, in spite of all the relevant General Assembly resolutions, including resolution 38/79 B, in which the Assembly reaffirmed that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,<sup>3</sup> is fully applicable to the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem.

55. Strenuous efforts have been made to formulate proposals and initiatives for the settlement of the Middle East question. The Arab initiative, embodied in the Final Declaration of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982,<sup>3</sup> still stands. There are other constructive and sincere initiatives and proposals, most important among which are those put forward by the Soviet Union and by the Secretary-General. But all those initiatives and proposals and all the enormous efforts which have been and continue to be deployed in good faith with a view to establishing a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East have had absolutely no effect on the State of Israel. Rather, that entity continues to ignore completely all those proposals and initiatives and to disregard the relevant General Assembly and Security Council decisions. It continues undeterred and with impunity to defy the will of the international community because of the political, economic and military support it receives from a great Power which bears an international responsibility, under the Charter of the United Nations, but has not lived up to that responsibility. The agreement on strategic co-operation between the United States and Israel is but one flagrant example of United States defiance of the decisions of the international community. That agreement goes against the interests of the countries and peoples of the Middle East region.

56. The question of Palestine is the core and crux of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Unless Israel recognizes the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to return to their homeland, to self-determination and to establish their independent State on their own soil, under the leadership of the PLO, no peace is possible in the Middle East. That is why Yemen welcomes the idea of a peace conference, to be attended, on a basis of equality, by all the parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, as well as by the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. The Yemeni delegation, which sees a gleam of light in the recent agreement between the two great Powers to reduce tensions in the world, has high hopes that this agreement to negotiate without pre-conditions on all questions—the most important of which are disarmament questions—will contribute in a positive manner not only to the special negotiations on disarmament but also to the efforts to resolve international problems by peaceful means

and on an equitable basis, in conformity with international law.

57. The failure of the United Nations to solve the Middle East problem in all these years has indeed affected the credibility of the Organization and faith in its ability to solve international problems. The Yemeni delegation, which, as I have said, sees a gleam of light in this latest agreement between the two super-Powers, wishes them success in their efforts to solve international problems, success that would restore the prestige and credibility of the United Nations and its authority regarding the maintenance of international peace and security.

58. Mr. GARBA (Nigeria): My delegation has read the report of the Secretary-General [A/39/600] with great care and attention and would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation of its scope and breadth. The issues raised in his observations not only represent an objective assessment of the complex and delicate situation in the Middle East but also should contribute to giving a renewed impetus to the international community's search for a durable peace for the region.

59. It must stir our minds to reflect that, since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, each of the five destructive and inconclusive wars, as pointed out in the report, has been followed by a new effort, spurred by renewed awareness of the dangers of a continuing impasse. It is therefore a challenge to the international community to exert its utmost efforts to break the chain and to ensure that the history of missed opportunities for achieving permanent peace and solving this intractable and grave problem does not repeat itself.

60. The foregoing not only stresses my recognition and perception of the increased tension in the Middle East but also underlines the great sense of the urgent need for the United Nations to push harder for a political settlement in order to save the region from the scourge of war. Indeed, it is evident that the situation, as we must recognize, becomes more dangerous each year with the increasing acquisition and introduction into the area of more sophisticated weapons.

61. Unfortunately, in spite of that destabilizing development, there has been no step forward towards peace in the past year because of the continuing Israeli failure to see the need to work towards peaceful accommodation with the Palestinians, who constitute the core of the problem. In fact, Israel has shown no willingness or desire to go beyond the Camp David agreement. We believe that a peace that is just and equitable cannot ignore the aspirations and the rights of the Palestinians. It must recognize their inalienable right to self-determination, to return to their homeland and to establish an independent State of their own in Palestine.

62. Israel persistently refuses to accept that the evident resolve of the Palestinians to establish their own homeland, as the Israelis have done, cannot be eliminated by intimidating military force. In fact, it was the erroneous belief that it could resolve the Palestinian problem by force on its own terms that led Israel into the first invasion of Lebanon in 1978. Its second invasion, launched in June 1982, was not differently motivated in spite of the claim that the invasion was intended to protect its northern borders. The horrifying massacre of innocent Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila camps which followed

that savage invasion could not but outrage the conscience of mankind.

63. Certainly, force cannot replace a political solution. The Palestinian problem still stares the Israelis in the face and remains as volatile as ever. Apart from the brutal force displayed by the Israeli occupation force, the invasion left a trail of destruction of human and material resources in Lebanon. It was another clear act of gross violation of the territorial integrity of Lebanon, in flagrant breach of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. For how long will the world continue to look on helplessly while Israel continues to defy the international community?

64. The Lebanese have categorically expressed their solemn desire to live in peace within secure boundaries. Israel's use of "security needs" to continue to prolong its illegal occupation of Lebanese territory demonstrates the arrogant intransigence and insensitivity that have characterized its attitude to the solution of the Middle East problem. It must, therefore, bear a heavy political and moral responsibility for the situation in Lebanon, where its excessive military action has left thousands dead, maimed or homeless. It bears a similar responsibility for persistently undermining international efforts to restore peace and stability in that country.

65. Regarding the situation in the occupied territory, my delegation is concerned over the reported increase in Jewish terrorism, particularly from the extremist Jewish Messianic movements. *The New York Times*, on 20 November of this year, quoted one Mr. Matar, a well-known Palestinian economist living in the occupied territory, as saying: "The extremism in Israel is causing people real fear." Continuing and referring to Rabbi Meir Kahane, the radical founder of the Jewish Defense League, he said:

"Kahane, the popularity of the right-wing parties among the young, the Jewish terrorists, the attack on an Arab bus are all making us feel that we are not physically safe any more. There is a real fear within the Palestinian community that these crazies will undertake a major attack."

66. My delegation is aware of Israel's penchant for defying United Nations resolutions, but, in the light of the growing anxiety of Palestinian Arabs for their safety, Israel's attention must be drawn to the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.<sup>1</sup> In this connection, General Assembly resolution 38/79 B, of 15 December 1983, among other things reaffirmed that the Convention was applicable to Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, and demanded that Israel acknowledge and comply with its provisions.

67. In the past seven years, Israel has systematically set out to establish new settlements in occupied Arab territories of the West Bank and Gaza as part of its design to consolidate its annexation of those territories. In all this, Israel has ignored international condemnation of its actions and the hardship they cause Palestinian Arabs, who are increasingly under pressure for holding land. Nigeria, therefore, reaffirms its support for General Assembly resolution 38/79 C, which demands that the Government of Israel desist forthwith from taking any action that would result in changing the legal status, geographical

nature or demographic composition of the occupied territories.

68. My Government strongly holds the view that Israel's continued occupation of Arab territories not only is a flagrant challenge to the international community but also represents a serious threat to international peace and security. The world has witnessed in the past the futility of attempting to find a military solution or impose a lopsided super-Power solution to the Middle East problem. My delegation cannot but agree fully with the Secretary-General that: "Each succeeding war becomes more destructive because of the development of new and more sophisticated weapons. Far from resolving old issues, it creates new ones and widens the circle of resentment and mistrust among opposing parties." [*Ibid.*, para. 36.] The Israelis should ponder deeply over these words of wisdom, which stress the need for a determined effort to reach a peaceful settlement.

69. In the search for a political settlement, my Government's position calls for the total withdrawal of Israeli troops from Arab territories occupied since 1967; the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon; the sovereign exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, including recognition of the right to self-determination, the right to return to their homeland and the right to establish an independent State in Palestine; the right of the PLO to participate fully in any international conference aimed at finding a just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem; and recognition of and respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States in the region and their right to live in peace within recognized borders.

70. It is clear to my delegation that every opportunity should be explored to achieve a lasting and comprehensive solution under the auspices of the United Nations. In this respect, I recall that at the thirty-eighth session the General Assembly called for the convening of an international peace conference for this purpose [resolution 38/58 C].

71. My delegation regrets to learn from the Secretary-General's report that, in the light of the consultations he had conducted with the parties concerned, the members of the Security Council and other interested Governments, it is quite evident that the conditions required for convening the proposed conference with any chance of success are not met at the present time.

72. Nevertheless, my delegation has also noted the Secretary-General's belief in the special obligation of the United Nations to make another determined effort to find the means by which the United Nations can move forward to a negotiated peace in the Middle East on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). It seems to him that what is needed at present is a framework for negotiations and an umbrella under which the necessary contacts could develop according to the demands of the problems that were being considered.

73. While my delegation once again expresses its appreciation of the Secretary-General's report, it wishes to emphasize that no time, no opportunity and no opening should be lost in seeking a lasting solution to the Middle East situation. We regret that the co-operation needed for the implementation of the resolution adopted last year calling for this international peace conference has not been sufficiently forthcoming. We therefore call on all the



parties concerned to create the necessary conditions for the holding of the proposed international peace conference.

74. Mr. ALAUKLI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My country believes that the cause of the present situation in the part of the Arab world traditionally called the Middle East is the establishment of a Zionist base in Arab Palestine, a colonial settler base resulting from the Second World War. The Western colonial empires, exhausted by a costly global war, needed a resident agent to look after their economic and strategic interests in the Arab World. Those declining forces of imperialism found their instrument in the world Zionist movement, which accepted this role in return for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Arab Palestine. With these convergent objectives and interests, a deal was made and a racist entity was implanted in the heart of the Arab world, an entity which uses brute force to achieve the Zionist dream of establishing a greater Zionist State on the ruins of the Arab world.

75. As a result of these aggressive expansionist policies of the Zionist entity, the whole region has become the arena of a conflict of civilization between two opposites: the authentic indigenous party, which is fighting to preserve its independence and destiny, and the alien party, represented by the imperialist Zionist camp, which is trying through all means to conquer and crush the Arab nation. Five wars of aggression have been waged against Arab countries, resulting in the occupation of parts of their territories and in the death or uprooting of thousands of their citizens. They have had to mobilize all their capabilities in order to repel aggression and to resist pressure to bend the knee in surrender. In spite of the great imbalance of material might, the Arab position remained steadfast in its resistance until the Camp David accords, which in the Arab view are a deviation from the line of conduct of the Arab States and which caused Egypt to leave the arena of confrontation. The end result of those accords was a vindication of the logic of force and aggression. But the vitality of the Arab nation and its experience in struggle were able to limit the consequences of that deviation, which the Arab nation considered to be an odious Zionist-American model for peace. A second attempt was made to impose such a model on Arab Lebanon, but it was doomed to failure thanks to the blows struck by the heroes of the Lebanese national resistance.

76. It has been repeatedly stated that the basic problem is the continued Zionist aggression against the Arab nation and the programme of the Zionist base, which uses brute force and terror to achieve its expansionist goals. Zionist theory has it that the seizure of Arab territories constitutes a form of liberation of lands bestowed by God upon His chosen people, the Hebrews. That theory clearly reveals the true intentions of the leaders of the Zionist movement regarding the Arab world and helps us better to understand their perception of the political frontiers of their future empire. The terrorist Sharon has said that those frontiers will be spread as far as Israeli tanks can reach. The application of this expansionist theory brought about the occupation and annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights and the invasion of one third of Lebanese territory, as well as the accelerated establishment of settlements in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Egyptian Taba.

77. Moreover, the Zionist entity's new theories about so-called preventive war and the so-called security considerations of the Jewish State are nothing more than pettifoggery to attempt to justify the total use of military force to achieve its expansionist objectives. These theories also encouraged the Zionist entity to invade Lebanon in the summer of 1982 on the pretext of defending the security of Galilee. They also invoked these theories in the destruction of the Iraqi nuclear installations. Despite their claims, this action was intended to prevent the Arab nation from possessing nuclear power for peaceful purposes. These are only a few examples of the application of the Zionist theories of security; they show the true objectives of the Zionists: expansion through the absorption of more Arab territories and the destruction of the Arab world's entire potential for economic and social development, for such development would run counter to the schemes and requirements of the Zionist entity.

78. We are pleased to note that the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly over the years reveal increasing international awareness of the true nature of the conflict between the Arab nation and the Zionist entity, especially since the expansionist, aggressive schemes of the Zionist entity and of imperialism became clear. This is shown by the historic General Assembly resolution which declared Zionism to be a form of racism [resolution 3379 (XXX)] and by the resolution characterizing the Zionist entity as a non-peace-loving country [resolution ES-9/1]. The Assembly has also denounced and condemned the collaboration between the two racist régimes, that in occupied Palestine and that in South Africa. The stand taken by the Assembly helps heighten our understanding of the true nature of the Middle East conflict and assists us in the search for comprehensive solutions which take into account the colonial and aggressive nature of the Zionist entity.

79. The Zionist entity's continued defiance of all United Nations resolutions demands that the Organization adopt suitable measures towards it, the same measures once adopted against the racist/colonial régime in Rhodesia and which are now being applied against the racist régime in South Africa. There is no hope for fundamental internal changes in the policies or theories of such racist colonial régimes. We must therefore concentrate our efforts on the elimination of those régimes; their persistence runs counter to the principles of justice, right and peace.

80. The close relations between the United States Administration and the Zionist entity are one of the principal reasons for the increase of tension in the region. Comprehensive and unlimited United States assistance to the Zionist entity encourages it to continue carrying out its expansionist schemes and helps it to escape international sanctions. These relations have developed further since the signing of a strategic co-operation agreement which merges the capabilities of the two partners in the implementation of hegemonistic schemes against the Arab nation. The first practical application of this strategic co-operation was in Lebanon. During and after the invasion of that country, the world saw the extent of the co-operation between these two partners in the military, political and propaganda spheres. Despite the disappointing results of the Lebanese experience, the two partners were not discouraged in their military and political co-operation, which continues,

spreading even beyond the Arab region, to Africa, Asia and Latin America.

81. Figures published by various American institutions show the volume of military, economic and financial assistance received by the Zionist entity since the signing of this agreement, an agreement which has officially and legally transformed the Zionist base into a springboard of imperialism and a military base for United States Marines and for the United States rapid deployment force. This agreement's codification of the relations between the two partners makes the United States a direct party to aggression against the Arab nation. That role deprives the United States of the neutrality which it seeks to project in its mediation between the Zionist entity and some advocates of defeatist solutions in the Arab world. Consequently, any settlement which is brought into the world at the hands of the United States midwife will be no more than a document of surrender to Zionist conditions, on the pattern of the Camp David accords.

82. The question before us is closely related to the functions and purposes of the United Nations and to the mores and principles underlying the very concept of the international Organization. It is to be feared that the Arab peoples could lose confidence in the viability and credibility of United Nations resolutions as a result of the Organization's inability to carry out its functions due to the position of the United States Administration, which resorts to an arbitrary use of its veto power, paralysing the Organization and reducing the role of the majority of its Members to mere expressions of sympathy and good intentions.

83. The present conditions in the Arab region resulting from Zionist aggression against Palestine and neighbouring Arab countries place a heavy responsibility on the international community. All Member States without exception must shoulder that responsibility and remove the conditions which gave rise to this explosive situation. The Arab nation has not yet lost hope in the United Nations and is committed to supporting its efforts aimed at the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the region.

84. I wish to comment on the statement made here two days ago [72nd meeting] by the representative of the Zionist entity. He uttered baseless allegations and lies in a malicious and cowardly attempt to distort the facts and divert the attention of the General Assembly from the item under discussion. The comparison he drew between Arab disputes and interactions, on the one hand, and the conflict of civilizations between the Arab nation and the Zionist entity, on the other, and his attempt to attribute the crisis to what he called the propensity to violence of the Arab race, are indeed expressions of the Zionist position of denying and distorting the facts and of applying Zionist racist theories which belittle the values of other races.

85. The representative of the Zionist entity was not able for one second to hide his racism, whatever his skill in lying and propagating disinformation. He was not able to produce a shred of evidence which could change the general conviction that the existence of the Zionist régime is contrary to the requirements of restoring peace and security to the region. Even more repugnant was that person's attempt to label others as terrorists when they defend their lands and destinies.

He seems to forget that the Zionist entity represents history's most horrible form of terrorism.

86. I need not reply in detail to his allegations and lies. The international community replied correctly when it declared Zionism to be a form of racism. In fact, we see in the massacres and acts of genocide in Sabra and Shatila and, before that, in Deir Yassin and Kafr Kassam, and in an electoral platform which permitted the terrorist Kahane to enter the Knesset, the best and most recent proof of the true nature of the Zionist scheme regarding the Arab nation.

*Mr. Gumucio Granier (Bolivia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

87. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of India who will introduce draft resolutions A/39/L.19 and Corr.1, L.20 and Corr.1 and L.21 and Corr.1.

88. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): I have the honour, on behalf of the sponsors, to introduce draft resolutions A/39/L.19 and Corr.1, L.20 and Corr.1 and L.21 and Corr.1. Like similar draft resolutions in previous years, these draft resolutions contain the basic principles for a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the conflict in the Middle East, principles already established and approved earlier by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

89. Draft resolution A/39/L.19 is a comprehensive resolution on the situation in the Middle East. While welcoming the world-wide support extended to the just cause of the Palestinian people and the other Arab countries in their struggle against Israeli aggression and occupation, it calls for a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Middle East problem. It reaffirms the conviction that the question of Palestine is the core of the conflict in the Middle East and that no comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region will be achieved without the full exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights and the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Israel from all the Palestinian and other territories occupied since June 1967. The draft resolution reaffirms, further, that a just and comprehensive settlement cannot be achieved without the participation on an equal footing of all the parties to the conflict, including the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people. The draft resolution stresses the great importance of the time factor in the endeavours to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It reaffirms its call for the convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East, as specified in paragraph 5 of the Geneva Declaration on Palestine,<sup>4</sup> under the auspices of the United Nations and on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

90. Draft resolution A/39/L.20 condemns Israel for its failure to comply with Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and declares that its occupation of the Syrian Golan Heights constitutes an act of aggression under the provisions of Article 39 of the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX). It also declares that Israel's decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the occupied Syrian Golan Heights is null and void and without legal validity, and emphasizes that this decision must be rescinded. While calling upon Member States to apply certain measures with a view to isolating Israel, the draft resolution reaffirms the necessity for total and un-



conditional withdrawal by Israel from all Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem, as an essential prerequisite for the establishment of a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East.

91. Draft resolution A/39/L.21 deals with the Holy City of Jerusalem. It declares that Israel's decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on Jerusalem is illegal and therefore null and void and has no validity.

92. I have briefly enumerated the content of the three draft resolutions before the Assembly. I do not believe that there is any need to dwell at length on each of these texts since they all are self-explanatory.

93. The tragic conflict in the Middle East constitutes a grave threat not only to peace in the region but also to international peace and security. Recent months have witnessed a deterioration in the situation, resulting in further acts of aggression and intimidation by Israel of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. It is important to find an early solution to this conflict which has brought untold misery to millions of people, in particular the Palestinian people, who have been unjustly denied their basic and inherent right to self-determination and nationhood. The Secretary-General's report [A/39/600] states that the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East and its key issue, the Palestinian problem, have remained unresolved despite intensive efforts undertaken by the United Nations and individual Member States during the past 37 years. The primary reason for the lack of progress in finding a comprehensive solution is the arrogance and intransigence of Israel, which has deliberately defied the will of the international community.

94. India has consistently advocated that a just and comprehensive solution to the problems of western Asia should comprise the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable national and human rights, including the right to establish an independent State in their homeland, the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and a guarantee that all States in the region, including Palestine, will be able to live within secure and recognized borders.

95. Along with other non-aligned countries, India has been active in mobilizing international support for a just, comprehensive and lasting solution of the Middle East problem on the basis of internationally recognized guidelines and principles. The support and solidarity with our Palestinian brothers and sisters has been a notable feature of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. In recent months our efforts have been concentrated on gathering support for the early convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations, as proposed by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held in Geneva in 1983. The situation in the region does not brook any delay and preparatory measures should be undertaken with urgency so that the conference can be convened at the earliest possible time. In this context, we are appreciative of the efforts being made by the Secretary-General towards the convening of the conference and the consultations initiated by him with the parties concerned aimed at finding a comprehensive solution. We stand ready to extend our full support and co-operation in this connection.

96. I submit draft resolutions A/39/L.19 and Corr.1, L.20 and Corr.1 and L.21 and Corr.1 to the Assembly for consideration and adoption at a subsequent meeting convened for this purpose. I sincerely hope and trust that the draft resolutions will command the overwhelming support of the Assembly.

97. Mr. RAJAJIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): "O ye who believe! If a wicked person comes to you with any news, ascertain the truth, lest ye harm people unwittingly, and afterwards become full of repentance for what ye have done." [Koran, Surah XLIX:6.]

98. The situation in the Middle East has been described lucidly and fully by previous speakers, particularly by some of our Muslim brothers, and furthermore everybody knows what is happening in the Middle East; everyone knows the sad story of the occupation of Palestine, the Golan Heights, southern Lebanon and the West Bank, new settlements, and so on and so forth. There is nothing that is really unknown.

99. The repetition of these problems and the reiteration of the agony of the Middle East, which is indeed due to the Zionist invasion and occupation of Palestine, are due to a sad assumption—that the international consciousness at the United Nations is so sleepy, so irresponsibly playful, callous and sometimes devoid of an honest approach to issues that unless a case is constantly repeated it will simply remain forgotten.

100. That is the case, at least so far as the situation in the Middle East is concerned, and that is why people feel happy at least to keep the issue alive. This very attempt is an indication of the sad reality that this international body is the least trustworthy and that unless one keeps repeating one's case it will be totally forgotten and remain for ever disregarded. Whether this perennial remembrance will solve any problem or not is another matter, but it has been conceived as obviously necessary to repeat one's case continuously; therefore, people have been coming here every year with their "Mr. Presidents" and continuously repeating "the situation in the Middle East". If one goes through the speeches one comes upon exactly the same ideas, expressed with very little difference, for many years now.

101. Of course, when there is a Sabra and Shatila a new phase of the tragedy manifests itself; but there are always new phases and everywhere there are new incidents, new Sabras and Shatilas, to refer to, but the problem has always been the same.

102. Since our position regarding the issue of the Middle East and the Zionist invasion and occupation of Palestine—which is the kernel of all these problems—is quite clear, I had not intended to make a statement. However, when I heard the Zionist enemy, which unfortunately has been given recognition here and is able to have a seat among legitimate Members, trying two days ago [72nd meeting] to explain all the problems of the Middle East in terms of Arab violence and militancy, I thought it was necessary for me to remind the General Assembly of the verse I recited at the beginning of my statement: "If a wicked person comes to you with any news, ascertain the truth, lest ye harm people unwittingly, and afterwards become full of repentance for what ye have done."

103. I believe that all the cheap and dirty allegations and arguments produced by the representative

of the Zionist enemy are simply the best examples of the message in that Koranic verse. They are the arguments and tidings produced by an ungodly man, and we have to make clear their truth or falsity.

104. Our case—the case of the imposed war—has, regrettably, given this pretext to the enemy to exploit it against the interests of the entire people of the Middle East. Since we are the victims of that war and this Assembly knows of all its aspects—chemical warfare, attacks on civilians and so on—I think we are in the best position to clarify the matter and declare here that no one in the entire Islamic Republic of Iran believes that the imposed war is due to Arab violence or Arab militancy. On the contrary, we all believe that all wars in all parts of the world, particularly those in the Middle East, are imposed upon the many third-world countries by the imperialist and Zionist forces which are the policy-makers in many so-called super-Power States.

105. People in the Middle East are not suffering from Arab militancy; they are suffering from the Zionist invasion and infiltration. "Peace" is the most famous slogan of all Muslims. The greetings that they exchange are just that one word—"Salaam", "Peace be with you", "Salaam Alaikum".

106. It is very sad to see the agents of war, the agents of bloodshed and destruction, change their clothes, pretend to be peaceful and accuse the most peaceful people in the world of militancy and aggressiveness.

107. No honest member of a delegation—which means no member of a delegation—at the United Nations should accept the cheap and vulgar arguments produced by the Zionist representative.

108. I am not an Arab and as a matter of fact I personally hate nationalism because it has deceived some of our noble Muslim Arab brothers who might take some mythical pride in Arab nationalism.

109. They have forgotten, probably, the holy verse: "So lose not heart, nor fall into despair: for ye must gain mastery if ye are true in Faith." [Surah III: 139.]

110. As a non-Arab and strong opponent of nationalism, I feel duty-bound to elaborate upon the cultural dignity and historical magnanimity of the Arabs, who happen to be the victims of Zionist invasions.

111. The land of Arabia, indeed, is a land of sacred war. It is the most sacred land, that has within it the most sacred sanctuaries of mankind. As human beings, not as diplomats or representatives, we are all so indebted to the blessing of Allah and must be so thankful to him for sending to us his holy prophets, many of whom come from the same sacred land. Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Mohamed—may peace be on all of them—have brought the message of God and they all come from the same land.

112. The Arabic language is one of the strongest and, linguistically speaking, the most efficient languages. Those who know Arabic and have a very basic knowledge of mathematical logic and the symbolic section of the calculus propositions know very well that Arabic propositions are the closest and, I must say, best symbolic representations of their mathematical equivalents. There are many languages which are too primitive to be compared to the Arabic language. There are many such languages, some of them already recognized here, but those who are familiar with Arabic and linguistics know very well what the Arabic language is.

113. Arabic literature, in particular its Islamic part, is the best heritage of mankind. It is too rich and too sophisticated sometimes to be rendered into other languages. To give just one example, I refer to Nicholson, the greatest orientalist, who has written, and has translated many masterpieces of Arabic and Islamic heritage into English, who did not succeed in translating the text of *Fusous Al Hikam* written by Ibr Araby. He was almost through with the job when he came to realize that it was a failure and decided to give it up and not publish the translated part; he decided that those who want to understand that work must learn Arabic and read the text in the original or else remain for ever without knowledge of that great masterpiece. This is just one example, but there are so many more.

114. We believe that our world is indebted to the Arabic heritage, too indebted as a matter of fact to attack Arabs and produce such cheap and dirty arguments against them. Language is the most advanced and most sophisticated art of mankind. Indeed, abstract language is the most powerful and therefore the most advanced part of this art. Arabic art, as representatives know, has always been unique and confined to linguistic art, that is, poetry. Other cultures have in their fine arts visual concepts, such as we see in drawings, paintings or dancing. Even music is inferior in many ways to the abstractionist symbols of the Arabic language. That is why the beauty of Arabic music can show itself only when complemented and supported by Arabic poetry. Without Arabic poetry, Arabic music remains like any other music.

115. The abstract art of Arabic poetry and language remains unique and a great and valuable part of human culture. It takes more than what this General Assembly can offer to elaborate upon the Arabic heritage, Arabic art, Arabic poetry, Arabic prose and, indeed, the Islamic heritage that is written in the Arabic language. I will give another piece of evidence for those who are interested in culture. The greatest master of Koranic interpretation, Allameh Tabataba'ei, who passed away very recently, was an Iranian who spoke Turkish and Persian, and he decided to write his greatest masterpiece in Arabic because he rightfully thought that ideas and thoughts could be well put only in the Arabic language. Later, people tried to translate the voluminous work, which is in 25 volumes, into other languages, including Persian and English, but we have always believed that the Arabic version is more powerful and more accurate.

116. As for the Arabs themselves, I think members know a lot, but they need to know more or at least to remember more in order to sympathize more with them. They are renowned for their nobility, dignity and, in particular, hospitality. One arrives at an Arab's home and is treated as a prince, even if one is an ordinary person. But if one arrives at a Zionist home, one is treated as a beggar, even if one is a prince. At least, this has been our experience. More important than this is the fact that Arabs—that is, the primitive Arabs, the bedouins, the Arabs of the Sahara, those who are often looked down upon—are and have always been a better example of culture, maturity, hospitality and morality. Those familiar with the Arabic language and literature can appreciate and realize why in many moral and, in particular, in linguistic matters the authority is always the bedouin Arab, not the modern intellectual. As a matter of fact, it is the modern intellectual who can

be manipulated and deceived by Zionist agents, not the simple, genuine, decent, clean Arab.

117. Anyone who goes to Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt or anywhere in the Arab land will see that these people have no differences, no difficulties. They are very friendly, very hospitable and very kind to each other and to the foreigner—who sometimes happens to cheat them.

118. Problems among the Arabs to which the Zionist enemy referred in his statement two days ago come from the Zionist invasion and occupation and, more than invasion and occupation, from the Zionist infiltration in the Arab land in particular and in the Muslim land in general. It is the Zionist conspiracies that have divided the entire Muslim land, particularly the Arab land, into small bits and pieces in the form of kingdoms, sheikhdoms and "figure-head-domes", which are happy with a small stone as a territory, a flag, a national anthem and some money to buy weapons from the Zionist industry. It is the Zionist enemy which is the core and cause of all our problems.

119. The problem is that the Arabs have been too hospitable and too kind and, therefore, received every disloyal, inhuman and unwanted guest and treated them on the basis of Arab hospitality, not on the basis of Zionist treachery and dishonesty. That is the problem.

120. Those dishonest terrorists who have invaded our region must shut their mouths. They are not in a position to tell us about Arab violence. The differences in our region are due to the Zionist and imperialist plots. It is they who have annihilated Palestine, have divided the entire Muslim world and created problems and more problems for all of us. And, as they themselves have said in their interviews with our brother Shaykh al-Islam, even the imposed war comes from them.

121. As for the Zionists' side of the argument, I think we need only quote their own authorities. There is a booklet—I am sure representatives have seen it—written by an honest Zionist who went to Palestine with the intention of permanently settling there but after some time decided that he could not endure the terror and corruption existing in that occupied land and returned to the United States and wrote his memoirs for you good people to understand what you are talking about and what you are deciding on. His name is Jack Bernstein, an Ashkenazi Jew who does not have that strong Zionist feeling or commitment to the so-called religious doctrine of Zionism. I shall quote him, because he is a person who must be taken as an authority. I think he is honest and right. He knows about the internal issues and conflicts and the machinations of Zionism more than anyone else.

122. The booklet is entitled *The Life of an American Jew in Racist Marxist Israel*. In a section entitled "Visitors to Israel", he writes the following:

"Tourism is one of Israel's main sources of income. The largest group of visitors are American Jews. But there are also many American Christians who want to visit the holy shrines and to see the land of 'God's Chosen People'."

It is interesting that only the (atheist) Zionists claim to be God's chosen people.

"These Christians come away very impressed and filled with religious fervour.

"While in Israel, Jews and Gentiles alike are carefully watched so that they do not stray and happen to see the sordid side of Israel—the true Israel. Like in Soviet Russia"—this man believes that Zionism and communism are basically the same—"and other communist countries, visitors to Israel are taken on carefully planned guided tours. They are shown the religious sites, the universities, the lush orchards, the technical accomplishments, the arts, and to stir sympathy they are taken to visit the Holocaust Museum.

"But, kept from the eyes of the tourists are the ghettos, the prisons where political prisoners, mostly Arabs and Sephardic Jews, are subjected to the most inhumane forms of torture."

123. I must also recall and remind representatives that those experts who used to educate the agents of torture in the Shah's Administration were recruited from Israel. They were Israeli torture specialists who came to Iran and instructed and educated some of the secret police and members of the Shah's Administration in matters of torture. They are the experts, and they must definitely have exercised their expertise for the internal problems and so-called situations very efficiently.

"The tourists do not see the widespread crime activities and the corruption and co-operation between organized crime bosses and government and police officials. The tourists do not learn of the true inner workings of Israel's Marxist/Fascist Government; nor do they see Israel's racism.

"I met an American tourist who couldn't help telling me about the wonderful religious feeling she had from just being in Israel—the Holy Land. I remarked to her: 'Just try giving a Bible to a local Jew and you will see how much religion and religious freedom there is in Israel. If seen by the police, you will be arrested.'"

124. About religion in Israel, he writes:

"The land on which the present State of Israel has been built, formerly Palestine, was once walked upon by Moses, Jesus and Mohamed.

"Since Palestine was the site of many religious events and has many religious sites, it is rightfully referred to as the Holy Land. So, one would think that Palestine, now Israel, would tend to have an air of holiness about it.

"When Palestinian Muslims and Palestinian Jews occupied Palestine, there was a religious aura. But, since the Zionists took over the area and set up the State of Israel, it is one of the most sinful nations in the world where only about 5 per cent of the Jews are religious. It is interesting to note that those who are strongly religious are Arab Muslims and Arab Christians who make up a small minority in Israel."

The Zionist—he is from the inside—says:

"Israeli laws suppress all religion. For instance, it is against the law to try and convert a Jew to another religion, even if the Jew is an atheist or a humanist. A Christian is permitted to preach the gospel in a church building, but for the clergy, for anyone, even to tell anyone about the teachings in the Bible outside the church building will bring a five-year prison sentence. For a Christian to give a Bible or other religious article to a Jew will also bring a five-year sentence. Even an act of kindness by a Christian towards a Jew, such as giving a gift

of food, can be interpreted as trying to convert the Jew to Christianity and can bring a five-year prison sentence."

#### Poor Jews!

"This same law of religious suppression applies to those of the Islamic faith who in an act of kindness give a gift of any kind to a Jew. A five-year prison sentence can result.

"The treatment of religious Jews is touchy for the ruling Zionists. World-wide, Jews and non-Jews view Israel as a land where Jews may practise their religion without persecution. Therefore the Zionists do not dare risk suppressing Judaism for fear of arousing world opinion against them, so the ruling Zionists merely tolerate the religious practices of the small minority of religious Jews in Israel."

125. Later, the writer tries to give a warning to the American people, to the American taxpayers, who are supporting Israel without knowing what they are supporting. It is not simply out of ignorance; it is partially due, with all respect, to the determining role that the Zionist agents can play in the American Administration. This is headed "A warning to Mr., Mrs. and Miss America" and he says:

"The Marxist Zionists who rule Israel and the Marxist Zionists in America have been trying to trick the United States into a Mid-East war on the side of Israel, of course. They almost succeeded when United States Marines were sent to Lebanon in 1982. The blood of the 250 American Marines who died in Lebanon is dripping from the hands of the Israeli and American Zionists.

"If more Americans are not made aware of the truth about Zionist/Marxist Israel, you can be sure that, sooner or later, these atheists who claim to be God's Chosen People will trick the United States into a Mid-East war against the Arabs who in the past have always been America's best friends."

That is the recommendation and the observation of an honest Jew. About the crimes in Israel he says:

"Since Israel (formerly Palestine) is the land where Moses, Jesus and Mohamed once walked, it would seem the inhabitants of this land would have respect for this holy land and for the religious sites that exist.

"Nearly all Arab Muslims and Arab Christians do have respect, even reverence, towards the holiness of the land; but only a small minority of the Jews have this same respect. Ninety-five per cent of the Jewish population are atheists or secular humanists and are not held back by the 10 commandments or other restraints on sinful human behaviour.

"When the Zionist/Bolshevik Jews won control of the 'Holy Land', every form of sin began seeping into this land. Within a few short decades, this holy land became a modern-day Sodom and Gomorrah. Drug trade, drug abuse, illegal weapons sales, prostitution, gambling, labour racketeering, murder, extortion, blackmail, insurance fraud, loan sharking and corruption of Government officials and police.

"Israel has a highly organized crime syndicate, headquartered in Bat-Yam near Tel Aviv. Many members of the crime syndicate are ex-convicts and ex-commandos from the Israeli army and they

are highly skilled in the use of weapons and explosives."

This is only in that part of the world; it does not happen anywhere else. Therefore, representatives have to realize where all these crimes are exported from. He goes on:

"The crime syndicate in Israel operates openly because of corruption in Government and police circles. Some of the police and Government officials are paid off by the crime syndicate and some officials are actively associated with the crime operation.

"The average American doesn't hear of this, the real side of Israel, because the Zionist controlled press, radio and TV in America keep silent about it. But in Israel some newspapers report the facts. For instance, right in the middle of page 1 of one of the Hebrew-language newspapers a couple of years ago was an article that said in effect that what the Italian Mafia couldn't accomplish in 40 years, the Israeli Mafia accomplished in five years. It has developed the largest illegal drug exporting ring in the Mid-East, selling drugs mainly to Germany and the United States. They have even set up a distribution network within Germany and the United States."

126. The whole of this article and many other articles of this nature give a very modestly objective picture of the nature of zionism, whose representative comes here to attack Arabs on the charge of Arab violence. It is a shame, is it not?

127. The Zionist problem in the Middle East is not simply a political problem or a military problem; it is a fundamental moral and religious problem; it is a centre of corruption. The people of the Middle East can get rid of this centre of corruption only when the centre is eradicated and those Ashkenazi Jews who travelled to Palestine with mythical dreams go back to their beautiful homes in London and Paris and New York. The Middle East belongs to the Middle Eastern people.

128. I must reiterate that all those resolutions and decisions which implicitly or explicitly recognize this base of corruption, or which exempt those pieces of lands which were occupied before 1967 and begin the argument from 1967 onwards, and all those decisions and resolutions which require implicitly some sort of peaceful settlement in which all parties, including the centre of corruption, the Zionists, will participate, are not only unworkable, not only against the interests of the Palestinians, but against the interests of the entire people, against the interest of Muslims and against Islam. They are not going to work. The General Assembly should not waste its time on them.

129. The solution is very simple. A group of Ashkenazi Jews have come and occupied a piece of our territory, our region, our Islamic land. Please, ask your friends to leave the area and leave the rest of the problems to us. Let us solve our own problems. We do not want your help. Whatever we say, let us solve our own problems. The Zionist agents, who make the foreign policy of many of the super-Powers, come and say: "The Islamic revolution is going to eat you up. You must support Saudi Arabia or Kuwait or Jordan against Islam"—not knowing that Jordanians, Kuwaitis and Saudi Arabians are already Muslims. It is the American imperialist Zionist interest that is threatened by Islam and by the Islamic

revolution, not the Arabs of Saudi Arabia, or Kuwait or Jordan—none of them.

130. This argument must be stopped once and for all. We think that the final solution to the problem of the Middle East is a very simple solution. We must restore the legitimate Government of Palestine, which has been annihilated once by the Ashkenazi Jews who came to the area as unwanted guests. They must go.

131. When the flag of Palestine is waving over the entire land of Palestine, it will soon be seen that there is no problem in the area.

132. In this context, the American people must remember that once in the history of the Middle East they were respected. That was when they did not support Israel.

133. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX), dated 22 November 1974.

134. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): At the outset, I wish to thank all the representatives who have spoken in support of the sincere call for peace and of the efforts of the Secretary-General to ensure the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly in order to achieve peace in the Middle East. Those were not mere statements uttered in this Hall, but a declaration of their commitment to peace through justice and the reaffirmation of that commitment.

135. In their statements, the representatives have reported in detail and at great length. They have expressed their concern and alarm over the unceasing brutality of the occupying Power, Israel, and the suffering of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples under Israeli occupation.

136. The international community demands, and should demand, an end to Israel's aggression and the termination of its occupation of our homeland, our territory.

137. We noted with great satisfaction the principles pronounced by President Mitterrand of France on 27 November 1984. One of those principles of French policy refers in particular to the Palestinian people and is in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. In that statement, President Mitterrand said: "Then there is the right of all peoples, in particular the peoples of the region, to a homeland where they can develop the structures of their choice. This applies especially to the Palestinian people."\* From that statement the position of France regarding the Palestinian State and the choice of the Palestinian people is very clear. That is a principle that the world should bear in mind and really apply.

138. The most notable aspect of the situation in the Middle East is the Arab-Israeli conflict.

139. We have studied carefully the reports of the Secretary-General [A/39/533, A/39/600 and A/39/130 and Add.1]. The observations made by the Secretary-General in his reports are of great significance. Let me state immediately that the PLO greatly appreciates the endeavours and efforts of Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar. He has done and continues to do the utmost in his limited power. It is the response and the co-operation of Member States that facilitate implementation and we cannot really demand too much from the Secretary-General. However, we have

noted with surprise the observation in which he blames all the parties to the conflict and blames them equally: "On each occasion proposals were put forward and in some cases partial agreement reached, but the peace effort soon became deadlocked because of the intransigence of one party or another" [A/39/600, para. 35].

140. Analysing the real situation, we wonder if Security Council resolution 338 (1973) was not a mechanism to implement Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in which both the aggressor and the victim in 1967 agreed on a modality for reaching a peaceful solution. And was it not Israel which violated every single provision of Security Council resolution 242 (1967)? Resolution 242 (1967) was doomed to failure because Israel utilized it as a stepping-stone for the next act of aggression. Moreover, resolution 242 (1967) addressed an exigency, a state of war, but completely ignored the core of the conflict, namely, the question of Palestine, the destiny of the Palestinian people and the occupied Palestinian territory.

141. Notwithstanding the acceptance of resolution 242 (1967) by the Arab side in the 1967 Israeli aggression, Israel failed to carry out any of its provisions. In our opinion, the Government of the United States gave its interpretation of resolution 242 (1967), in so far as it affects the Palestinian people, when it declared from this rostrum that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) did not address the political dimension of the Palestinian problem.

142. We felt certain then that the United States Government was about to overcome its intransigence and contribute to the search for peace in the Middle East and to putting an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict through a just solution to the Palestinian problem, by addressing the political dimension, by redressing the injustices, by recognizing the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, and by respecting those rights. Unfortunately, the United States has not taken any further action.

143. On 1 October 1977, the two co-Chairmen of the Geneva peace talks—the Soviet Union and the United States—issued a joint statement calling for the resumption of the talks. The PLO expressed satisfaction and hope. But it was the United States which reneged, and it is the intransigence of the United States that has undermined—not merely deadlocked—the process of peace. We note with gratitude that the Soviet Union adheres to its position and still supports all endeavours for a comprehensive settlement. That has been noted clearly in the report of the Secretary-General.

144. Partial agreement was reached in one area. This was an agreement the General Assembly considered to be null and void in so far as it purported to determine the future of the Palestinian people and of the occupied Palestinian territories. Israel maliciously used that partial agreement to launch a major offensive against Lebanon. It repeated its aggression by invading Lebanon. The Israelis claimed that the invasion was launched to destroy the PLO's infrastructure and to eliminate the Palestinian armed elements. The United States Government subscribed to the "elimination of Palestinian armed elements", to quote a statement made in the Security Council by the United States representative. Note that that representative speaks of the elimination of human

\*Quoted in French by the speaker.

beings. The elimination of human beings, armed or otherwise, is a Nazi method; it is a form of genocide.

145. And now, in Lebanon, it is clear that the future of the Lebanese people and the Lebanese territory will be used as a bargaining chip in other ongoing deliberations under the aegis not of the United Nations, but of the United States Government. We are confident—we know—as has been clearly stated here—that the Lebanese people and Government will not permit such a game. The Prime Minister, Mr. Karamé, has firmly set out the Lebanese position and Lebanon's determination to defend its independence and sovereignty.

146. Moreover, the General Assembly has endorsed the call to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East and has invited the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict to participate, along with the Soviet Union and the United States. The Secretary-General tells us in his report [A/39/130 and Add.1] that it was clear from the replies of the Governments of Israel and the United States that they were not willing to participate in that peace conference. They were not willing to discuss peace, and approaches to peace.

147. Thus, it becomes clear that it is not the "intransigence of one party or another", but the policy and deliberate obstruction of the Governments of the United States and Israel that undermine peace proposals and efforts.

148. The PLO firmly adheres to the call made by its Chairman, Yasser Arafat, at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva in 1983: the call for the convening of an international peace conference.

149. We fully concur with the conclusion arrived at by the Secretary-General that the Arab-Israeli conflict can be resolved only by a comprehensive settlement, covering all its aspects, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant resolutions—not selected resolutions.

150. The United States Government persists in its support of Israeli policies and practices, whether expansionism through military adventures and aggression against neighbouring Arab States, or escalated repression of the Palestinians in the occupied Palestinian territories.

151. The United States Government has even institutionalized its campaign of terrorizing and intimidation: a clear case of State terrorism. It has adopted a law, Public Law 98-151, of 14 November 1983, which reads in part:

"Not later than January 31 of each year, or at the time of the transmittal by the President to the Congress of the annual presentation materials on foreign assistance, whichever is earlier, the President shall transmit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate a full and complete report which assesses, with respect to each foreign country, the degree of support by the government of each such country during the preceding twelve-month period for the foreign policy of the United States. Such report shall include, with respect to each such country which is a member of the United Nations, information to be compiled and supplied by the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, consisting of a comparison of the overall voting practices in the principal bodies of the

United Nations during the preceding twelve-month period of such country and the United States, with special note of the voting and speaking records of such country on issues of major importance to the United States in the General Assembly and the Security Council, and shall also include a report on actions with regard to the United States in important related documents such as the Non-Aligned Communiqué. A full compilation of the information supplied by the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations for inclusion in such report shall be provided as an addendum to such report. None of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available pursuant to this subsection shall be obligated or expended to finance directly any assistance to a country which the President finds, based on the contents of the report required to be transmitted under this paragraph, is engaged in a consistent pattern of opposition to the foreign policy of the United States."

152. Is this not State terrorism against the Members and the very institution of the United Nations? How much more could anyone bully the United Nations? They are institutionalizing their terrorism against the United Nations.

153. That same law donates to Israel no less than \$210 million in so-called economic support—for which we may read more Israeli settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories. The law grants \$850 million for military education and training and \$300 million for research and development by the Israelis in the United States, and an additional \$250 million for the procurement of defence articles and services.

154. The role of the United States Government, in its determination to impose a *Pax Americana* through strategic military alliances and in its annulment of the role of the United Nations and its endeavours for peace, is very clear.

155. The PLO calls upon all Member States and the rest of the international community to join in and contribute—to the extent each is able—with the aim of convening the international peace conference, as called for in the relevant resolutions. That is the only path to peace.

156. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In conformity with resolution 477 (V) of 1 November 1950, I call on the Observer of the League of Arab States.

157. Mr. MAKSOUD (League of Arab States): The Middle East question concerns basically the issues and problems that arise from the Arab-Israeli conflict. Some of these issues become more complex, and apparently intractable, as a consequence of Israeli intransigence and the nearly blind support that Israel receives from the United States. This situation renders the Middle East crisis-prone and has an adverse impact on the future of stability and peace in the region and throughout the world.

158. Since the Assembly's thirty-eighth session, several developments have taken place in the Middle East; they are germane to this debate and should be recorded and explained.

159. The first development was the abrogation of the 17 May agreement, forced by Israel upon Lebanon. This development constituted an important step towards the healing of Lebanon's wounds and brightened the prospects for Lebanese national cohesion. The 17 May agreement was divisive and tended to legitimize negotiations conducted under the duress of



occupation. It absolved Israel of its wanton invasion of Lebanon and its contemptuous rejection of Security Council resolutions.

160. Furthermore, the abrogation of the 17 May agreement made it clear that separate "peace" agreements, besides being a violation of the League of Arab States charter, weaken the negotiating position of individual Arab States. The earlier separate agreement that was brokered by the United States and is known as the Camp David accords regrettably led to Egypt's temporary suspension from the councils of the Arab League. As a consequence of the abrogation of the 17 May agreement, the Camp David accords have become more vulnerable. Opposition to them has become more outspoken and effective and eventually will be of more consequence.

161. What must be emphasized is the fact that so-called agreements "negotiated" under the duress of occupation and brokered by a super-Power are reversible. This reality should not be, as it has been, construed in terms of a "set-back" or "success", but should be construed in terms of improving the opportunities for a comprehensive Middle East peace. The righting of a wrong formula, or a wrong agreement, must be welcomed and should not be a cause for brooding. True, the situation in Lebanon remains tenuous but, equally true, the prevalent thrust is towards national unity, institutional reform and credible opportunities to exercise the prerogatives of full sovereignty.

162. Israel's continued procrastination about expediting its withdrawal from Lebanon, and the heightened level of its inhuman practices against the population in the occupied territories—as manifested yesterday by the arrest of more than 50 persons in the South—have brought about the heroic Lebanese resistance, of which the Arab woman and the Lebanese woman from the South who demonstrated in a vigil in front of the United Nations were an expression. This has put Israel on notice that continued occupation of southern Lebanon will be increasingly costly and that resistance in the South is rapidly becoming a catalyst of Lebanon's national will.

163. The second development, related to the first, is what is taking place within Egypt. At earlier sessions I explained in detail the reasons for the Arab League's strong opposition to the Camp David accords. What is new is the growing level of opposition to those agreements inside Egypt, on the official and unofficial levels. This has been demonstrated by the universality of the Egyptians' boycott of the so-called normalization aspect of the Camp David accords. Widespread frustration manifests itself in the growth of political parties that reinforce the awareness that the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel was but a smoke-screen and a licence for Israel to proliferate settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, annex Jerusalem, annex the Golan Heights, invade Lebanon and render the Camp David accords a pretext for Israel's rejectionist policies and a way to buy time in order to annex more territories, conduct more aggression, deny more rights, trample on more United Nations resolutions and defy more imperatives of international law and civilized behaviour.

164. Egypt, conscious of its role within the Arab nation and aware of the trap that the Camp David accords constituted, has moved to distance itself from those accords, although it is not yet ready to extricate itself from their suffocating hold. Only

when Egypt regains its full deterrent functions can it resume its full natural and national role in the Arab national community. This, it must be understood, is our hope and our purpose.

165. The third development is the evolving pattern of the United States-Israeli strategic co-operation agreement. Though this strategic co-operation has been a constant in United States-Israeli relations, it has during the past year taken on a more assertive character. Israel has extracted from the United States a degree of permissiveness that is alarmingly provocative of Arab feelings, besides being in many ways damaging to Arab interests and national rights. In the United Nations, the United States has shielded Israel from the logical consequences of its aggression and violations. While the world community has condemned Israel's behaviour and its practices in occupied territories, the United States not only has refrained from joining in the international consensus but has sought to prevent it from emerging and has even stifled its expression. Even when the Security Council sought, in an excessively mild resolution, to reaffirm the provisions of the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War<sup>3</sup> and demanded that Israel lift all restrictions so that normal conditions could obtain, the United States vetoed the resolution. The United States thus provided Israel with unprecedented immunity, never enjoyed to this extent by any aggressor. What the United States did in this case was what it had done in earlier cases—that is, enable Israel to do what it wants, whenever it wants, wherever it wants.

166. Intoxicated with its characteristic arrogance and prior assurance of United States protection for any of its actions, Israel has become emboldened in its defiance of and contempt for United Nations resolutions. Since Israel can persuade the United States that it is its only "reliable" ally and its strategic instrument in the region, Israel can guarantee for itself an unremitting flow of military and economic assistance that sustains its expansion, its policies of annexation and its continued violation of Arab territorial sovereignty and Palestinian national and human rights.

167. The question arises about the "ease" with which the United States is persuaded by the Israeli thesis. That Israel would want a free hand to achieve its racist and expansionist designs is to be expected, but the United States response is not. Herein lies the major cause of the critical phases in United States-Arab relations and the continued instability in the Middle East region.

168. The strategic agreement between the United States and Israel shields the latter from the international consensus and protects it against the sanctions necessary to restrict its addiction to expansion and aggression. The strategic agreement does more, as it is predicated on two assumptions: first, a United States commitment to Israel's qualitative military superiority over Arab States, and, secondly, Israel's direct impact on the political equations within the United States. Translated into concrete policies and attitudes, this means that United States criticism of Israel's behaviour or policies—and such criticism is getting rarer—is not matched by any inhibiting action or follow-up. Suffice it to mention the Reagan plan of 1 September 1982<sup>1</sup> and Israel's outright rejection of it, and the United States permissiveness during Israel's invasion of Lebanon. Even when the

President of the United States requested Israel to freeze its settlements, Israel's answer was to establish new ones instantly and to beef up the existing ones. These facts are so well known that they require no further elaboration.

169. What might require explanation are the reasons for this United States abdication of objective judgements in order to placate an Israel on the loose and Israeli practices that are so inimical to United States values, policies, interests and expected role.

170. We shall not try to undertake here this task of explanation. There is growing evidence that many in the United States are beginning to see through this massive cover-up of Israel's role in debilitating United States capability and credibility in the region. Americans, not only in the constituency of conscience but also among the pragmatists, are freeing themselves from the fear of being called anti-Semitic when they criticize Israel or oppose its policies or the huge military and economic assistance it receives.

171. Welcome as the emergence of such elements among policy- and opinion-makers is, we cannot exaggerate their actual influence and their eventual impact. What can be ascertained is that the well-established Israeli lobby no longer has an exclusive claim on determining United States policy direction in the Middle East or opinion-making. That having been said, it is still incumbent upon us to avoid false hopes or to indulge in wishful thinking.

172. But now that the United States elections are over and the auction of favours to Israel among candidates no longer mutes a genuine debate on issues pertaining to the United States position on the Middle East, it is only logical to expect from the United States much more than the voting duet with Israel in the General Assembly which, with sad bewilderment, we observed so frequently.

173. It might be said that an analysis of the United States role here is disproportionate compared to other sectors of the world community. There are obvious reasons for this focus.

174. First, the United States is one of the two super-Powers with special global responsibilities towards international peace and security. The United States has sought to play an exclusive role in conflict resolution and to deal with the Middle East issues unilaterally. The net outcome of this approach led to the exclusion of the United Nations from playing its expected role and to dissipating the input of the world community, thus minimizing its relevance and potential for constructive contribution.

175. Secondly, the special United States relationship with Israel was marketed so as to impress upon the international community that the United States would exercise its special leverage to render Israel more compliant with the international will and consensus. What has taken place, except in a few instances, is that the United States aided Israel's efforts to paralyse the international consensus and avoid accountability.

176. Thirdly, the United States view of the Middle East issues in terms of super-Power competition or confrontation led it to ignore the basically regional and local grievances that flow from Israel's conquest, continued occupation of territories, annexionist policies and racist practices. This in turn meant that the United States could not judge issues on their merits, but on whether they served the strategic priorities of the cold war.

177. Fourthly, the United States has developed a proclivity to consider "separate agreements" sought by Israel as "windows of opportunity". Whatever might have been the motives of the United States to undertake this approach, they have led to further instability in the Middle East.

178. The United States failure to appreciate the determinant role of inter-Arab relations resulted in the United States Administration agreeing with Israeli assumptions and thus in many instances viewing developments in the Middle East through Israeli eyes and without question, although distancing itself at times from the more embarrassing excesses of Israel's behaviour and practices.

179. We in the Arab nation have for many historical and intellectual reasons relied on a United States ability to be even-handed only to see this being interpreted as a willingness on our part to be hostages to United States bias towards Israel. When the Arabs presented the world with the peace plan embodied in the Final Declaration of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982,<sup>1</sup> the United States treated our commitments to genuine peace as a potential disposition to passivity. The United States assumed that it could do little about Israeli intransigence—some Americans justified it, others simply accepted it, few were critical of it. This United States assumption led it to put pressure on the Arabs to make concessions when our collective reasonableness and moderation were expected to induce the United States to exert pressure on Israel.

180. I do not want to dwell any further on the paradox of the United States position and policies on the Arab-Israeli conflict. Suffice it to mention that the Arab States emphasized that there are points of convergence as well as divergence with the Reagan plan of 1 September 1982.<sup>2</sup> Israel rejected the Reagan plan outright. The United States dismissed the Arab League's Fez plan and enhanced the substantive aspects of its strategic co-operation with Israel.

181. The United States requested Israel to freeze its settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. Israel built more settlements in its creeping annexation of those areas. The United States increases its military aid to Israel and creates task forces to save Israel from economic collapse. The paradox becomes more paradoxical.

182. The United States, which claims that it adheres to the principle of self-determination, makes a specific exception of the Palestinian people as if this principle is inapplicable to them. A hue and cry is raised in the United States about any disgruntled Soviet Jewish citizen claiming that his human rights have been violated, while in regard to southern Lebanon, where a whole population's human rights are being systematically violated, the United States vetoes a simple draft resolution seeking to protect those rights.

183. The Middle East question cannot be discussed except in a much wider context. Developments in the Middle East region invariably influence what takes place in the wider field of international relations in the same manner as the events in the region are influenced by them. The interaction between the regional and the global is not only inevitable but very much felt in the Middle East itself.

184. Herein lie the challenge and the opportunity. What has taken place recently in the global context can be viewed as a positive evolution. The recent

announcement by both the United States and the Soviet Union of the forthcoming meeting to discuss, albeit in a preliminary stage, issues of disarmament will, we hope, contribute towards a global relaxation of tension.

185. As far as the Middle East is concerned, this means that a new opening is conceivable for an authentic, comprehensive and just peace.

186. In other words, in order to seize this opportunity it is crucial that the international peace conference recommended by the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly and proposed by the Secretary-General be defined more precisely and efforts to convene it be pursued more vigorously.

187. We in the League of Arab States are keen on making a contribution towards this goal. The proposed conference has the advantage of focusing on the causes and problems that are the crux of the Middle East tensions and crises. This means that problems arising will be removed from the overriding imperatives either of the cold war or of super-Power competition for influence or projection of power.

188. This is a propitious moment for the Secretary-General to reinvigorate his initiative concerning the convening of this conference. Perhaps some of the objections the United States raised in the midst of a Presidential election would no longer stand the test of a more objective criterion. The United States furthermore undoubtedly will realize the benefits of a broader and comprehensive approach and a more collective participation. Insistence on unilateralism in this matter has proved counter-productive and inimical to the declared objectives for which various initiatives were undertaken.

189. Israel's outright rejection of the convening of an international conference only reinforces our belief that Israel will continue to try to veto this proposal as long as it is assured of the prior United States guarantee that this adamant refusal would not be diplomatically, militarily or economically costly. We are convinced that the United States can act upon its judgement and the requirements of its responsibility. This will signal to Israel that its tantrums will not inhibit the United States from pursuing its policy objectively and even-handedly.

190. The proposed international conference, as noted in the Secretary-General's report, will be within the United Nations framework. That it is supported by a super-Power like the Soviet Union should not preclude studying the proposal on its procedural as well as its substantive merits and should be an incentive to make the process of resolving the Middle East problems a broad, international shared effort instead of being a cause for international friction.

191. We are aware that nuclear disarmament has top priority on the agenda of the forthcoming

meeting of Mr. Shultz and Mr. Gromyko. If this can lead to relaxation of fixed positions on the Middle East, the realism of the Secretary-General would be acknowledged and appreciated.

192. The Arab States at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez, clearly spelt out a viable Arab consensus. We have sought to make our position in tune with the requirements of the international consensus and the resolutions of the United Nations. Our position since the Fez peace proposal and resolution has been clear, consistent and corresponding to what the international community defined as legitimate rights and the fundamentals for a just and durable peace, the assumption being that only a just peace is durable.

193. The year 1985 ought to be the year when the Middle East problem is addressed thoroughly and decisively. There is a convergence of factors that renders this option feasible and achievable. We must seize the opportunity. The modalities provided by the Secretary-General's report constitute a relevant vehicle and the United Nations the proper framework. If this can be obtained, then a new era of authentic peace and progress can be introduced. Much of our energies will then go towards realizing the noble objectives to which the United Nations is dedicated. What better way for the United Nations to celebrate its fortieth anniversary than to succeed in achieving what has for too long eluded us, namely, a just, durable and comprehensive peace in the Middle East and the realization of the national and human rights of the Palestinian people.

194. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The voting on the draft resolutions on this agenda item will take place at a later meeting.

*The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1982), vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

<sup>2</sup>See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1982*, document S/15403.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, Supplement for October, November and December 1982, document S/15510, annex.

<sup>4</sup>See *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, Geneva, 29 August-7 September 1983* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I.

<sup>5</sup>United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

<sup>6</sup>United States Code: *Congressional and Administrative News*, 98th Congress—First Session, 1983, Public Law 98-151 (St. Paul, Minn., West Publishing Co., 1984).