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2325th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 11 January 1982, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Oleg A. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Panama, Poland, Spain, Togo, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2325)

1. Adoption of the agenda

- The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
 (a) Resolution 497 (1981);
 - (b) Report of the Secretary-General (S/14821)

The meeting was called to order at 4.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the occupied Arab territories:

- (a) Resolution 497 (1981);
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General (S/14821)

1. The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings [2322nd to 2324th meetings], I invite the representative of Israel and the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to take places at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Bangladesh, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, India, Iraq, Kuwait, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Morocco, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Yemen and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber. I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Blum (Israel) and Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) took places at the Council table; Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Bedjaoui (Algeria), Mr. Kaiser (Bangladesh), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Florin (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Rácz (Hungary), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Al-Ali (Iraq), Mr. Abulhassan (Kuwait), Mr. Kittikhoun (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Muntasser (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Mrani Zentar (Morocco), Mr. Mahmood (Pakistan), Mr. Jamal (Qatar), Mr. Allagany (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Sarré (Senegal), Mr. De Silva (Sri Lanka), Mr. Abdalla (Sudan), Mr. Kravets (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Mr. Mubarez (Yemen) and Mr. Komatina (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bulgaria, Greece, Mongolia, Nicaragua, Portugal and Viet Nam in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Tsvetkov (Bulgaria), Mr. Ghikas (Greece), Mr. Dashtseren (Mongolia), Mr. Bendaña Rodriguez (Nicaragua), Mr. Medina (Portugal) and Mr. Ha Van Lau (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/14828, which contains the text of a letter dated 8 January from the representative of Jordan to the President of the Council.

4. The first speaker is the representative of the German Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Comrade President, it is indeed a great honour for me to welcome you warmly on your assumption of the responsible post of President of the Council for January. Our countries are linked by close ties of friendship and co-operation. This fraternal alliance is one of the fundamental elements in our joint efforts to strengthen peace and

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to continue the process of international détente in order to promote co-operation, based on trust, with those States where another socio-political system prevails. My delegation wishes you every success in tackling the tasks facing the Council this month and would like to express its conviction that your word will have great weight.

6. I should also like to thank you for the very kind words you addressed to my country and to me personally at the meeting held on 6 January [2322nd meeting].

7. At the same time, we should like to reiterate our gratitude to the representative of Uganda, Mr. Olara Otunnu, for his remarkable performance as President of the Council in December 1981. It was indeed a joy for us to have an opportunity to work under the talented, skilful and knowledgeable guidance of such a President.

8. My delegation would like to welcome warmly the new members of the Council. We wish the representatives of Guyana, Jordan, Poland, Togo and Zaire every success in discharging the great responsibilities vested in them. During its two years as a non-permanent member of the Council, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic regarded it as an honour and, indeed, a bounden duty to perform the tasks entrusted to the Security Council in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Once again we should like to thank all delegations for their very close co-operation with us.

9. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate very heartily the new Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, on his election and on his assuming the functions of Secretary-General starting this year. The weighty responsibilities conferred by this post on a seasoned diplomat and wellknown statesman are familiar to us all. We are quite certain, Mr. Secretary-General, that you are familiar with the complexity of the international situation and that you will, in accordance with the Charter, do everything that can be done by the highest official of the United Nations to serve the purposes of the Organization and the interests of peace throughout the world and international security. We wish you every success.

10. On 16 December 1981 [23/7th meeting], the delegation of the German Democratic Republic had occasion very strongly to condemn Israel's seizure of the Golan Heights in contravention of international law. The German Democratic Republic voted for both Security Council resolution 497 (1981) and General Assembly resolution 36/226 B, which was adopted at the Assembly's thirty-sixth session. In those two resolutions, the Israeli annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights was decisively condemned and declared unlawful. At the same time, the Council was requested to take effective steps, under the Charter, should Israel refuse to give up its usurpatory plans. 11. As can be seen from the Secretary-General's report of 31 December 1981 [S/14821] and from the turn of events, the ruling circles in Israel, despite widespread condemnation for their predacious act, have failed to respond to the demand contained in Council resolution 497 (1981) and in Assembly resolution 36/226 B.

12. On the contrary. Israel is daily taking further steps to stifle the legitimate protest of the Syrian population against the act of annexation in the Golan Heights, which have been illegally occupied: it has increased the severity of its occupation policies and made overt preparations to wage war against the Syrian Arab Republic. These provocative acts have been timed to coincide with new acts of Israeli aggression against southern Lebanon.

13. This fully bears out the fears expressed by the representatives of many States that the present Israeli Government is pursuing a systematic policy of annexation in the territories which have been seized by Israel and is preparing for new acts of aggression. No one can deny that such actions represent defiance of the United Nations and a failure to heed the will of international public opinion.

14. In connection with this constant violation of the Charter and the systematic disregard for numerous United Nations resolutions which have demanded an end to Israel's aggressive and annexationist policies, its withdrawal from all the territories occupied in 1967 and full guarantees of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the Council is today faced with the need finally to take effective steps against Israel pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter.

15. We shall now clearly see how observance of the Charter is treated and what deference is paid to numerous Security Council and General Assembly resolutions by those imperialist States which afford considerable support to the ruling circles in Israel. As is known, primarily the United States, using various contrived pretexts, has so far prevented the Council from taking the proper effective steps to ensure peace and security in the Middle East. This fact cannot be concealed by statements made by representatives of those States in which they have expressed regret at the most recent act of Israeli annexation, or by the temporary measures taken by the United States Administration. The impression has been created that all they want to do is assuage the indignation of world public opinion. There can be no doubt that this new Israeli act of annexation should be regarded in the context of the creation of a so-called strategic alliance and is based on bringing United States interests into line with those of Israel in the Arab region. Quite recently senior officials in the United States stated unambiguously that nothing had changed in the relations between the United States and Israel. This position has also been confirmed by recent reports to the effect that the Pentagon is planning to increase Israel's credit for the purchase of weapons in 1983 by \$300 million.

16. The world has seen that at this very time the ruling circles in the United States are once again trying to play the part of some sort of "world policeman" and are taking steps that they see fit to take to "punish", as they put it, certain sovereign States Members of the United Nations simply because they are not bowing to the will of those imperialist circles. But, on the other hand, the aggressor, Israel, is given the help it desires. This can only be regarded as further encouragement to the ruling circles in Israel to continue their policies aimed against peace and security in the Middle East.

17. In connection with these imperialist aspirations so dangerous for the cause of peace, a constructive programme to reduce tension and to turn the Middle East into a region of peace requires more than ever before unity of action on the part of all Arab peoples. The German Democratic Republic would once again like to emphasize its full solidarity with the just struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialist aggression and oppression. It shares the views of the Arab and nonaligned States that the time has now come for the Council to take effective steps that will prevent Israel, the aggressor, from continuing its policy of violating the Charter and international law.

18. In conclusion, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic would once again like to emphasize its view that a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict can be sought only on the basis of Israel's complete withdrawal from all the areas it occupied in 1967 and the full implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their rights to return to their homeland, to exercise self-determination and create their own independent State.

19. I should like to thank you, Comrade President, and the members of the Council for the opportunity you have afforded me to put forward the position of the German Democratic Republic.

20. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Saudi Arabia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

21. Mr. ALLAGANY (Saudi Arabia): On behalf of my delegation, I wish to extend to you, Sir, and to the members of the Council our sincere thanks for allowing my delegation to participate in the discussion. May I also congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month. We have no doubt that you will conduct these proceedings with the appropriate degree of firmness and objectivity and in a manner that will preserve the authority of the Charter of the United Nations. I also wish to commend your predecessor, Mr. Olara Otunnu, for the skilful manner in which he presided over the proceedings of the Council during the month of December 1981.

22. My Government believes that the Council is bound at this juncture to act firmly in applying appropriate measures in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, as any failure to do so would constitute a retreat from its resolution 497 (1981). In fact, the Council should have taken measures at its last series of meetings on this subject [2316th to 2319th meetings], particularly as the Israeli representative had made it abundantly clear that his Government had no intention of complying with the Council's demand that it rescind forthwith the decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the occupied Syrian Golan Heights-what, in fact, constitutes an annexation of that occupied Syrian territory. Nevertheless, the Council, which unanimously adopted resolution 479 (1981), wished to make its resolution more palatable and to give the violating State an opportunity to rectify the situation before taking appropriate measures under the Charter.

23. We know that each and every State member of the Council knew at that time that the period of grace given to Israel to rescind its illegal measure was an exercise in futility and was totally inconsistent with its notorious tradition of defiance and contempt for the United Nations established over the past 33 years -a tradition that has been accompanied by a concurrent tradition of vetoes and has been countered by innumerable resolutions but no implementation or deterrent measures. It is our sincere hope that there will be no hesitation in the Council regarding the application of stern measures which would force Israel to rescind its illegal measure of annexation and would serve as a deterrent against further expansion and alteration of the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure and legal status of the Syrian Golan Heights or any other part of the illegally occupied territories.

24. Once more we urge the members of the Council to be consistent with their own individual stands on current world events. The recent measure by Israel in regard to the Golan Heights and its previous measures in regard to Jerusalem and other occupied Arab territories are, to say the least, extremely serious in terms of their implications for regional and world peace and security. In fact, they dwarf many of the crises that face our world at present.

25. There can be no situation which merits the application of Chapter VII of the Charter more than do the measures taken by Israel on the Syrian Golan Heights in defiance of the Charter, of the fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949¹ and of repeated Security Council and General Assembly resolutions—specifically, Council resolution 497 (1981). As I said earlier, that resolution demanded of Israel that it rescind forthwith its decision and made it quite clear that noncompliance would necessitate the reconvening of the Council on an urgent basis to consider taking appropriate measures in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Failure to take such measures now, for any reason, would most definitely demolish all hopes in the Council.

26. In my last statement before the Council on this subject [2317th meeting]. I expressed my Government's concern at the ineffectiveness of the Security Council caused by the abuse of the veto prerogative by some of the permanent members. Being one of the founding Members of the United Nations, my country is particularly concerned and alarmed at the erosion of the prestige and authority of the United Nations, upon which rest the hopes of all nations. We are also alarmed because, ever since the creation of Israel by the United Nations, that lawless State has been the source of hostility, aggression, insecurity and instability in our region. Israel has been and continues to be the prodigal child of the United Nations. It was born through aggression and has never ceased to practice aggression in the pursuit of its policy of aggrandizement and expansion. It has never accepted any fixed boundaries and has used every trick in the book to abort all efforts directed at a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the region. It has armed itself to the teeth under the pretext of security for itself, only to use its arms for aggression against the victimized Palestinians and against all its Arab neighbours, and beyond.

27. It has accumulated an arsenal of the most modern, sophisticated and lethal weapons to maintain superiority over the arms of all the Arab countries combined, including those that are far removed from the region. It has established arms and aircraft factories that have made it one of the major exporters of weapons to other countries, including some of the most industrialized Western countries. It has behaved like a super-Power both in words and in deeds without being subject to any of the restraints and international responsibility which are characteristic of such Powers. It has maintained the characteristic Zionist profile of a victimized peace-loving nation while pursuing a policy of constant aggression, harassment, deportation, expropriation of property, collective punishment, mass murder and genocide, desecration of holy places, closure of educational institutions and violation of all basic human rights against the Palestinian people. It has constantly used the highly publicized Nazi practices against Jews as an excuse for its excesses in Palestine but has failed to realize that its own atrocities against the Palestinian people-knowledge of which has been relentlessly suppressed through the Zionist influence-were not incomparable to the atrocities attributed to the Nazi régime during the Second World War. A number of renowned, unbiased historians have testified to that effect.

28. The annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights cannot help the peace process in the Middle East. In fact, it was a calculated move, both in terms of time and of substance, to undermine the peace process and to render a just, permanent and comprehensive peace in the Middle East an impossibility. We firmly believe that all the members of the Council are aware of this and know it beyond the shadow of a doubt. If the Council is truly concerned about the increasing danger to peace and security in the region, it is incumbent upon all its members to act in the interest of international peace and security, free of any domestic considerations. My Government continues to entertain its fervent hope that the Security Council this time will not defeat its own purposes and its own existence under the Charter and will not fail to reassert its authority in the interest of peace and security.

29. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Iraq. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

30. Mr. AL-ALI (Iraq): Allow me to extend to you. Sir, my warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We have high hopes that with your wisdom you will help lead the Council towards the adoption of a resolution in keeping with the dictates of justice and law on the subject before it.

31. I should like also to express my great admiration for the dynamic efforts of your predecessor, Mr. Otunnu of Uganda, for the outstanding manner in which he performed the duties of President during the month of December 1981.

32. I avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar on his election to the very esteemed post of Secretary-General. We wish him much success in his high office.

33. I should like to express my delegation's congratulations to the new Council members, Guyana, Jordan, Poland, Togo and Zaire, and to their representatives.

34. Israel's policy of aggression and expansion is not new to the Council, nor is its defiance of the resolutions adopted by this body. The history of the Zionist entity is nothing but a continuous policy of complete disregard for the Charter of the United Nations and for norms of international law. The savage bombing of the Iraqi nuclear research installation in Baghdad and the barbarous killing of civilians in Lebanon have been the clearest and most recent manifestations of the actions by this outlaw—a so-called State. These acts of aggression during the past year alone reached their peak in Israel's action on 14 December 1981 of imposing its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the occupied Syrian Golan Heights.

35. The international community has repeated on so many occasions that Israel has no scruples about justice and law in committing repeated daily violations of all those norms recognized by the community of nations. This is in fact the consistent behaviour of a régime which continues to base its policies on the law of the jungle, on terror and on defiance alone.

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36. The Council had a lengthy debate on the question of the Zionist régime's decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration in the occupied Golan Heights and on 17 December 1981 unanimously adopted resolution 497 (1981), which, in regard to the Israeli aggression against Syria, decided that the Israeli decision was null and void and without international legal effect and demanded that the Zionists, the occupying Power, should rescind forthwith their decision.

37. Council resolution 497 (1981) requested the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the implementation of that resolution within two weeks. As expected, Israel did not abide by the decision of the international community represented here. It thus added to its record another example of defiance as reflected in the reports of the Secretary-General dated 21 December [S/14805] and 31 December 1981 [S/14821].

38. My delegation wishes to put on record its strong condemnation of the Zionist régime's defiance of Security Council resolution 497 (1981) and General Assembly resolution 36/226 B. Their refusal, contained in the report of the Secretary-General of 21 December, stated -in the words of the Zionist representative-that "Israel cannot and does not accept the resolution just adopted". This is no surprise to those who know the true nature of the Zionist entity, its aggressive, expansionist goals and the policies on which it was established. Those policies are manifested in the occupation of land, the expulsion of the original inhabitants. the continuing annexation of new territories and the persistence of aggression. The ultimate aim of the policies of the Zionists is to eliminate any development possibilities in the Arab countries so that those countries may remain at the mercy of the Zionists, who are fully supported by the United States of America, and be a tool of their aggression against the Arab nation. One need not go back any further than the last two weeks, when two Israeli American-made F-15 jet fighters violated Iraqi airspace; that was followed on 4 January by the sending by the Israelis of another two war-planes into Iraqi airspace. These acts of aggression constitute a clear example of the true nature of the aggressiveness of the Zionist entity. The United States bears full responsibility for such aggression since, without its multifaceted support, Israel would not have dared to commit its aggressive and expansionist acts and practices.

39. My country condemns in the strongest terms Israel's defiance of Council resolution 497 (1981) and therefore calls for a similar strong condemnation of Israel for its failure to comply with Assembly resolution 36/226 B, and it demands the application of Chapter VII of the Charter, which involves severing diplomatic, trade and economic relations, and refraining from supplying Israel with any kind of military assistance. 40. It is very clear to the whole world how Israel was established, how it has extended itself up to now and how it plans to exist and expand. This Israeli madness should be stopped before the whole region explodes, thus bringing more misery into the area. The blatant Israeli act of lawlessness should not go unpunished. It is the duty of the international community to apply the necessary sanctions immediately in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter.

41. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Qatar. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

42. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar): Permit me, first of all, Sir, to extend to you our sincere congratulations on the occasion of your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of January. We welcome especially the fact that you bring to your duties a large measure of expertise, experience and wisdom—qualities which we are certain will serve the international community well in this time of crisis and danger. We are also gratified by the attitude of your country, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, towards the situation in the Middle East and the Arab position, especially the firm support it has shown for the just cause of the Palestinian people, for their right to selfdetermination and to the establishment of an independent State of their own in their homeland.

43. May I also take this opportunity to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Otunnu of Uganda, for the outstanding manner in which he performed the duties of the presidency of the Council during the month of December 1981.

44. On behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, I should like to express my warm congratulations to the new Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. We are all assured that with his courage and wisdom, his highly praised diplomatic skills and his well-known dedication to the cause of the United Nations, he will respond successfully to the challenge of the lofty post of Secretary-General. In wishing him success, we should like to assure him of our support and co-operation. I should like also to pay a special tribute to the previous Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who shouldered the responsibilities of the post of Secretary-General for 10 years, during which time he served the cause of the United Nations with great skill and full dedication.

45. The aim of this series of meetings of the Council is to consider "appropriate measures" to deal with Israel's clear failure to comply with Council resolution 497 (1981), which declared the annexation of the Syrian Arab territory of the Golan Heights null and void and demanded that Israel rescind its aggressive and illegal decision.

46. However, repeated instances of Israel's total rejection of United Nations resolutions in the past

surely make it clear that the only "appropriate measures" now are those that would effectively deter Israel from further aggression and compel it to heed the will of the international community.

47. There can be no doubt anymore that the only way of achieving that objective is by the imposition of strict sanctions—political, military, diplomatic and economic—against Israel. The community of nations has waited too long for a sign of Israeli compliance with any of the numerous resolutions meant to contain its aggressive behaviour. It has waited in vain.

48. Israel is an outlaw State which respects no legal code. It is a brigand among nations which seizes the lands of others and massacres innocent civilians. It is a pirate entity whose warplanes roam the skies of the Middle East looking for victims, and violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States of the region.

49. The Council is often accused by the representative of Israel of convening too often to discuss actions taken by his country. It is quite obvious that the Council spends much of its time confronting the danger to world peace and security created by the Zionist entity. But it is also clear to everyone that no other Government in the whole world has ever committed crimes so grave in sequence and in magnitude as the crimes committed by Israel against the Arab nation. It is abundantly clear that no other Government has ever been so totally committed to war and destruction as the Government of Menachem Begin.

50. No other Government has ever launched so naked an attack on a nuclear research centre in any country as that of the Government of Begin against the nuclear reactor in Baghdad.

51. No other Government has ever used such barbaric methods against civilians in a densely-populated capital city as those of the Government of Begin in Beirut on 17 July 1981, using sophisticated United States-made planes sold under the clear condition that they be utilized solely in self-defence.

52. No other Government has ever posed so grave a threat to peace and security in the Middle East—and, in fact, in the whole world—by its deeds and conduct as that of the Government headed by Menachem Begin.

53. No other Government has ever shown such contempt and disregard for international law, the Charter of the United Nations and United Nations resolutions as has the Government of Menachem Begin.

54. In fact, if the Council is to be accused of anything, it is that it has so far failed to take any decisive action to stop the ever-increasing acts of aggression by Israel.

55. At this urgent series of meetings, the Council is faced with yet another escalation of Israel's acts of aggression against Syrian Arab Republic territory. What is needed now is the will—the determination to put an end to this blatant behaviour. That can only be done by making it costly for Israel to continue its depredations. And past experience tells us that nothing short of punitive sanctions will stem the tide of Israeli aggression.

56. Where will this creeping expansion end? Whose land is next on the Israelis' list? And how long will the international community stand by while Israel brings the carefully built structure of international law crashing down? If the Council is serious about preventing further Israeli aggression, then it must move quickly to restrict Israel's freedom to attack its neighbours at will.

57. One major reason—perhaps the only one—for Israel's aggression is its belief that it will be supported and protected by the United States regardless of the enormity of its behaviour. And it is a fact that the United States veto has consistently prevented the adoption by the Council of punitive measures against Israel.

58. When dealing with this important issue, one cannot avoid the role the United States Government can play in this matter. No other country has the same ability to pressure Israel, since the United States supplies Israel with all it has, from bread and butter to Phantoms and F-16s.

59. We believe that it is high time to listen to the warnings of some prominent Americans, among them Congressman Paul McCloskey, who told *Time* magazine, according to its issue of 27 July: "If this Israeli lobby is not challenged and if Begin is not challenged, I think the interests of the United States will be seriously hurt".

60. The United States is a great Power which proclaims its devotion to the rule of law in the world, to the principles of justice and to international peace and security. Thus it is duty-bound to take a stand against those who undermine international order.

61. Finally, we urgently call upon the Council to take concrete action before it is too late. Speeches and words of condemnation have not in the past stopped Begin from pursuing his crimes and it is unlikely that they will stop him in the future. World public opinion is demanding the imposition of sanctions against Israel in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. This world body must act accordingly.

62. The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The next speaker is the representative of Hungary. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

63. Mr. RACZ (Hungary) (interpretation from French): Comrade President, first of all I should like to convey my thanks to you, and through you to the members of the Council, for having afforded me this opportunity to set forth our position on the item that is before this important body of the United Nations.

64. At the same time I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the functions of the presidency of the Council for the month of January. These congratulations go to the representative of a State with which my country maintains very close ties of friendship and which plays a particularly active and constructive role in the efforts to solve the broader problems of the region of the Middle East.

65. I am convinced that your diplomatic competence, your attachment to the Charter of the United Nations, to international peace and security, and your personal qualities guarantee that the Council will be able to deal properly with this serious problem which is of such deep concern to the entire international community and that it will perform its duty, in full awareness of its particular responsibility for international security and in accordance with what is expected of it by Member States and by international public opinion.

66. I take this opportunity also to commend the constructive and fruitful activity of Mr. Otunnu, the President of the Council last month.

67. I should like to avail myself also of this opportunity to welcome, on behalf of my delegation, the new members of the Council and to wish them every success in performing their responsible tasks in a constructive spirit.

68. I offer my congratulations to Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar on his unanimous election to the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations and wish him full success in the discharge of his duties.

69. At the same time, I should like to convey our thanks to his predecessor, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the work that he did during the past decade at the head of the Organization.

70. Once again, the Council is examining the question of another eminently illegal act on the part of Israel, and this for the second time in a very short period, because of the Tel Aviv Government's attitude of defiance towards United Nations resolutions.

71. Hungarian public opinion learnt with profound indignation of the decision of the Knesset to impose the laws, jurisdiction and administration of Israel on the Syrian Golan Heights and welcomed the resolution unanimously adopted by the Council [resolution 497 (1981) declaring that illegal measure null and void and without legal effect and calling upon Israel to rescind it forthwith.

72. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic firmly condemns this Israeli measure aimed at annexing the Golan Heights, because it is an instance of a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Syrian Arab Republic, an independent country and a Member State of the United Nations. This measure is at variance with the fundamental norms of international law and the code of international conduct, with the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, with the resolutions adopted in various bodies of the Organization, with the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949,¹ which applies also to the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, and with the generally accepted principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force.

73. This recent action undertaken by Israel which, despite the protests voiced by world public opinion, has continued to occupy alien territories for many years, is part and parcel of the expansionist policy pursued by the Tel Aviv Government; it is designed to perpetuate the consequences of its previous acts of aggression perpetrated against the Arab countries and to annex the occupied territories. This act is a further manifestation of the aggressive policy that is being pursued by the Israeli leaders with the support of their chief ally.

74. The responsibility borne by the Government of the United States must be obvious to one and all, because its attitude, which provides effective protection and almost unconditional support for the unilateral and illegimate aspirations of Israel—which violate the interests of other countries and peoples—, is of decisive import in the boldness with which Tel Aviv has gone further and further in pursuing its selfish designs. It is this environment that has made it possible for Israel once again to challenge the authority of the United Nations, to ignore its resolutions and to oppose virtually the entire international community.

75. All this directly endangers peace in the region and international security, because it further increases tension in the Middle East, aggravates an already serious situation and constitutes a fundamental obstacle to reaching a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the crisis. But the refusal to accept aggressive and unilateral measures and the failure of attempts at partial solutions have already clearly shown that the burning problems of the region can be solved only in the context of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement.

76. It is our opinion that if it tolerated the actions of Israel aimed at annexation of the Golan Heights, the international community, far from subscribing to the norms of international law and the international code of conduct, would be accepting the use of brute force in international politics. That is why we demand that Israel rescind its decision immediately and believe it is necessary and justified for the Council to take firm and effective measures on the basis of the pertinent provisions of the Charter, including the application of sanctions against Israel, measures that can prevent the implementation of Israel's decision and force the leaders of that country to abandon their aggressive and expansionist policy.

77. The Hungarian Government, while maintaining and reiterating its position concerning the settlement of the crisis, a position that has been set forth in detail on other occasions, would like once again to express its full solidarity with Syria and all the Arab peoples struggling against Israeli aggression.

78. The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The next speaker is the representative of Nicaragua. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

79. Mr. BENDANA RODRIGUEZ (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, permit me first warmly to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of January. My Government and yours enjoy cordial relations of friendship since, following the triumph of the Sandinista People's Revolution, Nicaragua no longer needs to ask permission to maintain worthy relations with socialist countries. Your long experience in international politics and your well-known skills as a diplomat ensure the efficient and well-balanced conduct of the work of the Council.

80. I also wish to express special thanks to your predecessor, our friend Mr. Olara Otunnu of Uganda, for his performance as President last month. Nicaragua and the non-aligned developing nations will not forget that his brilliant initiatives paved the way for the unanimous recommendation of the new Secretary-General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, a Latin American, a representative of the third world for a period decisive for our region, for the developing countries and for international peace and security.

81. Mr. Secretary-General, your election to the highest rank of the Organization inspires my Government to promote in our region, which is in turmoil, respect for and observance of the principles of the Charter and the objectives of the United Nations.

82. A few weeks ago, the Council met at the request of the Syrian Arab Republic [2316th to 2319th meetings] to consider the serious situation that had resulted from the aggressive and arrogant decision by Israel to apply its laws to the occupied Syrian territory of the Golan Heights—that is, to annex *de facto*, and presumably *de jure*, a territory that had, as is well known, been occupied illegally. At that time the Council declared the Israeli act null and without any legal force and demanded that that annexationist measure be rescinded forthwith. It was also agreed that, in the event of Israeli non-compliance, the Council would meet urgently to consider taking appropriate measures in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 497 (1981)].

83. In the view of the Government of Nicaragua, the Council acted responsibly in invoking international law and appealing for compliance with its previous decisions, with resolutions of the General Assembly and with the international community's desire for peace. Israel arrogantly rejected the Council's demand. It is up to the Council now to respond.

84. My country, which is located in a region in turmoil, cannot remain indifferent to the possibility that this response be hesitant and not respond to what is, according to the Charter, an illegal use of force and an obvious disregard of legal norms of conduct on which international peace and stability depend. Countries bent on defending their sovereignty and maintaining their independence in the face of pressures from the more powerful countries will keep a close watch on the precedent that will be established by the Council's decision on this case. There is no doubt that in their assessments potential aggressors as well as potential victims in various regions of the world take into account the credibility and effectiveness of the Council.

85. In our view, what is under consideration is not merely the legal status of a given territory but rather the persistent Israeli practice of committing aggression against its Arab neighbours and its policy of trampling on the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. No one can deny that the brutal raid on Beirut and the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear installation were expressions of the same policy. Given its own decision to consider the adoption of appropriate measures in accordance with the Charter, it is now up to the Council to make its authority felt.

86. Nicaragua will be closely watching the position taken by the United States in order to ascertain whether its responsibility as a permanent member of the Council to ensure peace will override defence of its so-called vital interests and its policy of protection of and support for repressive régimes hostile to neighbouring States. This carries serious implications for the Middle East as well as for Central America, where an attempt is also being made to impose the law of the jungle.

87. Little trust can come from the practice of protecting a country from the illegal consequences of its acts, which causes tensions in explosive regions of the world. We must all wonder how long contention will mount in the Middle East and in other parts of the world.

88. There exist norms that have been codified by the international community according to which all

States have the obligation not only to abide by them but also to respond to acts of aggression wherever in the world they may occur. Nicaragua therefore reiterates the request of the non-aligned countries to the Council to adopt appropriate measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to prevail upon Israel to restore all Syrian occupied territories to the full sovereignty of the Syrian Arab Republic,

89. I thank you, Mr. President, and the members of the Council for having allowed me to take part in this meeting.

90. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Greece. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

91. Mr. GHIKAS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, permit me first to convey to you on behalf of my delegation warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of January.

92. I would also express to the outgoing President, Mr. Otunnu, my delegation's appreciation for the really exemplary way in which he discharged his duties and directed the work of the Council.

93. I should like on behalf of my delegation to offer warmest congratulations to the new Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, whose long experience and outstanding personal qualities guarantee that he will successfully discharge the very weighty duties that he has assumed.

94. Finally, I should like to express to Mr. Waldheim the esteem and appreciation of my delegation for the contribution that he has made to the work for peace and justice throughout the world during his dual term of office.

95. A few weeks ago, the Council [2316th to 2319th meetings] met to condemn the decision of the Israeli Government to annex the Golan Heights by imposing on those territories, which it has been occupying since the 1967 war, Israeli laws, jurisdiction and administration. This further violation of international law by Israel was so flagrant and so serious in its implications that it was condemned by the Council in a rare act of unanimity [resolution 497 (1981)] as well as by the entire international community.

96. Greece wishes fully to associate itself in the condemnation of an act that so flagrantly violates one of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, namely, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of any territory by force. World peace and security cannot be guaranteed if any exception is allowed to this principle, which flows directly from the condemnation of war and, more generally, from the use of force as a means of settling disputes which may arise among States.

97. The decision of the Israeli Government is all the more serious in that it is also a violation of Council resolution 242 (1967), which remains for the international community one of the foundations for any negotiated settlement of the Middle East conflict. Hence, that decision can only make even more remote the already unlikely prospects for such a settlement and runs the risk of making explosive a situation which is already extremely tense.

98. This danger has since then been further compounded because Israel has virtually repeated its offence by refusing to heed the appeal made to it by the Council in its resolution 497 (1981) to rescind the annexation law as quickly as possible. This attitude of defiance of world public opinion should not surprise us, since quite recently Israel did not hesitate to ignore completely the Council's equally unanimous condemnations of the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor at Tamuz and the law annexing East Jerusalem.

99. The international community has the duty to react to this. For its part, Greece categorically condemns such an attitude and the policy it embodies, which undermine the very foundations of peaceful relations between countries, and wishes to express its full solidarity with Syria—to which, as well as to the entire Arab nation, we feel linked by traditional friendship and to assure it of our total support.

100. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Viet Nam. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

101. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, I should like first of all to congratulate you most warmly and to express my great satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the Council for this month of January. It augurs well for the work of the Council—my delegation sincerely hopes so—that the first activities of the new year of this important body of the United Nations are guided by a representative of the great Soviet Union, the first socialist State in the world, which since its establishment has always promoted a foreign policy of peace, national independence, friendship and cooperation among peoples and proved itself worthy of the trust and the hopes of the oppressed peoples of the world.

102. I also wish to pay a tribute to your predecessor, the representative of Uganda, Mr. Olara Otunnu, for his valuable contribution to the fruitful activities of the Council last December.

103. My delegation is pleased to join those that have preceded it in this series of meetings of the Council in conveying to the new Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, most sincere wishes for success and the assurance of co-operation in the exercise of the most important task of the United Nations. 104. My sincere congratulations are also addressed to the representatives of the brother and friendly countries which have recently been elected nonpermanent members and which will no doubt in the course of their term make their best contribution to the accomplishment of the noble task the Charter has prescribed for the Council.

105. At the meeting of 16 December last [23/7th meeting], my delegation presented to the Council the point of view of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, on the legislative level, on the nature of the Israeli occupier's act of annexation of the Golan Heights, an integral part of the national territory of the Syrian Arab Republic.

106. On the same day that that act of piracy on the juridical level was committed, the spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of my country stated:

"The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam strongly condemns this act of aggression" —I repeat: aggression—"of the Israeli authorities, opposes it and demands that Israel rescind forthwith that illegal decision and that it show strict respect for the independence and territorial integrity of the Syrian Arab Republic."

107. The general indignation of the international community was spontaneously and firmly expressed in the adoption of General Assembly resolution 36/226 B and Security Council resolution 497 (1981)-both on the same day, 17 December 1981-by virtue of which the international community categorically rejected the arbitrary decision of the Tel Aviv authorities and demanded that Israel rescind without delay that decision, regarded as devoid of international legal force. The Assembly further requested the Security Council, in the event of Israel's failure to implement the present resolution, to invoke Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and the Council decided that in the event of non-compliance by Israel, the Security Council would meet urgently, and not later than 5 January 1982, to consider taking appropriate measures in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

108. The world Organization's position on Israel's illegal decision was unambiguous. Nevertheless, my delegation believes that in its resolution 497 (1981) the Council demonstrated its graciousness by creating the necessary conditions to make Israel listen to reason and giving it an opportunity to accept the verdict of the international community, thus opening the way towards a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East situation.

109. Unfortunately, the negative response of the Tel Aviv authorities came without delay. The representative of the Zionist régime cynically stated as soon as the Council's decision was taken: "Members [of the Council] will readily understand that Israel cannot and does not accept the resolution just adopted" [2319th meeting, para. 37].

110. As an act of extreme insolence, in their reply dated 29 December last addressed to the Secretary-General [S/14821, para. 3], the Zionist authorities not only maintained their refusal to heed the injunctions of the Council but, furthermore, challenged the international community by their perfidious attitude of turning things around and transforming the victim into the aggressor with regard to the problem of the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights. The Syrian Arab Republic, victim of successive acts of Israeli aggression and a part of whose territory is under illegal occupation by Israel, according to the Zionist thesis is the aggressor and the main party responsible for breaches of peace in the Middle East, whereas the Zionist régime of Tel Aviv-whose policies and practices vis-à-vis the Palestinian people and its vanguard and leader, the PLO and vis-à-vis the occupied Arab territories, as well as the acts of war and aggression against the Arab countries of the region, have been continuously and universally condemned-considers itself to be the champion of peace in that region. arrogating to itself the right to ensure the security of its country by taking over the territories of others and renaming all their inhabitants "local population".

111. Deeply shocked and concerned at this serious challenge by Israel, the member States of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, in a plenary meeting on 5 January last at United Nations Headquarters, unanimously condemned Israel's flagrant act of aggression, as provided in Article 39 of the Charter of the United Nations and in General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX). That plenary meeting expressed its firm conviction that the international community should immediately apply the necessary sanctions in conformity with Article 41 of the Charter. In this regard, the non-aligned countries called on the Security Council to take appropriate measures under Chapter VII of the Charter to oblige Israel to restore all Syrian occupied territories to the full sovereignty of the Syrian Arab Republic [see S/14829, annex].

112. Given Israel's repeated obstinacy in not accepting or applying decisions of the Council in accordance with the Charter and the aforementioned demand expressed by the international community to remedy one of the most serious situations in one of the most sensitive regions of the world, the Security Council, given its principal responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, must adopt measures in keeping with that responsibility. To evade that responsibility not only would undermine the authority and prestige of the Council, but would be tantamount to allowing a crime to go unpunished, to encouraging the guilty party to pursue its policy of aggression and expansion, with unforeseeable consequences for world peace and the security of the peaceful peoples and countries of the region.

113. My delegation would like to stress a fundamental aspect of the problem which is being considered by the Council: the relationship of cause and effect which is found in the untenable behaviour of the Zionist régime towards its Arab neighbours and the strategic objectives of American imperialism in the Middle East.

114. In my last statement in this important body on 16 December last, I said:

"following the decision to annex the Arab city of Jerusalem, the new legislative action by Tel Aviv shows to those who still harbour doubts Israel's clear determination to expand and annex. This is not limited to Palestinian and Syrian lands, but aims much further, to the fulfilment of the dream of a so-called Greater Israel stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates." [2317th meeting, para. 121]

I also stressed that the Washington Government, which continues to claim so-called strategic interests in that region of the Middle East,

"bears a heavy responsibility to the Arab people and to the peoples of Africa and the world because of its complicity, encouragement and protection so generously granted to the Israeli aggressors." [*ibid.*, para. 124]

115. For Israel would not have acted with such arrogance in recent times if it had not felt supported by the Camp David accords and the separate treaties which have betrayed the interests of the Arab peoples and if it had not profited from the American-Israeli strategic co-operation agreement. If Israel is spared once again the sanctions provided for in the Charter and demanded by the international community, the negative effects of the aforementioned accords will no doubt continue to result in more serious consequences for the territorial sovereignty of the Arab countries of the region as well as for the fundamental national rights of the Palestinian people and peace in the Middle East and elsewhere in the world.

116. Consequently, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, on behalf of my country, would like to express its total support for the demand of the Syrian Arab Republic, unanimously supported by the League of Arab States and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, that the Council should apply the necessary sanctions under Chapter VII, Article 41, of the Charter. As was stressed by the representative of Syria on 6 January last in the Council: "Sanctions ... are the sole avenue left" [2322nd meeting, para. 70]. It would also be a decision in keeping with resolution 497 (1981), adopted unanimously by the Council.

117. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Morocco, I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

118. Mr. MRANI ZENTAR (Morocco) (interpretation from French): First, I should like to extend to you, Mr. President, and to all the members of the Council my profound thanks for allowing me to participate in this second debate on Israel's illegal annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights.

119. I wish also to express my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you presiding over such an important debate on such a critical topic, both because of the excellent relations that my country maintains with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and because your presence in the Chair lends added authority to the Council at a time when this body is preparing to take decisions which we hope will be both clear-cut and energetic.

120. I would not like to fail on this occasion to pay a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Otunnu of Uganda, who last month filled that office with remarkable skilfulness that won him unanimous admiration.

121. Finally, I wish warmly to welcome the participation for the first time in the work of the Council of Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar as Secretary-General. His election to that responsible post betokens much that is dear to a very large number of States Members of the Organization. I had the opportunity and, indeed, the advantage of being personally acquainted with the Secretary-General in the years when each of us represented our country here at the United Nations. I discovered his exceptional qualities as a subtle diplomat, a man of broad culture, devoted to the soundest international values, remarkably attached to everything that could help to allay the fears, the disquiet and the suffering of mankind, to extend and to strengthen international co-operation and to consolidate peace. This is an outlook which I am sure remains that of the Secretary-General, as he clearly showed in the first steps he took in the performance of his mandate. I should here like to assure him of the full understanding and support of my delegation and to wish him every success in the enormous task which awaits him, for the benefit of the entire international community.

122. The present series of Council meetings is also distinguished by the participation of new members —Guyana, Jordan, Poland, Togo and Zaire—whose presence here will, I am sure, make a major contribution to the strengthening of international co-operation and security. My country maintains the best of relations, and sometimes even the closest of relations, with them, and I should like to express my conviction that the support they will bring to the Council's efforts to maintain peace will be both very valuable and very effective.

123. The debate held last month [23/6th to 23/9th meetings] on Israel's aggressive action against the terri-

torial integrity of the Syrian Arab Republic made it possible once again to turn a harsh spotlight on Israel's unchanging behaviour towards the Palestinian people and neighbouring Arab countries, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, international law and the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

124. More specifically, that debate made it possible for us to grasp the origin of the Israeli presence on the Golan Heights since the war of aggression of June 1967 and Israel's behaviour since that time in that part of Syrian territory, which was gradually and methodically reduced to the final status of an Israeli province—flatly proclaimed on 14 December last.

125. The Government of the Kingdom of Morocco, faithful to the principles and purposes of the Charter and moved by deep feelings of Arab solidarity, immediately reacted to the announcement of that Israeli decision by condemning it categorically.

126. Mr. Mohamed Boucetta, Minister of State in charge of Foreign Affairs, said:

"Israel's decision to annex the Golan is an act of provocation, an act of flagrant defiance of the Arab nation, and runs counter to the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as to international resolutions and practice."

Mr. Boucetta condemned, on behalf of the Kingdom of Morocco, that illegal measure and called for the Arabs to close ranks in order to put an end to the Israeli provocations which make it clear that Israel is set in its expansionist designs, to the detriment of the Arab nation, and also illustrate its refusal to seek a just peace in the region.

127. When, as a result of the six-day war, the size of the territories occupied by Israel suddenly increased by an alarming proportion, the international community reacted in unambiguous terms and Council resolution 242 (1967) had at least one undeniable merit in the case of the occupied territories, that of vigorously refuting the idea of acquiring territory by force and requiring Israel's withdrawal to the frontiers existing before the aggression of 5 June 1967.

128. The position of the Security Council and the General Assembly on the question of the occupied Arab territories, specifically the Golan Heights, has been consistent and unswerving. Israeli occupation has always been considered unlawful and the restoration of the occupied Arab territories has always been regarded as an essential prerequisite for any peaceful settlement in the region.

129. All the international resolutions adopted since then on the problem of the Middle East and on the question of Palestine, which constitutes the very crux of the crisis, have invariably put forward as an essential prerequisite for the return of peace the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people on its national territory and the return of all the occupied Arab territories.

Similarly, the condemnation of Israeli behaviour 130. in the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem. the rejection by the international community of the policy of insidious colonization, of modification of the economic, political and human characteristics of those territories, and the categorical rejection of the decision which proclaimed the Holy City of Al-Quds the "united and eternal capital" of the Zionist State were all telling rebukes which should have curbed the voracious appetite of Israel for the territories of others. There can be no doubt that for the Security Council, for the United Nations, for the Palestinian people and for the Arab countries whose territories are occupied, these measures constitute positive and clear-cut international decisions which have erected a political and juridical bulwark against the consolidation or legitimization of the annexationist act by Israel based on force, on faits accomplis and on the denial of rights. And in fact, in its resolution 497 (1981), the Council states that Israel's decision to impose its laws in the Golan Heights is null and void and without international legal effect and demands that the decision be rescinded forthwith, if not the Security Council would meet urgently to consider taking appropriate measures in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

131. Israeli conduct in the Golan Heights undoubtedly bears all the imprints of an act of aggression as defined in resolution 3314 (XXIX), unanimously adopted on 14 December 1974 by the General Assembly, a resolution which has already been referred to and quoted frequently in this debate.

132. Israel's occupation by force and unilateral annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, in spite of specific and concordant international decisions relating to the question, constitutes the most blatant and intolerable act of defiance of the Council.

133. The Security Council is the custodian of international security in the eyes of all the States of the world which, be they large or small, wish to continue to resort to this irreplaceable body to defuse international crises and more effectively ensure respect for the principles and purposes of the Charter, international law and the principles of justice and equity fo all mankind.

134. We are confident that the members of the Council, all of whom have the same anxiety we have will do everything necessary to safeguard the cred bility of the United Nations and to strengthen th authority of the Council. 135. It is our belief that the time has now come for the Council, applying the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter and Article 41 in particular, to take the energetic decisions required to force Israel to rescind its decision to annex the Golan Heights and to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, thus taking a vital step towards the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people over its national territory, a basic condition that must be met if a comprehensive, just and lasting peace is to

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be established for the entire region of the Middle East.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.

NOTE

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