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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. Mr. ABULHASSAN (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is known that international events and developments are not confined to the region of the Middle East, but the events and developments in that area have a general feature that distinguishes them from others—namely, the characteristic of continuance, repetition and accumulation. It is impossible not to note that those events and developments are united by a common denominator. This is that they all spring from one source, which is the chain of continuous Israeli acts of aggression; from one doctrine, which is the Zionist doctrine; and from one policy, which is the policy of cutting off the meat of the prey piece by piece, or what is known in diplomatic tradition as the policy of imposing *faits accomplis* one after another.

2. All these events and developments are aimed at one ultimate goal, which is the realization of Zionism's great dream: the establishment of Greater Israel. It is the attempts to realize that dream that have changed the region of the Middle East into a bloody theatre in which Israel, with a military arsenal out of all proportion to its size, plays a continuing aggressive role that has occupied the attention of the United Nations for more than 37 years, leaving it confused and unable to decide what to do about this Member State, the only one whose membership was conditional on its permitting the return of the Palestinian refugees to their homes, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 194 (III), of 11 December 1948. In spite of that, by its refusal to implement that resolution and by its persistence in aggression, Israel has earned the title of the enemy of peace in the Middle East. The General Assembly confirmed this in paragraph 12 of resolution 37/123 A, in which it again determined that Israel is not a peace-loving Member State.

3. Ever since 1948, when Zionism appropriated by force a large part of the Arab Palestinian lands for the establishment of the Jewish State, that intruder has committed aggression after aggression in order to seize another slice of Palestinian or Arab land, after strengthening its hold on the piece it had already annexed. The effects of the series of Israeli acts of aggression are clear and numerous. One such effect is the many international forces spread over the map of

the Middle East, including UNTSO, UNDOF and UNIFIL.

4. The presence of those forces, which are found everywhere in the Middle East, is evidence of the continuous aggressive activity of the Zionists in the Arab region. It is that activity that has made the history of the second half of this century a chain of bloody military adventures through which Israel strives to expand its territory under the pretext of maintaining peace and security. Israel's arrogant talk about peace and security seems contrary to reason and logic in the light of what it represents—namely, a militarily aggressive striking force with many times the power of that of others many times its size.

5. If we take a quick glance at the map of the Middle East we find the following incriminating facts.

6. First, aggression still exists, as represented in the continuing Israeli occupation, since 1967, of Palestinian and Arab territories and its flagrant violations of the Charter and relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

7. Secondly, the Israeli practices aimed at changing the physical, demographic and legal character of the various Arab and Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967 are still going on, despite the fact that Israel is thereby flagrantly violating the rules of international law, in particular the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949<sup>1</sup>, and scoffing at the annual condemnation by the United Nations in resolutions demanding that Israel cease those illegal practices.

8. Thirdly, Al-Quds al-Sharif, which is considered the principal part of the occupied territories, has been illegally annexed and declared by Israel to be its capital, despite the adoption by the United Nations each year of resolutions denouncing that act, declaring it null and void and demanding that Israel rescind it.

9. Fourthly, the Arab Syrian Golan Heights are still occupied and Israel still implements Israeli laws there, in contravention of the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention and the relevant United Nations resolutions.

10. Fifthly, the barbaric Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982—the latest of the criminal, bloody Israeli series—has further exacerbated the crisis by expanding the area of the territory subjected to illegal Israeli practices in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Arab Syrian Golan Heights to include southern Lebanon, whose people have been made the latest victims of that aggressive series.

11. Sixthly—and last but not least—the Palestinian question, which derives from the creation by force of the Jewish State on Arab Palestinian territories, is

still unresolved despite the many United Nations resolutions emphasizing the central nature of this question in the Middle East crisis and the impossibility of achieving a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in that region without the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights.

12. We do not doubt for one minute that the United Nations has made continuous efforts to face what is happening in the Middle East. In fact, it has confronted the accumulating record of aggressive acts by this curious State, with all it contains of abhorrent colonialist aggression, implanted in the heart of our Arab region with a growing number of resolutions dealing with every form of that aggression.

13. If we try to discover the reasons for the failure so far to halt the continuing Israeli aggression or to ensure implementation of United Nations resolutions adopted for that purpose, we have to face three inexorable facts which have been repeatedly mentioned whenever the Middle East problem has been debated. Those facts are the following.

14. First, the international community's inability—as the Secretary-General has stated in his latest report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1]—to solve many of its problems has given rise to a process of side-stepping the United Nations and recourse to other measures, such as the use of force, unilateral action and military alliances, which has weakened reliance on the Organization. The Secretary-General goes on to say that the non-implementation of resolutions and their proliferation tends to lead Governments and peoples to look at the United Nations with less seriousness. Those remarks relate in a special way to the conflict in the Middle East, because of the hostilities and feelings of frustration involved.

15. Kuwait, which supports those remarks by the Secretary-General, also supports the part of his report on the situation in the Middle East [A/39/600] in which he states that the continuing failure to solve the problem of the situation there reflects adversely on the authority and status of the United Nations.

16. Secondly, some major Powers which are linked to Israel by special relations—for example, the United States—always seek to protect Israel regardless of its colonialist settlement and arbitrarily coercive policies. That protection takes many forms, but we shall cite only the following: (a) the imposition of unacceptable pre-conditions on participation by the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], which is recognized internationally as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in any negotiations to resolve the Palestinian question, in spite of the fact that the General Assembly has repeatedly emphasized in its relevant resolutions that it will not be possible to establish a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the region without the participation on a basis of equality of all the parties to the conflict, including the PLO; (b) the rejection of agreement on an international framework for negotiations on peace in the Middle East owing to the fear that such a conference might lead to the imposition of a solution not acceptable to Israel; the United States, as well as Israel, rejected the invitation of the Secretary-General, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/58 C, of 13 December 1983, to participate in an international peace conference on the Middle East, in which the United States, the Soviet Union, the parties to the conflict, including

the PLO, and other countries concerned would participate; (c) the use of the veto against any draft resolution in the Security Council aimed at denouncing Israel and punishing it for its illegal policies; the right of veto has been exercised this year even against draft resolutions which have not denounced Israel but merely called upon it to stop some of its practices: on 29 February 1984, the veto was used against a French draft resolution calling for the creation of an international force to take the place of the multinational forces after their withdrawal; on 6 September 1984, this right was used again against a Lebanese draft resolution affirming the applicability of the fourth Geneva Convention to the territories occupied by Israel in southern Lebanon and demanding that Israel lift all restrictions and obstacles to the restoration of normal conditions in the areas under its occupation in southern Lebanon; and (d) supplying Israel, despite its shameful aggressive record, with the latest means of destruction produced by the American military industry in such a way as to ensure its permanent quantitative and qualitative supremacy over the collective Arab forces. It is worth noting that the General Assembly, in its resolution 38/180 A, called upon all Member States to put an end to the flow of military, economic and financial aid to Israel. Despite that, the United States has not been satisfied with increasing the volume of economic and military aid to Israel this year, but has confronted us with a unique situation in which the strategic alliance recently concluded between the United States and Israel has been strengthened.

17. The third fact we must face is Israel's stubbornness and rejection of all international laws in order to achieve its ultimate goals in the region. Its arrogant behaviour towards the international community is explained by the huge support provided to it by the United States in the political, military, financial and economic fields.

18. It is the opinion of my delegation that Israel would be too cowardly to defy the international community with such boldness and arrogance if it did not have United States support. The existence of a special relationship between two States Members of the United Nations is a private matter that concerns those two Members alone. But when this special relationship aggravates an already dangerous situation in an area as sensitive as the Middle East—the latest example of which was the barbaric invasion of Lebanon in 1982—the international community should obviously step in and halt those Israeli policies, on which dozens of resolutions have been adopted. And the United States, which played a major part in the creation of Israel and has continued to support it until it has become a beast of prey, should now assume responsibility not only for putting pressure on Israel until it bows to the international will but also for finding a solution to the main problem which arose from the creation of Israel—namely, the Palestinian question. Unless this pivotal problem is solved, a comprehensive, just and lasting peace will never be possible.

19. The situation cannot remain as it is indefinitely, since, as the Secretary-General says in his report [A/39/600], it has an adverse effect on the world Organization.

20. But in the midst of the darkness a gleam of hope seems to appear. For the first time in many years the United Nations is facing the situation in the Middle East with a clearly outlined programme of action

which calls for the holding of an international peace conference on the Middle East attended by all the parties to the conflict, including the PLO, the United States, the Soviet Union, and other countries concerned.

21. The Geneva Declaration on Palestine, adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva in 1983,<sup>2</sup> also constitutes a central element of the method adopted by the United Nations for solving the Palestinian question, which is the core of the Middle East problem.

22. Kuwait believes that it is the duty of the States Members of the United Nations, whether individually or collectively, to promote the holding of this conference. The first thing is to persuade the countries which did not agree to the convening of such a conference to change their opinion by pointing out that to reject any framework for peace is to refuse to discuss ways of restoring peace and security to a region which has already suffered so much and whose stability is a condition of world peace and security. That is why Kuwait supported the Soviet call for the holding of an international conference to resolve the Middle East problem, with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, on a footing of equality.

23. The consolidation of the international will, on the basis of this sound model for resolving the world's problems, could lead to a just and honourable end to this complicated problem. At this juncture, we do not see any justification for the major Powers directly involved evading this responsibility. The time has come for a just, long-awaited solution so that the Middle East may resume its traditional role in the evolution of civilization.

24. I should like to comment on the statement made by the representative of the Zionist entity this morning [72nd meeting] in the discussion of this important item by the General Assembly and to review the developments which have occurred or may occur.

25. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Israel on a point of order.

26. Mr. BINAH (Israel): I just wish to draw the attention of the representative of Kuwait to the fact that the name of my country is Israel. It is a State Member of the United Nations and should be referred to by its correct name.

27. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Kuwait to please continue bearing in mind what has just been said.

28. Mr. ABULHASSAN (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): In discussing this important item in the General Assembly and reviewing the events that have occurred and that may occur in the course of making tangible progress towards a just solution of the Middle East problem, we find that the representative of the Israeli entity has, according to his custom, in a manner both boring and despicable and in order to distract the attention of the international community from the item under consideration, resorted to demagogery, the latest manifestation of which we heard a few moments ago. He has strayed far from the path of logic by attacking all the Arab countries, from the Arab East, the Mashreg, to the Arab West, the Maghreb, describing them in words that only Israel can use.

29. Israel's aggressive policy in the Middle East is a glaring example of an entity that has adopted terror-

ism and subversion as a means of realizing its schemes. Israel's numerous criminal acts in this regard have been recorded in United Nations documents in terms which do not call for further comment.

30. The core of all the problems of the Middle East can be found in the implantation of this foreign body of Israel in the Arab world body. The Arab world rejects this alien entity. The international community, as represented by the General Assembly, is fully aware of the background of that alien entity and its aggressive policies.

31. The representatives of Israel have revealed themselves by their inability, for years, to speak about the substance of the problem, its causes and consequences, and its victims, the Palestinian people.

32. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Back in 1947, the United Nations, having decided to put an end to the colonial domination of Great Britain in Palestine, decided to establish upon its territory two independent States, the Arab and the Jewish. But the designs and the aggressive actions of the imperialists and the Zionists converted the region of the Middle East into a constantly smouldering hotbed of war and conflict which, so far, has given no leeway for the Arab people of Palestine to exercise their inalienable right to statehood.

33. From the moment of its creation, Israel has waged aggressive wars against all of its neighbouring Arab countries and has conducted a policy of State terrorism against the Arab people of Palestine. As formerly, in America, there was mass expulsion and annihilation of Indians, thus, now, Israel is carrying out that same policy against the Arab population in the occupied territories, against the Palestinians in particular. Israeli military forces are annihilating innocent children, women and the elderly; this is taking place also in refugee camps. The Arabs are being expelled from their houses and the land that belongs to them, and in their place military garrisons and Israeli militarized settlements are being established. This is happening on the Golan Heights, on the West Bank of the Jordan, in the Gaza Strip and on Lebanese soil. For instance, according to information in the report of the Secretary-General: "by now almost all of the Jordan Valley's potentially cultivable land has been expropriated for the Israeli settlements" [A/39/233, para. 8]. Israeli military authorities are carrying out collective punishment of Arabs. Prisons and concentration camps are filled. Those arrested and detained are tortured cruelly and Israel is blatantly flouting the 1949 Geneva conventions on the plight of war victims.

34. Those and other crimes of Israel against the Arab peoples of the occupied territories have frequently been vigorously condemned in resolutions of the United Nations and in other international forums. Demands that such practices should cease are ignored by the Israeli authorities.

35. The unsettled nature of the situation in the Near East, the core problem of which is the question of Palestine, can be laid at the door of American imperialism, which is encouraging Israel to commit its criminal acts against the Arab peoples.

36. The General Assembly, in paragraph 10 of resolution 38/180 D, adopted on 19 December 1983, justly emphasized that:

"agreements on strategic co-operation between the United States of America and Israel signed on 30 November 1981, together with the recent accords concluded in this context, would encourage Israel to pursue its aggressive and expansionist policies and practices in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, would have adverse effects on efforts for the establishment of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East and would threaten the security of the region."

And that is how things happened.

37. Aggressive actions against Lebanon and the Palestinians in Lebanon are continuing. Repressions in other Israeli-occupied Arab territories are in progress. New Israeli settlements are being created there. The United States is itself firing on and bombing Lebanese soil. They are engaging in back-room intrigues, forcing Arabs to accept separate deals. They are undermining the unity of action of those who fight for a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East situation. The United States has frustrated the possibility of implementing United Nations decisions concerning the convening of an international world conference on the Middle East. To quote their own words: "The United States does not intend to participate in a conference of that kind or in any work connected with its preparation." Standing with them, of course, were Israel and certain of their closest allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

38. One can discern an overall policy to build up international tensions and intensify military preparations. This is being done everywhere; thus, for instance, in Western Europe it takes the form of deployment of additional American first-strike nuclear missile systems and the fomenting of militarism and revanchism. As a matter of fact, the Middle East happens to be within range of those American nuclear missiles. It is being done in the Mediterranean and in the Persian Gulf and in the other regions adjacent to the Near East. Israel, for its part, is given the role of obedient executor of the expansionist policy and even of "protector" of American "vital interests" in this region.

39. It is clear that Israel, with all of its aggressiveness, deriving from Zionist concepts of exclusiveness and grandiosity, could not commit its lawlessness against Arab peoples without American support. After all, this is a country with a stagnating economy and galloping inflation, where prices are rising at the rate of 1,000 per cent per year; a country where the foreign debt exceeds the annual budget and is higher than any if calculated on a per capita basis; a country with a constant multi-billion balance of payments deficit; a country where production is growing twice as slowly as consumption. And yet, Israel is expending approximately 30 per cent of its budget on military purposes. Where do the funds come from? Consider the election platform of the Republican Party of the United States. There you will read: "We promise to help maintain the quality of the military superiority of Israel over its opponents." In this case, the promises are kept. Approximately one third of all American "aid" to foreign States goes precisely in that direction, and most recently all of that aid has been granted to Israel on a non-refundable basis. The American Administration really does not care what the American taxpayer will have to pay for all of this. Yet, according to data in the British newspaper, the

*Financial Times*, of 17 January 1984, the levels of American unilateral payments on a per capita basis to Israel are higher than the whole of the per capita income in the majority of the developing countries. The rulers of Israel are earning these pieces of silver with the blood and suffering of the Arab peoples and also by reducing to nothing the security of the Israeli people itself.

40. But is the American-Israeli "strategic alliance" so powerful that the people of the Middle East must yield to the aggressor? We are convinced that this is not so. There are forces in the world which can and must stop the unbridled aggressor and its protector.

41. As was pointed out recently by the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Konstantin U. Chernenko:

"The tense complicated situation in the Near East, the uneasy struggle which the Arabs have to wage against the aggressive designs of Israel and the actions of the United States again and again underline the significance of close mutual action of the Arab countries and their solidarity."

42. The just cause of the Arab peoples has extensive international support, which is apparent from the activities of the United Nations, other international organizations and the determined and constructive initiatives of both the Arab States and other States. This cannot be overlooked by those who speak and vote against the need for the speedy achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict and the solution of the Palestinian question by means of the exercise in practice of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people, the sole legitimate representative of which is the PLO, to self-determination and to establish its own independent State on Palestinian lands which would be freed on the West Bank of the Jordan, including East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip.

43. The United Nations has on many occasions reaffirmed the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of foreign lands through aggression. Accordingly, all Arab lands occupied by Israel since 1967 must be returned to the Arabs and the Israeli settlements which have been set up there must be dismantled. The borders between Israel and its Arab neighbours should be declared inviolable and guaranteed.

44. I shall not dwell on all of the aspects of the settlement of the Middle East question and the solution of the Palestinian question which are contained in the proposals of the Soviet Union of 29 July 1984 [see A/39/368]. Nor will I speak at length on the decisions adopted on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez.<sup>3</sup> I merely stress that in them we see a like-mindedness of approach between the socialist and Arab countries to the settlement of the Middle East question. I should like to refer to certain additional aspects which relate to the earliest possible attainment of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem.

45. Together with the cessation of the occupation by Israel of all Arab territories held since 1967, there must be firm guarantees of the right of all States in the region to secure and independent existence and development, with, of course, full reciprocity, as the

genuine security of some cannot be ensured by violating the security of others.

46. There must be an end to the state of war, and peace should be established between the Arab States and Israel. This means that all parties to the conflict, including Israel and the Palestinian State, should commit themselves to honour each other's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and to resolve by peaceful means, through talks, the disputes that have arisen.

47. International guarantees of the settlement should be drawn up and adopted. The role of guarantor could be assumed, for example, by the permanent members of the Security Council or by the Security Council as a whole.

48. All these and other questions pertaining to a settlement in the Middle East could be resolved by a set of collective efforts, but not by imposing upon the Arabs various kinds of separate deals with Israel. In other words, it is necessary to convene an international conference with the participation of all the parties concerned on an equal footing.

*Mr. Al-Sabbagh (Bahrain), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

49. The current session of the General Assembly, as we see it, must again reaffirm its attitude of principle concerning the solution of the Middle East question. It must condemn firmly and in specific terms those who prevent its settlement, and it must outline additional measures for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East for the purpose of preparing and signing a treaty or treaties encompassing the following components for settlement which are an integral part of it: the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967; the exercise of the lawful national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to the creation of its own State; the restoration of a state of peace, and the guaranteeing of the security and the independent development of all States parties to the conflict. At the same time, it is necessary to elaborate and adopt international guarantees of compliance with such a settlement. All agreements reached at the conference must represent an indivisible whole approved by all the parties—in other words, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon, Israel, the PLO, the Soviet Union, the United States and other possible participants at the conference.

50. Such a conference on the Middle East should be conducted under the auspices of the United Nations. We call upon all parties to the conflict to act on the basis of a sober-minded understanding of each other's lawful rights and interests and on all other States not to hinder but to promote the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

51. *Mr. AL-ANSI (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic):* It is indeed difficult to discuss the current situation in the Middle East without mentioning what is the core of the problem and of the conflict in the region: the Palestinian cause. The contemporary Arab-Israeli conflict derives basically from this major humanitarian issue, which was brought about by concerted efforts and which resulted in the loss of an entire homeland, the deportation of its people and their dispersal from their homes without the slightest qualm or logic.

52. In spite of the complications of this great tragedy, Israel was not content with occupying the Palestinian territories in 1948 but has endeavoured,

relying on external support from certain well-known sources, to create even more problems for the Arab countries, especially for its neighbours. It ignited the flames of strife and war until it managed to occupy other Arab lands in 1967 and 1973, as it has in the wake of its recent military intervention in Lebanon.

53. Israel's occupation of the territories of Palestine, as well as parts of the territories of Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt, is a clear sign of the dangers inherent in the current situation in the Middle East and is definitely the cause of acute tension and a threat to international peace and security.

54. The indigenous populations of Palestine and the occupied Arab territories are in fact innocent, defenceless people whose fate is controlled and dominated by Israel, driven as it is by expansionist and aggressive designs. Israel is striving to break the bonds tying those unarmed people to their land, country, government, nation and creed. Israel does not hesitate to use any method, tactic and ruse to realize its schemes, however arbitrary and repressive they may be. It turns a deaf ear to international appeals and resolutions seeking to foster an atmosphere conducive to stability and security in this critical part of the world instead of a climate of conflict, war and destruction.

55. Israeli practices against the populations of the occupied Arab territories have been condemned in various reports and forums and are contrary to all international laws and conventions. The reports of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories and the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, as well as the decisions of the Commission on Human Rights, the Security Council, the General Assembly, UNRWA, UNESCO and other credible international organizations and bodies, are clear proof of what we maintain.

56. Based upon all the firm evidence before us, we must all categorically reject the demolishing by force of the homes of Arab citizens in the occupied Arab territories perpetrated by the Israeli authorities. We must call for the release of all Arab prisoners in Israeli prisons. We must call for the application to all those citizens of the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.<sup>1</sup> We call on Israel to refrain from any activity or measure which may alter the legal status, geographic nature or demographic structure of the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, the West bank of the River Jordan, Taba, southern Lebanon and the villages and cities of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

57. The international community must apply pressure on Israel to rescind its unlawful and arbitrary measures against educational institutions in the occupied Arab territories, to allow all those persons from the occupied areas who have been deported and banished to return to their homes and families without discrimination and, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, to pay reparations for the expropriated property of those who choose not to be repatriated.

58. The protracted conflict afflicting the Middle East has caused innumerable political, social and economic problems for the countries of the region.

Increasing doubts remain about Israel's bona fides when it says it is ready to accept a just and honourable peace, for, had it truly desired peace, it would have taken positive steps towards this end years and years ago.

59. The Arab countries understand peace and call for it on the basis of reason and logic, whereas Israel seeks a peace based on an opposite premise, that of power and supremacy. This is undoubtedly an unacceptable proposition because it widens the distance between the ideas that could be brought to bear by the parties directly concerned, and their direct participation in an international peace conference attended by other influential international parties is indispensable for the realization of a truly comprehensive peace.

60. The Sultanate of Oman has always abided by its position of principle in support of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the rights of the Arab countries, important parts of whose territories are occupied by Israel. We believe in the right of all peoples to choose their own future freely and without coercion. We welcome all steps for dialogue and peace, and hence we support the Egyptian initiative for peace. We would have wished Israel not to hamper the lofty objectives of that important step, as it is continuing to do. We have supported the call for the convening of an international peace conference in Geneva, so long as this meeting is attended by all the parties to the conflict. We have sought the realization of the Arab peace plan which was unanimously adopted on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez.<sup>1</sup> We have also accepted other positive peaceful initiatives which could be accepted by all of the concerned parties, especially the initiative of President Reagan, of 1 September 1982,<sup>2</sup> as well as those of some of the permanent members of the Security Council, whenever they have taken into account, in a tangible manner, the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the peoples of the Arab territories occupied by Israel, the right of the peoples of the Middle East to live in peace, harmony and justice without any kind of outside intervention or pressure from any source.

61. As we are discussing the question of the Middle East, it is appropriate for me to refer to the fact that, after certain unfortunate difficulties, the Palestine National Council is meeting, in the Jordanian capital, to discuss the achievements and experience of recent years along the path of the defence of the Palestinian cause. We wish all success to this important conference in order to safeguard the interests and future of the Palestinian people, the interests of the Arab nation and world peace.

62. The fifth session of the Supreme Council of the Co-operation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf will take place in Kuwait from 27 to 29 November of this year. The sixth session will take place in November 1985 at Muscat, the capital of Oman. There is no doubt that the six countries of the Council—Saudi Arabia, Oman, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates—will continue to seek stability in the Gulf region, the Arab peninsula and the Middle East in general, since we believe in our role, which is to serve Arab and Islamic interests and contribute to the maintenance of world peace.

63. In conclusion, I would like to commend the efforts of the Arab countries of the Middle East to

make a reality of the concept of historic interdependence and joint action. In this context, we welcome the restoration of the natural ties between two fraternal countries, Egypt and Jordan, and the restoration of similar ties between other Arab countries and Egypt. We applaud the important role played by the Secretary-General and the relevant organs of the United Nations in the interests of justice and peace in the region. Such positive efforts as are mentioned by the Secretary-General in his report [A/39/600] underline the need to pursue endeavours to establish peace and stability and to quell hotbeds of tension and war. We acclaim in particular the role of UNDOF and of the international force working for the maintenance of peace. We hope that the current talks taking place in Naqoura, Lebanon, under United Nations auspices will succeed in bringing about a complete and speedy Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon. We are grateful for the activities of UNRWA and wish it all success in the realization of its noble humanitarian endeavours. We support the sincere efforts of committees of the United Nations to monitor and follow-up the question of Palestine and the occupied Arab territories and the situation in the Middle East in general. Here I refer particularly to the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and other relevant bodies.

64. This morning [2nd meeting] the representative of Israel referred *inter alia* to matters totally unconnected with the realities in the Middle East. The aggression carried out by his country was manifest when he spoke about discord between certain Arab countries and between Iraq and Iran, as fraternal Islamic countries. He mentioned the relationship between my country and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

65. In this regard, I must reaffirm that such statements are only an attempt to escape reality. I must reaffirm to the representative of Israel and others that the unfortunate events that may occur between two fraternal Arab countries are normal events that take place within the framework of one Arab family. The representative of Israel has no cause to intervene in such affairs. Fraternal relations exist between Oman and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. We have a common destiny and a common position, since we signed an agreement at the Foreign Ministers level on 27 October 1982 in the capital of Kuwait. That agreement consolidates stable relationships between our two countries.

66. We sincerely hope that all the causes that led to the Middle East conflict will be eliminated and also that certain unfortunate problems that may have arisen between brotherly Arab countries will be settled.

67. Mr. BUGTI (Pakistan):\* The Middle East question is undoubtedly one of the gravest and most intractable problems that the United Nations has ever had to face and deal with. The General Assembly has probably spent more time and given more attention to it than to any other. Thirty-seven years have elapsed since the United Nations was first called upon to deal with it. During this period, five wars have been fought in the region and yet, due to

\*Mr. Bugti spoke in Urdu. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.



the intransigence of one of the parties, a settlement is nowhere in sight.

68. Because of its location and its natural resources, the Middle East today is an area of great strategic value. Any fresh outbreak of hostilities, which would be more destructive than the previous conflicts, could even lead to a confrontation between the two super-Powers and have the most serious consequences for the whole world. The present no-peace, no-war situation in the region therefore poses a threat not only to the region but also to the peace and security of the whole world.

69. The responsibility for this state of affairs must be borne by Israel, whose aggressive and expansionist policies and repression of the Arab population in the occupied territories have kept the whole region on the brink of a catastrophic conflict. Israel has dismissed with contempt the resolutions adopted by the United Nations year after year, which have outlined the principles of a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East and have set out the guidelines for their implementation. In complete defiance of the will of the international community, it has refused to withdraw from the occupied territories and has annexed Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights. Its plans to set up settlements in the West Bank make it clear that its ultimate objective is no less than the Judaization of all the Palestinian territories seized by it in an insatiable drive for more and more land.

70. Israel's aggressive and expansionist designs were demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt by its invasion of Lebanon two years ago. Despite the repeated calls by the Security Council and the General Assembly, it has persistently refused to withdraw from Lebanon and arrogantly remains in illegal occupation of the southern part of the country.

71. Having driven millions of Palestinians into exile from the land in which they and their forefathers had lived for countless generations, Israel now denies the most elementary human rights to those who are still living in the occupied territories and refuses to accord them the protection guaranteed under international law. These people are the victims of a ruthless policy of oppression and repression. In a systematic plan to alter the demographic character of the occupied territories and present the world with a *fait accompli*, the inhabitants of the occupied territories are arbitrarily being expelled from their lands in order to make way for Jewish settlements. As the events in Lebanon have shown, even Palestinians who live as refugees in other Arab countries are not spared. Israel's goal is no less than to destroy the national character of the Palestinian people and to erode their identification with their homeland.

72. The valiant struggle launched by the Palestinian people demonstrates, however, that Israel's policies, which have already produced so much bloodshed and bitterness, are bound to fail in their objective. Peace can return to the Middle East only if Israel abandons its expansionist designs and co-operates sincerely in the search of the international community for a just and lasting settlement. The Arab peace plan, adopted on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez,<sup>3</sup> represented a constructive new initiative towards peace in the Middle East. Among the various other noteworthy initiatives towards a settlement of the Middle East problem are the Reagan plan of 1 September 1982<sup>4</sup> and the

proposals made by the Soviet Union on 29 July of this year [see A/39/368].

73. The essential elements on which a Middle East peace could be based have been affirmed repeatedly by the General Assembly, by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. These elements include the following: the complete attainment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable national rights, including the right to return to their homeland, the right to self-determination and the right to establish their own State in Palestine; the right of the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate on an equal footing with the other parties in all efforts and negotiations on the Middle East; and Israel's withdrawal from all occupied territories, including Jerusalem.

74. Pakistan has consistently advocated these principles. Last year we supported General Assembly resolution 38/58 C on the proposed international peace conference on the Middle East in conformity with these principles and with the participation of all parties to the Arab-Israeli dispute, including the PLO. We therefore deeply regret that despite the highly commendable efforts made by the Secretary-General in connection with the holding of the conference, he has come to the conclusion that "the conditions required for convening the proposed conference with any chance of success are not met at the present time" [A/39/600, para. 40].

75. We agree with the Secretary-General that the United Nations has a special obligation to make another determined effort to find the means by which we can move forward to a negotiated peace in the Middle East. My delegation also supports the Secretary-General's intention to remain in close consultation with all the parties to the Middle East conflict in case he can play a useful role in the negotiating process. Equally, it is the responsibility of those countries which maintain close ties with Israel and extend military and economic assistance to it to use their influence to the full in order to persuade its Government to respond positively to the international call for a just, negotiated settlement in the Middle East. Failure to do so could drive the region into another tragic conflict.

76. Mr. KORHONEN (Finland): The complex of Middle East problems persistently eludes settlement. Although the Middle East has been the foremost concern of the United Nations for the past 37 years, all the basic problems still remain unsolved. The five wars that have been fought between Israel and the Arabs have not solved anything. On the contrary, they have created new problems and added new layers of complexity to the old ones. Furthermore, every war carries the seeds of the next one. The parable of this calamitous process should be clear both to the parties concerned and to the international community as a whole.

77. The key to the situation is and continues to be the Arab-Israeli conflict. We remain convinced that a comprehensive settlement of it must be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). The content of those resolutions is well known but still often forgotten: namely that Israel must withdraw from Arab territories occupied since 1967; the acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible; and the right of Israel and all other States of

the area to exist within secure and recognized boundaries must be guaranteed.

78. In addition to this, a provision must be made on behalf of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, including their right to national self-determination. This presupposes the right of the Palestinians to participate in negotiations on their own future within a comprehensive solution of the conflict. So far, attempts towards a comprehensive solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict have fallen before insurmountable obstacles. A major obstacle has been and remains the settlement policy of the Government of Israel in the territories occupied by it and its unilateral action to change the status of Jerusalem, a city of three great faiths. As the proposals and initiatives aimed at a comprehensive solution of the conflict have failed, frustration and despair in the occupied West Bank and Gaza have grown. Acts of violence, repeatedly occurring, have further aggravated the situation. This vicious cycle must be brought to a halt.

79. As we well know, violence in the Middle East has proved extremely prone to spread. Over the last years, the Government of Finland has followed the tragic events in Lebanon with growing concern. Lebanon became the victim of almost all the disputes and conflicts that have resulted from unresolved basic problems in the Middle East. We welcome the formation of the Government of National Unity. The national reconciliation, painfully achieved, must not fail. Tragic events have proved that a comprehensive and lasting solution of the problems in Lebanon requires the withdrawal of foreign forces and the restoration of Lebanese authority over the totality of its own territory inside internationally recognized borders.

80. My Government has noted with great satisfaction the beginning of the talks in Naqoura which will include a United Nations presence. We appeal to the parties not to let this chance for a negotiated solution go astray. We hope that the talks will lead to the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory, as well as to assured peace and security for all parties to the conflict, and that they will help to restore the effective authority of the Government of Lebanon in the area concerned.

81. The United Nations has an obligation to offer its services to the parties to the Middle East conflict and to support their efforts aimed at a comprehensive, just and lasting solution. We are still convinced that the United Nations and its peace-keeping operations will play a vital role in the search for a peaceful political solution of the problems.

82. In accordance with its policy of neutrality, Finland has taken a balanced and conciliatory position on the various controversial issues in the Middle East. We have maintained good relations with all the nations concerned, including the most immediate parties to the conflict. It is our firm intention to continue this policy, to preserve the confidence of all parties and thereby to be able to render appropriate peaceful services to the parties concerned. A tangible expression of our policy towards the Middle East is the sizeable contribution which Finland has made and continues to make to United Nations peace-keeping activities in the area.

83. Mr. AL-ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): This morning we listened to a statement by the Israeli representative [72nd meet-

ing]. He talked about all aspects of the Middle East question except the Palestinian and Arab-Israeli conflict as such.

84. That is nothing new to the General Assembly. We have listened many times to such statements by Israeli representatives in the General Assembly. What was new this time was the fact that the newly appointed Israeli representative tried to portray the Arab-Israeli conflict in terms of the Arab tradition of violence.

85. The implications of that theory for the analysis of the situation in the Middle East, with all its dangerous consequences with regard to the way of looking at the Arab-Israeli conflict, should be discussed in the General Assembly in a broader perspective. In the first place, talk about the Arab tradition of violence is racist talk. It is no wonder the Israeli representative talks in racist terms in analysing the situation in the Middle East. He intended to reach a certain conclusion, namely, that the Palestinian question is not the core of the conflict in the Middle East and that the problem is simply one of the Arab propensity to violence. This is a distortion of historical truth. Moreover, it is a distortion of the facts which reveals the racist spirit of the Israeli representative and provides the only prism through which to look at Israeli positions.

86. The Arab-Israeli conflict, which the General Assembly discusses at each session under the agenda item entitled "The situation in the Middle East", is one of the main causes of tension and war in the region and beyond. It is not surprising that the Middle East region has been a theatre of many wars and has not known the true meaning of peace since the establishment of the Zionist State on the land of Palestine. As in previous years, we are once again discussing this subject in the light of the following constant factors.

87. First, the international community represented by the General Assembly recognizes that the Palestinian problem is the core of the conflict in the Middle East and that without full recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return to their homeland and the right to self-determination, the explosive situation will remain a threat to peace and security.

88. Secondly, the international community recognizes that there can be no comprehensive and lasting solution in the Middle East without complete Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and the establishment by the Palestinian people of its own independent State in its national homeland, pursuant to General Assembly resolutions.

89. Thirdly, the General Assembly has welcomed and adopted the proposal to convene an international conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on a footing of equality, since such a conference offers the best chance of settling the Arab-Israeli conflict as a whole and attaining a comprehensive and lasting peace.

90. This international consensus on the basis and best method for resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict within the framework of the United Nations continues to meet with opposition from Israel and the United States, whose negative positions can be summed up as follows.



91. In the first place, they refuse to recognize the existence of the Palestinian nation, instead considering the question of Palestine to be a problem of individuals or at best of refugees, not that of a people suffering from the scourges of imperialism, colonialism and repression, a people struggling for its right to self-determination, which is the right of all peoples in the world, and for its right to establish a State in Palestine.

92. Secondly, Israel refuses to withdraw from the Arab territories which it has been occupying by force and tries to achieve its aims by *faits accomplis*: Jewish colonization, the establishment of settlements, the deportation of Palestinians and the plundering of land and water resources. This negative attitude makes withdrawal difficult and complicated, if not impossible. In addition, that policy is accompanied by annexation, as in the case of the Golan Heights and the Holy City of Jerusalem.

93. Thirdly, the Israelis reject the idea of an international conference on peace in the Middle East as part of a consistent policy of excluding any active role by the United Nations, including the Security Council, in the peace process. They believe that the United States should be the sole intermediary in attempts to reach a peaceful solution to the problems of the region, as was the case at Camp David and with the unilateral solution resulting from that process, which paralysed Egypt's national will, froze Egypt's leading role and led Egypt into the sphere of influence of the United States.

94. It is against that background and those constants of the Israeli-American policy, which runs counter to the international consensus, that the General Assembly is once again discussing the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Assembly, as usual, will adopt resolutions and, as usual, Israel and the United States will oppose them, but this will not be the end of the story, for the policy of force, whatever may be its manifestations, cannot bestow upon Israel the right to colonize and to expand. Force breeds resistance, which becomes the only alternative to bowing to repression and *fait accompli*.

95. Although the outcome of our discussion at this session of the General Assembly will bring nothing new, yet the developments in the Middle East since the beginning of this year show unequivocally that the policy of force has reached its peak and that a new form of glorious popular resistance has emerged, dealing heavy blows to Israeli arrogance and, in turn, creating a counter *fait accompli*. What are these developments and what are the lessons that can be learned from them?

96. First, while the General Assembly was considering the situation in the Middle East last year, United States Marines were concentrated in the outskirts of Beirut, supported by the American fleet stationed in Lebanese territorial waters. American cannon and fighters were attacking the same Lebanese objectives that were being bombarded by Israel. It was obvious that the political co-ordination between the United States and Israel had developed into a type of military co-operation within the framework of the strategic agreement between them. But very soon the United States Administration realized that it had become involved in a battle in which it had no clear objective, except to follow the reckless Israeli policy in Lebanon. That Administration would not have withdrawn in such a disorganized state were it not for

the heavy blows struck by the national resistance movement against the Israeli invasion forces and against those who came from across the ocean to protect the Israeli invasion.

97. After this bitter experience, American forces would hesitate before again getting involved in Israeli wars of expansion and aggression, although the United States continues to provide Israel with the latest weapons and ammunition.

98. Secondly, when the General Assembly was discussing the situation in the Middle East last year, Israel boasted that it had achieved its expansionist objectives in Lebanon, citing its agreement of 17 May—which followed the pattern of the Camp David agreements, in the sense that it was based on the same philosophy, that is, invasion first, negotiation afterwards under the aegis of the United States, so that the interests of both Israel and the United States might be served. But before the ink had dried on this agreement, which infringed upon Lebanese sovereignty and independence, it was abrogated under the heavy blows of the glorious Lebanese forces of resistance, to the extent that the Marines were withdrawn, and for the first time the Israeli forces swallowed their pride and had to yield to the counter forces, that being the only logic that Israel understands.

99. Thirdly, the abrogation of the 17 May agreement was not the last lesson Israel learned in Lebanon. It has learned that its wars with the Arabs cannot end by a cease-fire and negotiation from a position of force. Israel now realizes that the price of occupation in Lebanon is exorbitant. The presence of Israeli forces in southern Lebanon was the direct cause of a psychological and political crisis in Israeli society. It was also the reason for a serious economic crisis in Israel, in spite of American assistance, about which American citizens are beginning to complain. Thus, Israel, because of its occupation of southern Lebanon, faces three difficult choices, the worst one being the continuation of the occupation of southern Lebanon, which has become a graveyard of the Israeli invaders. As for the other two choices, both of them less disagreeable, one would be organized retreat and the other, retreat resembling flight, for the myth of the invincibility of the Israeli army and the superiority of the Israeli soldier was dissipated in southern Lebanon. The Israeli forces are now facing very strong resistance and are paying the price of aggression in spite of the sophisticated military technology available to it. Moreover, Israeli society has become divided because of the situation in southern Lebanon. As for the resistance, it continues to gain ground.

100. Fourthly, the chaos sown by Israel in southern Lebanon has also destroyed the myth of the superiority of the Israeli economic model. Because of the economic crisis in Israel, the representative of Israel had to go to Washington to ask for emergency assistance, and this happened because of the events in southern Lebanon. Thus, what will be the fate of this entity if Arab resistance is expanded? The resistance has opened new pages in the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict. American assistance to Israel will change nothing. Israel will remain an alien entity in the region, an entity that cannot resist the fighting Arab people.

101. The lessons to be drawn from this epic which is now unfolding in southern Lebanon will undoubt-

edly loom over our discussion of this item in the General Assembly. History is not static. If Israel and the United States continue to ignore these new developments and their profound significance and continue to defy the international community, no doubt the coming years will show them that the rules of the game have changed in the Middle East and that Israel has exhausted all its potentialities and sooner or later will have to give in to the new *fait accompli*.

102. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): Regrettably, this year again, as for so many years—too many years—in a row, the situation in the Middle East continues to be one of the most acute crises in the world. In the Middle East the most important principles of international relations are persistently and flagrantly violated. This is having negative and grave effects on the region and the world at large.

103. The denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, freedom and independence, and the policy of expansionism and aggression of Israel, are the root causes of this crisis.

104. Tensions have been increasing due to growing interference, military involvement and the presence and influence of non-regional interests and Powers. They do not care for the interests of the people living in the region but, rather, they are interested in strengthening their own positions in the global balance of power, thus making the crisis worse and its solution more remote.

105. The crisis in the Middle East is reaching beyond regional boundaries; it has become an integral part of developments from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, and thus part and parcel of the overall international situation.

106. The non-aligned countries have been consistent in pointing to the urgency and importance of settling the Middle East crisis on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions. Since their first summit in Belgrade 23 years ago, they have considered that self-determination for the Palestinian people is at the core of the crisis and that any solution which does not respect the rights, dignity and the will of the Palestinian people will not bring about a just and lasting peace.

107. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, as well as the Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October of this year, reconfirmed this view and emphasized the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force, as well as the inalienable right of the Palestinian people freely to decide its own destiny.

108. The developments in the Middle East are a telling example that one's own rights, freedom and independence cannot be realized, achieved or implemented by denial of and encroachment upon the same rights, the same freedom and the same independence of others. There are even attempts to portray the legitimate struggle of the Palestinian people within the context of bloc rivalry. These attempts are intended only to conceal the essence of the Middle East crisis.

109. The Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights remain occupied by Israel.

It is continuing its intensive illegal measures of annexation in defiance of international law, the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Oppression and violation of fundamental human rights of the population in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, the policy of resettlement of the Palestinian and other Arab populations, and the constant expansion of illegal Israeli settlements have become daily practices of the occupying forces.

110. Terror and repression are the methods of occupying forces. Again, in the past few days, the Israeli armed forces have been sowing destruction and death among Palestinian youth in the occupied West Bank.

111. For more than three years, part of Lebanon—a sovereign, independent and non-aligned State—has been under Israeli occupation, and the Palestinian and Lebanese populations are still suffering.

112. Lebanon has found the strength to embark upon the road of national unity. The Government headed by Prime Minister Rachid Karamé should gain the support of the entire international community in its efforts to get Israel out of its national territory and to restore the full territorial integrity, sovereignty, independence and non-aligned status of Lebanon.

113. Withdrawal by Israel should be immediate and unconditional. In the Middle East, as anywhere else, so-called security interests and preventive strikes are not justified. Peace in any area cannot be built on the basis of occupation, annexation and the use of force.

114. The exercise of the sovereign will of the Palestinian people cannot be prevented. Neither should the demands of the United Nations for the urgent and unconditional withdrawal from the occupied territories be ignored. Dialogue on an equal footing between all parties directly involved, including the PLO, aimed at finding a just, comprehensive and lasting solution is indispensable. Developments, particularly the meeting of the Palestine National Council, have shown that attempts to eliminate the PLO as an independent and inevitable factor in the solution of the crisis are bound to fail.

115. However, the policy of force and imposition of foreign will continues. This is not and cannot be accepted either in the Middle East or anywhere else in the world.

116. Self-determination of all peoples is the paramount rule; hence, so is the self-determination of the Palestinian people. Hopes for justice and peace should not go unfulfilled and the policy of *fait accompli* should not be allowed to prevail. New efforts should be undertaken to counter any such policy and to achieve a solution on a comprehensive basis.

117. We feel it is the duty of the United Nations and of all States Members, particularly the members of the Security Council, to make renewed efforts in order to resolve the crisis.

118. Let me recall that at its last session the General Assembly, in resolution 38/58 C, endorsed the decision of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983, proposing that an international peace conference on the Middle East be convened. An overwhelming majority of Member States have pronounced themselves in favour of such a confer-

ence in which all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict would be invited to participate, including the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

119. Time in the Middle East does not stand still. Everything should be done to bring about such a conference at the earliest possible date, and it is rightfully expected that all international protagonists will display stronger political will to that end.

120. The Secretary-General should receive every encouragement and support in carrying out his consultations for the convening of this conference.

121. The members of the Non-Aligned Committee of Eight on Palestine met at the ministerial level in New York on 3 October of this year and called for additional efforts to be undertaken in order to ensure the convening of such a peace conference under the aegis of the United Nations. They considered that the holding of an international conference, with the involvement of the Security Council, would help to achieve the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and lead to a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region. The Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Committee on Palestine conveyed to Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, the full support of their Governments and peoples for the just struggle of the Palestinian people and for the PLO and its institutions.

122. The people of Yugoslavia have won and preserved their freedom and independence with enormous sacrifices. They have deep feelings of friendship for and solidarity with the Palestinian people in its just struggle for self-determination and national dignity. Non-aligned Yugoslavia has consistently supported, and will continue to do so, the solution of the Middle East crisis on the basis of respect for the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the policy of non-alignment. There can be no just, lasting and comprehensive solution without the implementation of and full respect for the principles of self-determination, sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, equality, non-interference and withdrawal of foreign troops from the occupied territories and the right of peoples to choose independently their own way of internal development. This implies the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, its sole and legitimate representative.

123. We firmly believe that a lasting solution can be built only on the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; on the exercise of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, national identity, sovereignty and the establishment of its own State; on the participation on an equal footing of the PLO, as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in all endeavours towards and negotiations on the peaceful settlement of the issue within the framework of the United Nations; and on ensuring life in peace and security for all countries and peoples in the Middle East and their independent social development within recognized boundaries, without the threat or use of force.

124. We feel, finally, that it is one of the primary responsibilities of the United Nations to strive to

ensure the implementation of all decisions in this regard.

125. Mr. FISCHER (Austria): For the Middle East, 1984 has been so far a year of stalemate. Tensions have remained high, violence and suffering have continued, while peace efforts have not significantly advanced. The reason for this lies partly in the overall crisis of international relations and partly in developments within the region. Both sides sometimes appear to believe that time is their ally. Austria is convinced that this policy of "wait and see" rests on a dangerous illusion. Time does not work for anybody. On the contrary, with every additional day of confrontation the obstacles to peace tend to become greater and the prospects of negotiated settlements to diminish.

126. The initiation of a new vigorous peace process cannot wait any longer. Both sides are called upon to take steps to narrow the gap between their positions and to enter into a serious dialogue. Many ideas have been proposed for the substantive content of such a peace process. In spite of some differences, all these plans have a common core: the return of part of the former mandated territory of Palestine to the Palestinians in exchange for peace and security for all States of the region. This formula is as convincing as it is simple. But attempts to translate it into concrete policy have so far met with enormous political and psychological difficulties. To remove these obstacles created by decades of hate and fear is the greatest challenge to the present leadership of the countries of the Middle East.

127. Israel can choose to continue its policy of strength, military superiority and expansion and to persist in the occupation of foreign territories. Then it will have to continue to live in a state of war with its neighbours. Or, if Israel realizes that peace and the occupation of foreign territory cannot be reconciled, then peace will become possible. Certainly, reaching this goal will demand sacrifices, but what today might appear to Israel to be a sacrifice—such as recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to its own State—could ultimately turn out to be an investment in its own security and future.

128. It is, therefore, imperative that Israel withdraw from all territories occupied since 1967. Austria is deeply concerned about the present situation in these areas. The commitment to continued expansion of Israeli settlements, the expropriation of land, the displacement and harassment of the local population, not only violate international law but amount to a creeping annexation of these territories and thereby jeopardize the chances of a negotiated settlement. Members of the new Israeli Government have promised a change in the settlement policy. It is, in our view, an urgent necessity that this announcement be followed by concrete action. An immediate and complete halt to the settlement policy constitutes an indispensable first step to build the confidence needed for successful peace negotiations.

129. As we appeal to Israel to change its present course, we must also ask our Palestinian and Arab friends to undertake still greater efforts for the cause of peace. In spite of all the bloodshed and suffering of yesterday, they should establish with greater clarity that they recognize the State of Israel and its right to exist within secure and recognized boundaries. Both sides in the Middle East conflict have to come to

terms with each other's existence and legitimate interests. Both sides have to demonstrate their readiness for negotiations on a workable *modus vivendi*.

130. We know, of course, how difficult it is to overcome the hostility, mistrust and fear built up in many years of bitter history. But dialogue, respect for the rights of others and willingness for equitable compromise are the only way to stop the vicious cycle of violence and to make progress towards a just and lasting peaceful settlement.

131. Austria's position concerning the main elements of such a settlement has been consistent over the years. We reject policies based on military superiority and occupation of foreign territories. Any solution must be based on Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories, on recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to its own State, and on recognition of Israel's existence as a sovereign and independent State within secure and recognized borders. We recognize the PLO as the representative and spokesman of the Palestinian people and therefore believe that the PLO should be included in all efforts to find a just and peaceful solution.

132. Let me now turn to the situation in Lebanon, which continues to be in the foreground of international attention. The progress achieved by the Government of National Unity towards national reconciliation is, in our view, one of the few bright spots in the otherwise bleak picture presented by the Middle East today. Many difficult problems remain to be solved, however. Factional violence and terrorism threaten the process of stabilization. A decade of civil war and the Israeli invasion have left deep wounds in the social and economic fabric of Lebanon. Rebuilding a stable and prosperous Lebanon presents a formidable challenge.

133. To tackle these enormous problems successfully it appears essential that the foreign occupation of parts of Lebanon's territory be ended and that its full sovereignty and territorial integrity be restored. Israel must withdraw its troops from Lebanon without further delay. Austria welcomes the current efforts by the Secretary-General to facilitate an agreement on the Israeli withdrawal and the talks which have recently begun in Naqoura under the aegis of the United Nations. We believe that in the future the peace-keeping forces of UNIFIL will have an even greater role to play in securing peace and stability in southern Lebanon. The valuable work of the Secretary-General in Lebanon, the role of UNIFIL, UNDOF and UNTSO, and the important humanitarian activities of various United Nations organizations in the region are for us evidence that the United Nations has the potential and the responsibility to contribute substantively to the peace process in the Middle East. This conflict is, after all, one of the most dangerous crises in the world. Its implications transcend by far the confines of the region and constitute a direct threat to international peace and security.

134. Every country, regardless of its geographical distance from the Middle East, has a stake in the peaceful settlement of this crisis. As the only worldwide forum open to all parties to the conflict and to all other interested Powers, the United Nations presents unique opportunities for the search for a peaceful settlement. The efforts of the United Nations would, however, be insufficient without the

active co-operation of all the parties concerned. Let us therefore all work together to bring about serious and realistic peace negotiations. Austria for its part stands ready to contribute to the best of its abilities to the advancement of the cause of peace in the Middle East.

135. Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): For many years now, consideration of the particularly serious situation in the Middle East region has taken place only towards the end of the session, as if the General Assembly, confronted by the numerous challenges facing the nations of the world, preferred to devote its last resources to the consideration of a problem made all the more complex because the Assembly itself was directly involved in its creation.

136. This interminable crisis, fraught with suffering and tragic consequences and in which millions of human beings have been plunged for almost four decades, has its origins in an injustice unique in modern history, one which, because of the repercussions it has had on the relations which existed in the region, has radically changed the destiny of the peoples of this part of the world and seriously threatened international peace and security.

137. The injustice at the root of all the upheavals in the region is the plundering of a people's land, property and its rights with the approval of the United Nations, whose duty it is to safeguard already independent small nations and those emerging in the liberating struggle against occupying forces.

138. The injustice is also the creation on the Arab soil of Palestine, formerly a land of harmony and of the coexistence of peoples regardless of their race, their language and their religion, of a foreign entity professing the cult of force and the language of violence and hatred.

139. With the establishment of the Zionist entity, the region of the Middle East, the strategic importance of which, because of its position at the crossroads of three continents, was strengthened by the considerable resources of its subsoil, was immediately thrust into an era of turbulence and permanent crises marked by aggression, occupation and repression against the Arab peoples.

140. Irredentism, adventurism and expansionism constitute the essential features of the Zionist régime, which has been imposed upon a region where the different revealed religions could coexist in concord and harmony.

141. Israeli irredentism takes the form, first, of constant, obstinate rejection by the Zionist leaders of the international consensus on the question of Palestine. It is a triple negation in that it opposes recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, which have been accepted and regularly reaffirmed by the General Assembly; opposes the universally established representativeness of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; and opposes any peace process in which the PLO would participate as a fully-fledged negotiator.

142. It also takes the form of a continuing occupation of the Arab territories conquered in 1967 and persistence in the policy of settlements at the expense of the dispossessed Arab owners, a policy that has been severely condemned by the Security Council and the General Assembly, which have declared it illegal, its purpose being to de-Arabize these territo-

ries and annex them definitively, in violation of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force.

143. Finally, it takes the form of the increasing repression of Arab peoples in the occupied territories, to which the Zionist military administration is resorting, repression which has been denounced each year by the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories and regularly condemned by the General Assembly for the past 15 years. This fierce repression of Palestinian civilians, which has assumed a new dimension with the blind terrorism practised by bands of fanatics, benefiting from the blessing of those in certain religious and political circles and enjoying impunity, is aimed at forcing the Arab populations, by acts of terror and threats, to seek exile, thereby swelling the ranks of the refugees.

144. This Israeli irredentism, the most recent demonstration of which has been the definitive rejection of the appeal of the international community for the convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East, is accompanied by adventurism and a frenzied expansionism, the numerous manifestations of which are seriously endangering peace and security in the region and throughout the world.

145. Thus the Zionist régime, deaf to the injunctions of the international community, has now been pursuing for several decades a policy of aggression, domination and intimidation against the Arab States of the region and systematically resorting to the use of force for the purpose of imposing its will upon the peoples of the Middle East.

146. The continued occupation of the Arab territories, the extension of Israeli legislation to the Syrian Golan Heights, the proclamation of Jerusalem as the "eternal capital of Israel", the aggression against the peaceful Iraqi nuclear installations, the threats against Syria and Jordan, the recent invasion of Lebanon and the occupation of the southern part of that country are part of that logic of violence and expansionism and are evidence of the warlike, expansionist nature of the Zionist régime.

147. In this respect, it is particularly worrying that the occupation of southern Lebanon is continuing and is being strengthened, that the Lebanese and Palestinian populations continue to endure the Calvary of oppression and occupation and that the resolutions of the Security Council calling for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli troops from Lebanese territory have so far not been implemented.

148. In fact, the Zionist régime, which has always defied the will of the international community and the resolutions of the United Nations, far from committing itself to withdrawal, is increasing its manoeuvres and obstacles to delay the disengagement of its troops and is tightening its grip on southern Lebanon and the civilian populations.

149. By identifying the Palestinian national fact as the Gordian knot of the Middle East problem and the key to any settlement of that problem, the General Assembly recognized 10 years ago that all the manifestations of the crisis that had until then monopolized its attention were nothing more than marginal phenomena used in attempts to divert its attention from the heart of the problem: the usurpation of the

land of the Palestinian people and the denial of that people's national rights. With this historic leap, the Assembly decided to rise to the level of its responsibilities and resolutely to embark on the search for a comprehensive solution, because that is the only possible solution to the interminable Middle East conflict.

150. The General Assembly defined the elements of that settlement and has reiterated them with remarkable consistency throughout regular and special sessions. They consist of the fulfilment of the following dual requirement: the restoration to the Palestinian people of all its inalienable national rights, including the right to return, the right to self-determination and the right to establish an independent State in Palestine; and the total, unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab territories.

151. The means for bringing about such a settlement were spelt out by the General Assembly in resolution 38/58 C, which endorsed the call for convening an international peace conference on the Middle East, as recommended by the 1983 International Conference on the Question of Palestine.

152. The elements and institutional framework for a comprehensive settlement having been decided on by the General Assembly, all efforts should be made today for the convening of that conference, in which the PLO must participate fully, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This is an opportunity that the Arab States of the region have declared themselves ready to accept, as the surest way to end the bloody conflict that has engulfed the Middle East and to ensure that peace and justice may return to that part of the world.

153. Mr. AL-SHAALI (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, I should like to express the thanks of my delegation to the Secretary-General for his report on the various aspects of the situation in the Middle East [A/39/600]. The report shows in general that no progress has been made towards settling the question and that the situation has deteriorated, threatening peace and security in the region and beyond.

154. That is why we are once again considering this item, entitled "The situation in the Middle East". The situation that we are discussing today is not that which prevailed many years ago, when the item was first inscribed on the General Assembly's agenda, in 1967. Since then, the situation has deteriorated. We used to consider specific matters, but now such matters have multiplied, leading to the creation of new sets of ever more complicated issues. The result is that the Middle East has become a region of constant tension, anxiety and threats to international peace and security.

155. A quick glance at the developments in the region over the past year shows that the situation has deteriorated in all fields and that the international community, represented by the United Nations, has not been able to stop that deterioration, in spite of the numerous resolutions adopted by the Organization. Moreover, all the efforts to reach a peaceful settlement have failed to achieve any progress because, on the one hand, of a lack of understanding of the real reasons behind the conflict in the region, and, on the other hand, because of the unidimensional approach that characterized political movements in the region, especially the attempts at exclusiveness and unilateralism, which in our view cannot offer a

good basis for a just solution capable of taking account of the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples suffering under the yoke of occupation, injustice and hatred.

156. Therefore, my country supported General Assembly resolution 38/58 C, concerning the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East. We still believe that that conference offers the required framework within which to reach a peaceful and just solution, provided the main conditions that gave rise to the problem in the first place are eliminated.

157. Two factors should be mentioned when we are talking about the Middle East. First, Israeli leaders are bent on achieving the objectives of the Zionist movement by establishing what is called Greater Israel, so that Israel can become the greatest military Power in the region. This would be achieved by seizing the remaining parts of the land of Palestine and controlling, through invasion, occupation and annexation, the largest possible area of neighbouring Arab countries, with a view to dominating the region, controlling its economic, social and political orientation and frustrating economic and social development in order to impose backwardness on the region, so that it remained simply a market for consumption.

158. Secondly, some States try to exploit the objectives of the Zionist movement, as represented by Israel, in order to achieve their own economic ambitions in the region and strengthen their strategic presence through Israel's military might. A glance at the history of international relations in the region since the establishment of Israel shows that the Western countries have taken turns in maintaining Israel's military superiority, so much so that military and economic assistance to Israel represents an important part of the budgets of some States and constitutes a basic commitment for them.

159. The strategic co-operation agreements between the United States and Israel have added a new dimension to the conflict in the region. They confirm the validity of the theory I have just advanced and encourage Israel to reject, to disregard and even to take lightly all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations. Thus, we denounce those agreements because we see in them American support for the Israeli policy of continued aggression against the Arab States and encouragement to the Israeli authorities to continue their repression of the Palestinian people aimed at eliminating them.

160. These are the major factors that are continuing to contribute to the complexity of the situation in the Middle East. We believe that the flow of military, economic and financial aid to Israel is the major factor which enables Israel to persist in its aggression. We also believe that unless General Assembly resolution 38/180 A, which calls, *inter alia*, on all States to suspend economic, military and financial assistance to, and all co-operation with, Israel is implemented, no tangible progress in settling the problem will be possible.

161. Such is the general context of the problem of the Middle East. If we turn to the direct aspects of this problem, I would say that the main one is the Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people which led, in 1947 and 1948, to the swallowing of the greater part of the Palestinian lands and the forcing of the people of those regions to leave their homes. This was followed by the gradual usurpation of the

remaining Palestinian lands, through aggression, war and the escalation of repression and terror, the aim being to compel the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza to leave those areas. Then Israel frustrated the Palestinian people, psychologically, suppressing their resistance to occupation, stifling their struggle to restore their national rights and pursuing them wherever they were.

162. The second aspect of the Middle East problem is the Israeli aggression against our sister Arab State, Syria. That aggression has a clear objective: the occupation and annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights. As in the case of occupied Palestine, Israel has started to expel the citizens of that area through a series of arbitrary measures and, lately, the enactment of laws aimed at annexation of the region, including the imposition of Israeli nationality on Syrian citizens.

163. The third aspect of the problem is the Israeli aggression against Lebanon. That aggression has uncovered the true face of Israel and its desire to dominate and expand. The world at large has seen the tragic consequences of that aggression, which have included collective massacres, the intervention of foreign troops, the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon, the destruction of the Lebanese economy, the deportation of the population of the south and Israel's refusal to withdraw from southern Lebanon. Moreover, Israel links such withdrawal to a number of conditions which show an attempt to diminish Lebanon's sovereignty and to continue Israeli occupation and domination, directly or indirectly, of some Lebanese territories. In this regard, I should like to pay tribute to the heroic resistance of the fraternal Lebanese people against the forces of occupation. That resistance played a major role in compelling Israel to reconsider its plans of permanent occupation of southern Lebanon.

164. The fourth aspect of this problem is the Israeli aggression against the Arab States, which Ariel Sharon, the former Minister of Defence of Israel, called Israel's role of policeman from the Atlantic Ocean to Pakistan. An example of such Israeli aggression is Israel's attack on the Iraqi nuclear research facility. Here one can see the dimensions of the policeman role of which Sharon spoke. Another aspect emphasizing the objectives for which Israel was created is its practice of attacking any facility which Israel or its allies believe could constitute an important economic base in the region; thus, Israel is kept as a sword against the peoples of the region who are maintained as hostages to foreign interests and strategic plans.

165. The General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted many resolutions condemning these aspects, aggressions and practices and requesting Israel to put an end to them. Moreover, many resolutions have been adopted which recognize the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine, including the right to return to its country, the right to self-determination and the right to establish an independent State in its own homeland.

166. In addition, the Security Council has adopted two famous resolutions, resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory.

167. All these resolutions, which concern the four main aspects of the problem of the Middle East,



reflect two important facts. First, the international community categorically rejects the Israeli explanations by which it attempts to justify with legal arguments or by reasons of security its policies and practices against the Palestinian people and the Arab States. Secondly, the international community has categorically declared illegal all those policies and practices because they contravene the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law; but the reaction of Israel has been to refuse to comply with these resolutions. Israel is thus violating its commitment under Article 25 of the Charter which states: "The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter."

168. No other State, in the history of the United Nations, has been condemned by so many resolutions as has Israel. All those resolutions denounce Israeli practices and call for an end to them. We all know the fate of those resolutions. My delegation therefore believes that no resolution regarding Israel will be effective unless it can be backed by the possibility of actual application.

169. The Charter has outlined the methods to be adopted in case of acts of aggression in contravention of the principles of the Charter and of international law. The first method is the application of Chapter VII of the Charter with regard to any State that commits breaches of the peace or acts of aggression. This method is governed by Articles 39 to 42 of the Charter. In the light of the repeated Israeli acts of aggression against the Arab States and against the people of Palestine, and in view of its continued threat to peace and security, not only in our region but in the world as a whole—acts that have been condemned by the United Nations in numerous resolutions—we believe that all those Articles are applicable in the case of Israel.

170. The second method is expulsion from the Organization under Article 6 of the Charter, which states:

"A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council."

We believe that that Article applies categorically to the case of Israel.

171. The application to Israel of these two provisions is clear from the text and spirit of the Charter. Actually, that is the only way to compel Israel to end its aggression, annexation and defiance. Unless we do so we shall come back next year again to discuss the causes of the problem and its consequences—in other words, we shall be moving in a vicious circle. My delegation hopes that we shall be able to break this vicious circle and that everyone will understand the dangers which are threatening the region. We also hope that the States that have special responsibility for international peace will undertake their proper role and assume their responsibilities.

172. Mr. KULAWIEC (Czechoslovakia): The United Nations has been dealing with the situation in the Middle East for a number of years. Unfortunately, in spite of dozens of resolutions and decisions that have been adopted, the tensions in that region not only have remained unabated but have, on the contrary, been escalated even further. The chronical-

ly explosive situation threatens to grow into a war conflict. The responsibility for such developments must be fully borne by the United States and by Israel, which acts as its long arm in its efforts to gain domination over the Middle East. Being interested both in the strategic position of the region, which is advantageous in its plans for world hegemony, and in the region's large resources of raw materials, primarily oil, the United States is striving by every means to gain a decisive influence in that part of the world.

173. It is the United States that must accept the blame for the fact that the Middle East is probably the only region that has had no peace since the end of the Second World War almost 40 years ago. Time and again, that region has experienced escalating conflicts and clashes growing into large-scale wars. Tens of thousands of soldiers have lost their lives there, and the toll has been even heavier among civilians. The Israeli aggression alone has taken the lives of hundreds of thousands of people in the Arab countries.

174. The imperialist interests of the United States in the Middle East are promoted by the expansionist policies of Israel, with which the United States has concluded a strategic alliance. Aware of the full support of the United States, Israel has been continuing, in disregard of the condemnation of the whole international community, to occupy extensive areas in southern Lebanon, the west bank of the River Jordan, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and the eastern part of Jerusalem, establishing in the occupied territories more and more militarized settlements and escalating terror against the Arab population.

175. The history of Israel is one of a continuous series of acts of aggression against the neighbouring countries. We have vivid memories of the last one, directed against Lebanon and posing a threat to the very existence of that country as an independent State. That aggression was characterized by unprecedented brutality and brought new suffering to millions of Arabs.

176. The full support rendered to Israel during its aggression against Lebanon by the United States has plainly revealed to the whole world the strategic alliance of the two countries directed against the people of the Arab countries. The infamous role played in Lebanon by United States troops under the guise of United States participation in the so-called multinational forces entrusted with "ensuring security" is well known. Having carried out a direct military intervention against the Lebanese patriotic forces and the inter-Arab peace-keeping units, the United States has stepped onto the same platform as the Israeli aggressor. United States warships fired thousands of tons of grenades on Lebanese villages and towns, killing many civilians.

177. Although it was forced to withdraw its contingents from Lebanon, the United States has not given up consideration of the possibility of direct military engagement in the Middle East, using all available opportunities to attempt to resurrect the so-called multinational forces, as, for instance, in the so-called assistance in removing mines from maritime routes in the Red Sea.

178. While doing all this, the United States wishes to pass itself off as a peacemaker. However, its so-called peace initiatives are in fact quite unequivocally aimed at furthering the ambitions of the Israeli

aggressor, in total disregard of the legitimate interests of the Arab people. The United States is imposing upon countries of the Middle East inequitable separate agreements with Israel; it refuses to recognize the right of the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine, to represent the Palestinian people in international forums; it creates obstructions to the convening of an international conference on the Middle East which might find a comprehensive settlement with regard to all aspects of the situation in the region. The complete failure of the attempts by the United States to bring about a separate settlement in Lebanon provides proof that the Palestinian and Arab peoples realize the purpose of United States engagement in the Middle East.

179. In spite of those dangerous elements, a way out of the crisis exists, but it cannot be sought in separate agreements imposed on Arab States by Israel and the United States. Pointing out this fact, the countries of the socialist community have more than once warned against such a solution. History has confirmed that their concern is justified.

180. Czechoslovakia resolutely condemns the aggressive policy pursued by the United States and Israel in the Middle East region. We consider it necessary that the Middle East crisis be solved in a just manner that provides for the peace and security of all nations in the region.

181. Czechoslovak foreign policy towards the Arab States is consistently based on the principle of active support for their just cause and for all steps aimed at strengthening their unity of action in their struggle against aggression, imperialism and Zionism. Traditional friendship and mutually beneficial co-operation are characteristic features of our relations with this politically and economically important region.

182. The Czechoslovak Prime Minister, Lubomir Štrougal, said last June during his visit to the Syrian Arab Republic:

"We share your conviction that a just and lasting peace will be established in the Middle East too. It will happen when the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the right to self-determination and its own independent State, are exercised; when the last Israeli occupier leaves Arab territories; when United States warships disappear over the horizon from the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea."

183. We consider that a good basis for a universal and just solution of the Middle East conflict has been provided in the Soviet proposals of 29 July of this year [A/39/368]. The six principles underlying them are based on generally recognized norms of international law and documents of the United Nations. They include, primarily, the principle of the inadmissibility of conquering foreign territories by means of aggression; the principle of recognition of the right of the Palestinian people, with the PLO as its sole representative, to self-determination and to establish its own independent State on Palestinian territory, free from Israeli occupation; the principle of assuring in practice the right of all States in the region to security, independent existence and development; the principle of terminating the state of war and establishing peace between the Arab States and Israel; and, finally, the principle of providing effective international guarantees.

184. However, Israel and the United States, despite their pompous words about peace, reject those realis-

tic proposals. The reason is obvious: the two strategic allies are not willing even to consider the return of the territories occupied by Israel and the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. They reject also the idea of an international conference because of the fact that, in separate negotiations with individual Arab States, Israel, backed by United States support, undoubtedly has the upper hand. But the main reason for their refusal is that Israel and the United States think that, in the given circumstances, they are able to dictate to the peoples of the Middle East, through rough military force, the settlement that they consider most advantageous to themselves.

185. Yet the road to peace is different; it is the road of respect for the fundamental norms of international law and the decisions of the United Nations and of negotiations on a comprehensive solution of the problem with the participation of all parties concerned. We are convinced that it is possible to achieve in the Middle East a true, lasting and just peace. A substantial contribution thereto must also be made by the United Nations and all its Members, including the United States and Israel. Only when these prerequisites are fulfilled can a just settlement be brought about to this long-standing, dangerous conflict, the termination of which is in the interest of all nations in the Middle East. Moreover, the elimination of that hotbed of tension would also have a positive impact on the overall international situation.

186. Mr. RODRIGO (Sri Lanka): The irony was pointed out earlier that the region of the Middle East, the birthplace of three great religions—Judaism, Christianity and Islam—continues tragically to be denied peace and tranquillity. Turmoil and unrest in the Middle East have, at the very least, a history as long as that of the United Nations.

187. While the long agony of the people of the Middle East has been dramatized in gruesome atrocities such as those of Sabra and Shatila, the implications of this tragedy are such that its repercussions extend far beyond the region. Each upheaval, each act of violence, sends shock waves throughout the world, posing a threat to international peace and security.

188. The situation in the Middle East is a complex one, involving many interrelated issues, many conflicts and the clash of many interests. Certainly the question of the Middle East cannot be over-simplified. Each crisis, however sudden it may seem, has causes that extend into the past and, equally, consequences that reach out into the future. It is possible, nevertheless, to unravel certain strands in this complex question and to isolate and identify the major obstacles to the establishment of conditions of peace and security in the Middle East.

189. At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, it was clearly reaffirmed that: "The question of Palestine is the core of the Middle East problem and the root cause of the Arab-Israeli conflict."<sup>5</sup> It is clear that no settlement of the Middle East problem is possible without the solution of the question of Palestine. Although the situation is of great complexity, the root cause of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the continuing unrest in the Middle East is the delay in settling the question of Palestine. The late historian Arnold Toynbee maintained that the Middle East would not be at peace until there was a just settlement of the question of Palestine.

190. My delegation holds the view that a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East must fulfil the following fundamental conditions: the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territory, in accordance with the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, and the recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. Those rights include their right to return to their homeland, the right to self-determination and the right to establish an independent State in Palestine. Those basic elements for a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East question are common to a number of blueprints for peace in the region, although there are admittedly differences in emphasis and varying nuances reflecting individual perceptions. The proposals of the non-aligned States, the Arab States, particularly at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in September 1982,<sup>3</sup> the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva in 1983, and others have all asserted those principles as constituting the broad essentials for a settlement.

191. Despite the near-universal acceptance of those principles, the approaches and methods for their fulfilment have been as numerous as the issues have been complicated. There are questions of timing, questions relating to pre-conditions and guarantees, questions relating to the sequence and pace of implementation and the question of who should participate and with what status. Sri Lanka believes strongly that the people of Palestine, represented by the PLO, should enjoy full-party status on an equal footing in any negotiations aimed at a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East issue. The uniquely representative character of the PLO has been accepted by the overwhelming majority of the international community. Indeed, a number of countries, including my own, have accorded full diplomatic status to the PLO.

192. The situation in the occupied territories, covered in section III of the Secretary-General's report [A/39/600], is one which is highly volatile. We are of the view that the illegal Israeli settlements in the occupied territories must be dismantled and that any action aimed at changing the legal status, geographic nature, institutional structures or demographic composition of those territories is null and void. Other aspects of the human rights situation have been considered in some depth in the examination of the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, of which Sri Lanka is a member.

193. Another dimension to the Middle East question is posed by the sad developments in Lebanon. We deplore the terrible loss of life and destruction caused by continuing hostilities in Lebanon and call for strict respect for the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon throughout the entirety of its internationally recognized boundaries, free from any form of foreign interference or pressure.

194. The United Nations involvement in peace-keeping operations in the Middle East, including Lebanon, is laudable, and Sri Lanka fully supports them. However, they are clearly only interim arrangements which should in no way console us as a

substitute for a more viable and comprehensive settlement.

195. Similarly, while United Nations efforts through UNRWA, despite its limited resources, towards alleviating the plight of Palestinian refugees have been deserving of the support of all, the situation of the refugees continues to be a matter of grave lingering concern. The question of Palestine is not a question of refugees, but a question affecting the inalienable rights of an entire people, of an entire nation.

196. The list of speakers on this item is long, and Sri Lanka has added its own voice in the hope of serving to emphasize those essential features in the Middle East situation which need to be identified. The Secretary-General has pointed out that none of the parties to this tragic conflict could hope to obtain its maximum demands. Equally, a settlement will not be lasting unless all the complexities are taken into account. In this sense, the United Nations offers the best forum in which the totality of the Middle East question can be comprehensively considered. We do not minimize bilateral or multilateral initiatives for peace as long as they take full account of the roots of the problem, are just and are based on universally accepted principles relating to the Middle East to which I have just referred.

197. The use of force and unilateral action can only aggravate the situation further, devalue the role of the United Nations and limit the prospects for international and lasting acceptance of any arrangement. In this context, it is only the United Nations which can embrace all the dimensions to the Middle East question. Sri Lanka hopes that the United Nations, including the Security Council, will play a more central and decisive role in implementing the international consensus that has evolved as constituting the essential element for a just and lasting settlement.

198. The Secretary-General has had discussions on the possibility of using the machinery of the Security Council in a manner which could help to distill the common elements in the numerous proposals on the Middle East in order to work out a satisfactory negotiating structure. We trust that those endeavours will bear fruit and lead to a concerted international effort to settle the question of the Middle East.

199. Mr. FAKHOURY (Lebanon) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I wish first of all to express the thanks and appreciation of the delegation of Lebanon to the Secretary-General for his report [*ibid.*].

200. The Secretary-General's interest in the region, his striving to bring about an end to the crisis there and his concern for the reputation and credibility of the United Nations are all factors that increase the peoples' faith in this international Organization and in the role played by its Secretariat.

201. The frankness with which the Secretary-General has dealt in the report with all the issues stems from a sincere wish to make a constructive contribution to resolving the problem. The obstacles, the difficulties and the fear of the prolongation of the "no peace, no war" state, the concerns and warnings of danger, and the waning hope of being able to reach a solution to the Middle East crisis—all are dealt with in the report with courage, clarity and pragmatism.

202. It is on this basis that the delegation of Lebanon is today considering this item with its well-

known seriousness, conscious of its responsibility and confident in the role and responsibility of the United Nations in this question that affects the future of peoples and the economic, social and political future of our civilized world.

203. Lebanon's votes in favour of the lawful interests of peoples, their right to independence and self-determination, and particularly the cause of the Middle East and Palestine stems from its belief in the right of the Palestinian people to enjoy its full inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination, the right to return to its homeland, Palestine, and to establish its own independent State.

204. Lebanon welcomes any political initiative aimed at finding a just and durable solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Lebanon has supported the Secretary-General's call for an international conference on peace in the Middle East. Lebanon is prepared to contribute to efforts to ensure the success of such a conference, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/58 C.

205. While the Secretary-General expresses in his report doubts about the possibility of holding such a conference because the necessary conditions do not exist at the moment, Lebanon believes that its problem should be considered separately from the situation in the Middle East, because the latter issue is urgent and critical and its effects are dangerous and threaten the economic and social infrastructure of the region.

206. In his address on 5 October to the General Assembly [22nd meeting], Mr. Rachid Karamé, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lebanese Republic, set out the aims and policies of the Lebanese Government, placing them under three basic headings: security, liberation and reconstruction. I do not want to go back to that statement in detail, but I must pause here to consider the progress and all the positive results which have been achieved under those three headings since 5 October last.

207. First, as far as security is concerned, following the implementation of the first stage of the security plan for greater Beirut and after the authorities had taken over control of the ports, the Government decided to undertake the second phase of the plan pertaining to the deployment of the Lebanese army along the coast of the capital, Beirut, south to the Awali River, where the Israeli occupation forces are still entrenched, and north to Tripoli.

208. In addition, the Government has deployed three brigades of the army to ensure the security of the south, the western Bekaa and Rashaya and the population of those areas as soon as Israel withdraws therefrom. The Lebanese army alone will maintain the security of the land and the dignity of its inhabitants. We do not recognize any other army working outside the framework of our legitimate army.

209. Secondly, as regards liberation, which we consider to include the liberation of the land and of its people, Lebanon, on 12 October of this year, called on the Secretary-General to exert his efforts and good offices to ensure the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops and the setting up of security arrangements to protect Lebanon's southern borders. As the Assembly is aware, following consultations and compacts, the Secretary-General, on 31 October, called for meetings at the military level at Naqoura,

the headquarters of UNIFIL, for that purpose. To date, six meetings have been held under United Nations auspices, represented by UNIFIL and within the framework of the truce agreement signed between Lebanon and Israel in 1949.

210. We have great hopes that the work of these meetings will be crowned with success and that they will be followed by complete Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon, western Bekaa and Rashaya, in accordance with Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982).

211. The entire international community and the Member States represented in the Security Council—in particular the permanent members—must support the efforts of the Secretary-General and induce Israel to withdraw. They must support the legitimacy of the Lebanese authorities so that the inhabitants of the region may live in peace and security.

212. Liberation must be achieved, and meanwhile Israel must cease its practices in the occupied territories. These have been the subject of a number of complaints put forward by Lebanon and distributed as official documents of the General Assembly and the Security Council. These complaints have been considered by the permanent members of the Security Council and their Governments at the appropriate time. Furthermore, representatives have heard all the statements made in the General Assembly and the Security Council dealing with these practices in detail, as well as our call for the cessation of such practices. The sufferings of our peoples in these regions are economic, material, physical and moral and contravene even the most fundamental human rights and the most fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, international law and the Geneva conventions, particularly the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.<sup>1</sup>

213. What Lebanon is demanding is its right as an independent State to live in peace and security. This is a natural right that was enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations when Lebanon became one of its founding Members. It is a right that has been reaffirmed in many resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. To condone the aggressive acts of a Member State, to procrastinate regarding implementation of the relevant resolutions, is to endanger the survival of the United Nations and lessens people's faith in it and in its ability to deter the aggressor. The Secretary-General, in paragraph 37 of his report [A/39/600], points out the adverse effects of the stalemate in the Middle East on the authority and status of the United Nations itself.

214. With the continuing Israeli occupation, it was inevitable that Lebanese national resistance should intensify. This purely Lebanese resistance, which is very dear to us, is the best indicator of the courage of the people in the Israeli occupied territories; of their dignity and their determination to rid themselves of the occupation and to return to the mother nation.

215. The presence in southern Lebanon of international forces represents for us international recognition of Lebanese legitimacy. It represents an international commitment to return the region to Lebanese sovereignty.

216. Today, for the first time, United Nations forces are playing an effective role, thanks to the good offices of the Secretary-General and his assistants. For that reason, we strongly demand not only

that those forces remain but also that they be enabled to carry out the task initially entrusted to them. They must be enabled to ensure complete Israeli withdrawal and assist the legitimate authorities to regain control of all Lebanese territories within the internationally recognized borders. None of this will be possible unless the effectiveness of these forces is increased, the scope of their task is widened and their numbers are increased, so that they can participate with the legitimate Lebanese army, for a specific period, in re-establishing peace and security in southern Lebanon.

217. We must point out that the international forces, despite their limited potential and numbers, have made many sacrifices. They have been subjected to much harassment and have had to bear the excesses of the occupying authorities. However, they have remained at their post and done their job. We therefore extend the thanks and appreciation of Lebanon to the leaders of those forces, in particular General Callaghan, and to the officers, soldiers and administrators, as well as to all the participating States.

218. Thirdly, as far as reconstruction and development are concerned, the 10 years of crisis and the Israeli incursion of 1982, which reached the capital, Beirut, caused economic destruction in both the private and the public sector, seriously endangering the infrastructures set up by the Lebanese. In order to reconstruct those vital infrastructures, Lebanon requires assistance from the United Nations and the specialized agencies, as well as from all industrialized and oil-exporting States. The expenses of this reconstruction are proving astronomical and exceed the initial estimates made by the council for reconstruction in Lebanon, by more than 20 billion. The specialized agencies have elaborated several projects, some of which we are now beginning to carry out in accordance with our priorities and the financial resources available. This reconstruction will require a huge financial and humanitarian effort over a period of many years and is far beyond the limited capacity of Lebanon.

219. The determination of Lebanon and its people to survive and to return to normal life by ending the occupation and ensuring peace and security through reconstruction must be complemented by determination on the part of the United Nations to assist us in achieving these ends. Agreement by States, and particularly the two super-Powers, on a clear and honest policy that would put an end to the tragedy of Lebanon would benefit Lebanon and its cause, the Middle East and the world as a whole. Disagreement makes it impossible to resolve crises; it simply raises more problems to add to the many unsolved ones that threaten international peace and security.

220. I had intended to end my substantive statement here. However, the representative of Israel, in his statement this morning [72nd meeting], mentioned two issues on which I cannot possibly remain silent. First, there was his use of the word "dependent" or "satellite" in describing Lebanon's foreign relations. I wish to assure him that Lebanon is not and will never be anyone's satellite. I wish he had not used such a description, because it is not in Israel's interest, since it raises the following question: to which country does such a description really apply? Secondly, he said that 100,000 people had been killed in Lebanon. Indeed, this figure could be true. However, it is equally true that his country's contribution

to that high death toll has been considerable. This is something that I hope he will not ignore, as is his well-known custom.

221. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam): Lebanon used to be a beautiful and prosperous country in the Middle East. Israel's invasion in June 1982 turned it into a battered country of much suffering. Under the pretext of safeguarding its security, Israel invaded and occupied the southern part of Lebanon and under the same pretext its artillery and air force pummelled Beirut. Its ground forces then pounded the way into the city, razing part of it to the ground. In the wake of this invasion, hundreds of Palestinian refugees were massacred in Sabra and Shatila. A peace treaty was forced upon the then Lebanese Government, obviously in the aggressor's favour. As if that were not enough, thousands of United States Marines landed on the soil of that country to help secure the implementation of that treaty and also the annihilation of the Palestinian forces there.

222. Although at present the explosive tension seems to have lessened, thanks to sustained efforts on the part of the Lebanese Government, a serious danger of a flare-up remains a constant source of grave concern. The withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces from Lebanon has become the talk of the town. Yet it has left much to be desired. Lebanon in fact demonstrates in miniature what has been happening in the Middle East for the last four decades, with the question of Palestine at the centre.

223. The founding of Israel in 1948 was the result of decade-long cruel intrigues, manipulations and calculation by several Western Powers. Its birth, unfortunately, went hand in hand with the denial of statehood to the Palestinians, thereby turning them into global nomads. Violence was the midwife of Zionism, which is synonymous with aggression, expansion, terrorism and massacre. The realities of the past 36 years have testified to the fact that Israel, in blindly following its Zionist ambitions, has become a permanent factor of instability, a source of constant threat to the sovereignty and independence of the Palestinian and Arab peoples, to territorial integrity, and to peace and security in the region.

224. In the course of five wars of aggression against its neighbouring countries, Israel has experimented with all types of warfare, from "the whole nation as a front" and "carrying war into the enemy's land", to "superiority of weapons" and "winning a super-Power's sympathy". The ultimate goal remains the same for successive Zionist administrations—that is, to carry out aggression and the annexation of territory in the realization of their ambition for Greater Israel. It has therefore assumed the position of an exclusionist, expansionist and militarist State. It has cultivated an aggressive style, to which it has become addicted and by which it has won the sympathy of the super-Power it always has in mind. The land of Palestine, Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Syrian Golan Heights and the southern part of Lebanon are certainly not enough to satisfy the Zionist thirst.

225. In parallel with its policy of territorial annexation, Israel has pursued an extremely inhumane policy and savage practices against the people in its occupied areas, in flagrant defiance of the whole network of human rights. These policies and practices include the imposition of its laws and regulations, daily arrests, imprisonment, terror and massa-

cre, making life so unbearable for the indigenous people that they have to leave their homes. The Arab countries have repeatedly denounced before the world the massacres on the model of those at Sabra and Shatila and the genocide carried out by Israel against their people.

226. Although Israel is very aggressive and ambitious, we know for sure that it would not dare to act so flagrantly, in total disregard of international law and public opinion, if it stood alone, without the enormous military and financial assistance, political protection and encouragement it receives from the United States. The United States is believed to have measured its policy pertaining to the Middle East by a yardstick fashioned in Israel, for the latter is its most important ally in the region. They have so much in common. The colonialist, expansionist policy of one serves so effectively the reactionary global strategy of the other. President Reagan once said: "The fall of the Shah of Iran has increased Israel's value as perhaps the only remaining strategic asset in the region on which the United States can truly rely."

227. The annual flow of approximately \$4 billion from the United States has enabled Israel to feed its giant war machine with nuclear capability and finance its expansionist and annexationist drive. The United States provides Israel with political protection, to the extent of closing its eyes to reality, using its power of veto even in issues of a humanitarian nature, as in the case of Lebanon's draft resolution submitted to the Security Council on 6 September 1984.<sup>6</sup> We, therefore, are never taken in by its verbal protests at Israel's acts. In fact, the United States has turned Israel into a regional gendarme, as an instrument to carry out for it the policy of State terrorism.

228. Another aspect worth mentioning is the United States attempt to weaken the unity of the Arab community through peace negotiations between Israel and individual Arab States. The Camp David accords and the May peace treaty are vivid examples of the so-called step-by-step diplomacy.

229. While some Western countries have learned their lessons and pulled themselves out of the Middle East quicksand, the failure in and withdrawal from Lebanon are not enough of a lesson for the United States. Its forces still patrol around and it tries to seize every opportunity to maintain its military presence and flex its muscles in that part of the world. In this case, the English proverb should be paraphrased to read: "The road to hell is paved with sordid intentions."

230. Even with the whole-hearted support of the United States, Israel still faces many difficulties owing to its acts of aggression and expansion. Internally, it is in hot water. Stagnation and inflation, the erosion of its people's confidence and a profound Government crisis prevail. Externally, it has been denounced and condemned by the whole world. In order to overcome these difficulties and break out of its isolation, Israel is now looking for birds of its own feather. Its collusion with the *apartheid* régime of South Africa is notorious. It has already forged relationships with some Fascist and reactionary régimes in Latin and Central America. Now the Asian expansionist and hegemonist Power has come along. As reported by the English magazine *Jane's Defence Weekly*, in its 20 November issue, this Power has maintained its secret ties with Israel, and they have recently signed a major contract for \$3

billion worth of weapons. How ironic it is that this Power continues to preach about the just cause of the Palestinian and Arab peoples and its unswerving support for liberation movements throughout the world.

231. Israel's atrocities and its macabre alliance with the United States and other international reactionaries may cause serious difficulties to the Palestinian and Arab people, but it can in no way prevent them from continuing their struggle for national salvation and defence. The Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, and with the effective support of the entire Arab and international communities, are now persistently striving towards the establishment of their own State in Palestine. The delegation of Viet Nam once again reaffirms its full support for the Palestinian people and the PLO in their struggle to regain the right to self-determination and other fundamental national rights, including the right to return and to establish an independent State in the land of Palestine.

232. We fully support the Syrian Arab Republic in its efforts to reclaim sovereignty over the Golan Heights by all possible means. We commend the Government of Lebanon for its efforts of national reconciliation and demand that Israel withdraw from southern Lebanon immediately and unconditionally. We support the just cause of the Arab people. We support the resolution adopted by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, which, among other things, calls for "a boycott of Israel in the diplomatic, economic, military and cultural fields and in the sphere of maritime and air traffic in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter".<sup>7</sup>

233. The establishment of peace and stability in this important part of the world has become imperative. Numerous solutions have been introduced. Yet, come what may, the only acceptable and effective solution should ensure an end to Israel's acts of aggression and territorial annexation and its withdrawal back to the 1967 boundaries. In the same vein, it should guarantee an end to intervention and interference by imperialist Powers in regional affairs. The process of Camp David is a failure; it can never embrace and solve the present crisis of this region, for it ignores the central issue, that is, the question of Palestine. The only choice now is a solution worked out by an international conference of all parties concerned. We support the good offices of the Secretary-General. We support the efforts to convene, as early as possible, an international conference on the Middle East, as contained in resolution 38/58 C of 13 December 1983. We find the concrete proposals of 29 July 1984 by the Soviet Union [see A/39/368] conducive to the preparation for such a conference.

234. The peaceful settlement of disputes is a fundamental provision enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. We are convinced that the present crisis and conflict in the Middle East can be solved only through a political comprehensive settlement which ensures the legitimate interests of all parties and countries of the region.

235. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): For the past 18 years, the General Assembly has been considering the situation in the Middle East and has adopted scores



of resolutions proclaiming the verdict of the international community on that matter. To the annoyance and indignation of peace-loving humanity, however, the principal parties responsible for the continuation of this most appalling situation, namely, the Zionist forces of Israel and imperialist circles in the United States, have put stumbling-blocks in the way of the implementation of those verdicts.

236. The Middle East, which is one of the most important centres of man's civilization and a permanent crossroad of various cultures, has unfortunately been condemned to war and destruction as a result of the expansionist, aggressive and hegemonistic policies of Israel and the United States for the past four decades. The enormous efforts of the international community to bring peace to this war-torn region of the world were all frustrated due to the intransigence of the Zionist régime and United States unwillingness to take part in, or co-operate with, any serious initiative towards a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

237. As has been proclaimed by the international community time and again, the crux of the Middle East problem is the question of Palestine. The denial by Israel and the United States of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the subsequent confiscation of their land and their forcible expulsion from their home towns has brought about a tragedy, the dimensions of which have grown out of proportion. It is therefore obvious that no just and lasting solution can be found to the situation in the Middle East unless the question of Palestine is taken up in its proper perspective and solved in a manner that would ensure the full exercise by the Palestinian people of their legitimate national rights, including the right to return to their homeland, the right to self-determination and the right to establish their own national State in Palestine. That is why the partial agreements and the collusive deals concluded so far have completely failed to bring closer the achievement of a durable peace in the Middle East, nor have they curbed or even tamed Israel's aggressive and expansionist designs against neighbouring Arab countries.

238. In accordance with the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force, the United Nations has condemned the continued occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, and has called for the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from those territories. Not only has Israel ignored the repeated and unequivocal demands of the international community, but as an occupying Power it has consistently and flagrantly violated all norms of international law applicable to the occupied territories. A systematic campaign of terror and violence against the population of the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories has resulted in a countless number of deaths and enormous sufferings. Peaceful civilians are beaten to death, their properties are confiscated, their houses are demolished, their shops are set ablaze, their places of worship are vandalized, their schools and universities are closed down, their public institutions are paralysed and their elected figures are removed from office.

239. The policy of proliferating Zionist colonial settlements by expanding the old ones and establishing new ones and by depopulating the occupied territories through forced dispersion of the indige-

nous Arab people from their land has added greatly to the problem. As part of the constant violation of human rights of the population of the occupied territories, Israel has proclaimed so-called laws and regulations which aim at altering the demographic composition, geographic features, basic character and legal status of the occupied territories and has effectively annexed some parts of the occupied territories to Israel.

240. Lebanon, the most recent victim of Israeli aggression, continues to suffer from the occupation of vast areas of its land and brutal attacks on and bombardments of its towns and villages by Israeli forces.

241. The people of the Syrian Golan Heights have also been victims of inhuman repression aimed at forcing them to evacuate the territory, thus making it easier for Israel fully to implement its designs for annexing those areas.

242. The United Nations has adopted resolutions by overwhelming majorities declaring that all Israeli policies and practices aimed at changing the character or status of the occupied territories are illegal, null and void, and have called on Israel to rescind all regulations and laws passed to that effect.

243. Israel has been able to perpetrate its policies and practices in the occupied territories and against its neighbours mainly because it has enjoyed the unreserved and full support of the United States in the diplomatic, political, economic and military fields. The unabated flow of financial and military aid to the Zionist war machine from its so-called strategic ally, the United States, has been instrumental in making possible the arrogant Israeli defiance of the United Nations and the continued state of hostility and tension in the Middle East.

244. This criminal alliance between imperialism and its illegitimate brain-child, Zionism, puts equal responsibility for the bloodshed and destruction in the Middle East on the shoulders of those in aggressive circles in the United States. The strong denunciation by the international community of this unholy alliance is a natural reaction to the expansionist militarist policies of the Israeli Zionists, which can be carried out only with the unconditional collaboration of United States imperialism.

245. The United Nations must not allow the present situation in the Middle East to become a permanent feature of the international political scene. Peace is long overdue. The General Assembly, by endorsing, in its resolution 38/58 C of 13 December 1983, the Geneva Declaration on Palestine<sup>2</sup> and the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights,<sup>8</sup> adopted by the 1983 International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva, has pronounced itself on the ways to attain peace.

246. The proposals of the Soviet Union [*ibid.*] on the achievement of a lasting and comprehensive solution to the question of the Middle East through the convening of an international peace conference also enjoys our full support. The alarming threat to international peace and security posed by the continued deterioration of the situation proves the necessity for the early convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, with the participation, fully and on a basis of equality, of the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The United Nations, particularly the Security

Council, has the major responsibility for providing the appropriate institutional arrangements to guarantee implementation of the expected agreements of this peace conference. We strongly condemn the negative position of the United States and Israel concerning the convening of the proposed conference.

247. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan reiterates its full support for and solidarity with the heroic Palestinian people, the valiant patriotic forces of Lebanon and our Syrian brothers in their legitimate struggle to recover their lands and to safeguard their territories against Israeli invasion.

248. The PRESIDENT: I now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

249. Mr. MOHAMMED (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I apologize for speaking at this late hour, but I feel obliged to respond to the statement made by the representative of Israel this morning [72nd meeting]. However, I shall not take much time.

250. We are used to hearing the representative of Israel speak falsely every year in the debate on this item, in order to blur the issues. It is one of the Zionist manoeuvres to which we are accustomed—going into details that have nothing to do with the subject in order to earn the sympathy of the international public for Zionist claims. My delegation has responded in detail many times, most recently when we discussed this item last year, at the thirty-eighth session [94th meeting]. We shall not stoop to the level to which the representative of the Zionist entity descended this morning.

251. Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): Until this moment I was loath to respond to the remarks of the Jordanian representative. I find I have to go against my inclination because I am speaking here not only as the representative of the State of Israel but also as the representative of the 6 million Jews who were slaughtered by the Nazis in Europe.

252. I say to the representative of Jordan: Have you no decency, Sir? There is a famous Russian saying with which my Soviet colleague will no doubt be familiar: *Vri da znai meru*, which means "Lie, but know when to stop." The Jordanian representative should know when to stop.

253. Most of the families of my colleagues sitting here had members in concentration camps. They had families that were gassed. They had brothers, sisters and cousins who were shot point blank, shipped away, exiled, had horrible experiments performed upon them. Is the representative of Jordan suggesting that that is what Israel's policy is? He knows very well, as everyone here does, that this is the most benign military occupation in history. He knows very well that the Palestinian Arabs have recourse to law, to the Supreme Court, that they are protected by law and order. He knows very well that their living standards, their social standards, their literacy—that by any index of national welfare and individual

welfare, they have improved beyond belief under the Israeli administration. This is nazism?

254. But there is perhaps one other factor that I find puzzling, coming from the Jordanian representative. Why is it that under the Jordanian rule more Palestinian Arabs left Judea-Samaria—the area he calls the West Bank—than under Israeli rule? What is making so many of them stream back to this area, to this living hell? Do they have a penchant for self-immolation? They do not. They know the truth.

255. And I think that it is beyond my understanding, beyond the understanding, I think, of any decent person to understand how the Jordanian representative can approach the holocaust with such callousness. Is it possible that he speaks out of ignorance, or out of arrogance—or out of both? This Assembly must consider this as well, because it is not my score or Israel's score with this perversion of truth. It is your score, it is your responsibility. This happened once in this century and it was accompanied by the most violent and gross distortion of language and truth. Let us not let it happen again, not here.

256. Mr. MADADHA (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I apologize for speaking now, but I was rather surprised at what was said by the representative of Israel. I shall not be long. I wish to say only that we know when to stop. We do not ask anyone to teach us when to stop. However, it is truly arrogant of Israel, which does not know when to stop, to tell us when to stop. I repeat what I said this morning [72nd meeting]—and I shall not engage in a discussion concerning the massacres of Palestinians and Lebanese under Israeli occupation—what I said this morning I reaffirm anew: the Israeli occupation is a new form of nazism; the time has come for the world to put an end to it.

*The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

<sup>2</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, sect. A.

<sup>3</sup>See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510, annex.

<sup>4</sup>See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1982), vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

<sup>5</sup>A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. I, para. 101 (a).

<sup>6</sup>See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1984*, document S/16732.

<sup>7</sup>A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. I, para. 106 (d).

<sup>8</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, sect. B.