

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records



**77th
PLENARY MEETING**

Wednesday, 28 November 1984,
at 3.25 p.m.

NEW YORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 36

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

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

2. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset of my statement yesterday [75th meeting], I referred to the fact that the international community calls on us to set our sights on a future untainted by the fanaticism and hegemonic ideas of the past and cease to enumerate past events from the United Nations rostrum so that we can profit from every possible opportunity to advance towards peace. We deeply regret the statement made by the representative of Israel two days ago [72nd meeting] and the way in which he attacked the Arabs. I am speaking in Arabic, our language, the language of Arab values and civilization, the true Arab heritage. We are proud of this heritage.

3. The representative of Israel chose to attempt to attribute the problem of the Middle East to the Arab character, as though that problem, of which the question of Palestine is the core, were caused by differences between Arabs or the intolerance of Arabs against non-Arab minorities in their countries.

4. Today, therefore, I wish to reject totally the attack on Egypt's present, past or future and any attempt to interfere in Egypt's internal affairs, directly or indirectly. We believe that the adoption of such a method is an attack on Egypt, which has chosen peace as a strategic goal, and we hope that the message on which Egypt based its statement of 27 November represents a movement towards the future so as not to miss other opportunities to achieve peace, stability and a settlement in which all the parties concerned can participate.

5. The PRESIDENT: The Observer of the League of Arab States has asked to make a statement in reply. I call on him in accordance with General Assembly resolution 477 (V) of 1 November 1950.

6. Mr. MAKSOUD (League of Arab States): The General Assembly has been exposed to a harangue against the Arab so-called political culture, as if a campaign of defamation had been let loose, and to gloating over the Arab problem. The Israeli representative has sought to distort our situation, our position and our objectives.

7. Does the nature of our Governments, our régimes, whatever value judgement one might make on them, constitute a reason or a licence for Israel to continue its annexation? Does the negative image, assuming that the distortions are valid, constitute absolution for Israel, allowing it to go on the loose, conquering and annexing? Is it on a so-called civilizing mission? Does Israel's occupation of our land help to improve our condition? Are we, according to the logic of the Israeli representative, improvable, or is our condition incorrigible? If so, do we deserve to survive, or are we expendable? Is this Zionist outlook towards the Arabs and towards our so-called political culture acceptable?

8. In the Arab world we may have problems; what society does not? For us, the problems of growth, of emerging societies, of our previous colonial periods, of modernism and traditional societies, of frustrated aspirations seeking an outlet, are indeed problems, but the thrust of Arab evolution is to affirm the pre-eminence of pluralism, equality for all, the centrality of the human person irrespective of race, colour, religion or religious affiliation.

9. That is in contrast to Israel, where discrimination is not a problem but a policy. It is institutionalized, it is legitimized, it is practised, it is preached, where to be a non-Jew means to be separate, to be different, to be alienated. It means to be another kind of citizen, preferably absent, even more preferably non-existent. Discrimination in Israel is the *raison d'être* of Zionism, the *raison d'être* of Israel. Discrimination is built into the very fabric of this colonial settler entity.

10. Israel mutters these insults about Arab culture, resorting to heaping insults on us, on our culture, on our past and on our present. It reflects a well-established Israeli design—that is, to pre-empt our Arab future. What we are observing is a racist ideological monstrosity on the loose. It has to be checked, it has to be confronted, because it is dangerous, besides being profane.

11. Articulating, as the Israeli representative did, innuendos, half-truths, hearsay and rumours demonstrates an intention to substitute defamation of the Arab people and culture for an answer to the universal condemnation of Israel's occupation of Arab territories and its systematic denial of Palestinian rights. The onslaught by the Israeli representative on Arab culture, the Arab situation and the Arab nation was a pathetic attempt to deflect this Assembly from focusing on the root causes and germane issues. That is why Israel resorted to a filibuster.

12. What is more ominous, however, is the clear racist and indiscriminate association of the term "Arab" with terrorism, violence, plague: words that are charged with and intended to reinforce prejudice against the Arabs, deliberately to distort our image,

as well as our policies, our aspirations and our objectives. This tirade of intellectual and diplomatic terrorism is intended to keep the General Assembly off balance, sustain confusion on the issues and deflect the Assembly from the real, central issues.

13. He describes the Arab conflicts with Israel as "deeply rooted in this general intolerance" and says that "the Jews . . . are the only non-Arab people to have successfully defied Arab domination and achieved independence" [72nd meeting, para. 106]. Independence from whom? From whom did Israel achieve independence? Was there Arab domination? There was an Arab presence, with all Arab States fighting for their independence in the same manner as all third-world countries fight to remove colonial domination.

14. In this situation we do not want to dwell on the past; we have been attempting to focus on planning for a future of peace and justice which would enable a comprehensive peace to be durable. Despite the attempt to state that we are addicted to violence, we in the Arab world have always considered, do consider and will continue to consider Judaism as part of our spiritual heritage, as an ingredient in our civilization. We reject the idea that Israel or Zionism can claim to rupture this Jewish humanist heritage in order to subvert it to Zionist revisionism, and that is why our challenge to Israel is not just a matter of territory but a conflict between two attitudes of life. That is why we resent—and we wanted to register our resentment—this tirade of defamation of an entire people, which is characteristic only of people with a racist ideology and is intended to humiliate us, because they want to establish Israeli hegemony over the entire Middle East.

15. Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): I should like to play for a moment textual critic and examine carefully a remark made by the Kuwaiti representative during the course of this debate. He told us that "Israel was an alien body in the unified body of the General Assembly" and that "There was no doubt that the international community rejected the alien body, as did the Arab world."

16. This comment, I suggest, should be pondered. The description he chose identified my country as an alien body. "Alien body" is one of the terms, one of the metaphors, used by the Government-controlled press in Kuwait, in Iraq, in Libya, in Syria and in many other Arab countries to describe Israel, but it is not the only one. A complementary term is "cancer". Israel is a "cancerous growth" within the Arab world.

17. Now, we all know what you have to do with an "alien body" or with "cancer": you have to excise it—not part of it, all of it. Indeed, Arab propaganda repeats this metaphor with great, I would say almost sickening, frequency. It is important that well-meaning people beyond the Middle East who are not exposed daily to radical Arab press invective and who do not listen to Arab media understand this fully. It was actually repeated helpfully by many Arab representatives here today who spoke of Israel as a "foreign element" and said that there cannot be peace in the Middle East until this element is eliminated.

18. I must say that in a show of enviable solidarity, the Iranian representative elaborated on this theme. He echoed some of his new-found colleagues by suggesting a solution—to use his precise words a "final solution". The "final solution" was the term

used by the Nazis to describe the eradication of the Jewish people. And lest anyone here has doubts that we did not hear right, the Iranian representative went on to explain that the Zionist centre "must be eradicated".

19. On the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and the drafting of its Charter and 40 years after the holocaust, the Iranian representative proposes the eradication of a Member State as a "final solution", and no one in this Hall bats an eyelash.

20. Now some representatives who spoke today reluctantly admitted that there were other conflicts in the area, other than the Arab-Israeli one. I believe that the Iran-Iraq war, the bloodiest war since Viet Nam, was even mentioned, in a faint whisper, in one or two statements—although not, I believe, by an Arab representative. But here we do owe a debt to the representative of South Yemen. He explained that, well, maybe the Arab countries have occasional quarrels between them—this, by the way, from the representative of a country on whose soil there raged an inter-Arab war that claimed the lives of some 230,000 Arabs, which cleaved in two as a result of that horrible civil conflict, which today fights its northern Yemenite twin, which promotes terrorist squads throughout the Middle East, which suffered from Saudi incursions.

21. The Yemenite representative said that, if there were such quarrels, this was all in the family; they were all within the Arab household and should not be subjected to the scrutiny of the world.

22. I am not so sure that we can deal with the subject of today's debate, the Middle East situation, without examining these quarrels as well. And I am not so sure that 500,000 black Sudanese who perished in the Sudan would agree that all of this should not be examined. I am not so sure that tens of thousands of Kurds, killed by the Iraqi army, would agree that all of this should not be examined. Perhaps these people too are "foreign elements", "alien bodies".

23. The notion that all the insensate violence in the vast swath of land from the Sahara to the Gulf is to be off limits for discussion while the Arab-Israeli dispute, but one instance of a general pattern of intolerance to minorities, should be presented as the sole cause of this larger pattern—when indeed it is its result—does not only appear ludicrous, it is ludicrous. No amount of rhetoric or invective can hide the truth of the various conflicts that beset the region and that are open for all the world to see.

24. If we are to have peace in the Middle East, if we are to have the beginnings of a reconciliation, of a sober and realistic approach to the building of peace, we must look at the entire picture.

25. The PRESIDENT: I call again on the representative of the League of Arab States.

26. Mr. MAKSOUD (League of Arab States): I am afraid that we are being exposed to a transformation in the subsequent reply and earlier in the statement of the Israeli representative, the Arab-Israeli conflict is being transformed into a problem of a minority State, or a minority, in the Middle East. I think that the attempt to deflect the attention of the General Assembly from the real issue of the Israeli-Arab conflict into an issue whereby it is inherent in the Arab character, Arab political culture, that Arabs

cannot tolerate so-called minorities, is a complete reversal of roles.

27. First of all, our conflict with Israel is not an Arab-Jewish conflict. We consider that there are many Arabs who are of Jewish faith; so in that respect we cannot consider that we are against part of the Arab world. Israel is predicated on the exclusivist Zionist thesis of a Jewish State, which by definition is exclusionary. Therefore, this is a State which excludes the original population from the exercise of their right to self-determination. It then pursues its objective by proliferating settlements to deny the Palestinian people even the right of self-determination in part of their homeland.

28. Our position is clear. In the decisions adopted on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez,¹ and by our acceptance of the international peace conference, we have accepted the legitimacy, as has been described by United Nations resolutions, and therefore any attempt to throw the issue into issues irrelevant to this debate means that Israel is trying to buy time in order to annex more territories, distort more issues and expand further its military, political and ideological hegemony.

29. We are not in a conflict which is Arab and Jew. Therefore, we are a pluralistic nation. We have problems, as I said. In many instances we discriminate, but discrimination is, as in many other parts of the world, a problem and an embarrassment, while to Israel it is a policy and a matter of Zionist self-realization.

30. Therefore, any attempt to deflect the debate from its original purpose, namely, the right to self-determination and Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, is an attempt to inject new issues which are not germane to the debate and a deliberate attempt to filibuster in the General Assembly.

31. The PRESIDENT: The Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization has requested to make a statement in reply. I call on him in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974.

32. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): In our statement this morning [76th meeting], we were keen on the sole and the major aspect of this debate: how to find a comprehensive solution. We did say that we concurred fully with the findings and the conclusion of the Secretary-General that a comprehensive solution was the only way out. We never entertained any idea that somebody here would go into ideology and speak about final solutions.

33. But may I here remind the Assembly that the representative of the Zionist entity who sits here belongs to a Government the precursor of which, the Irgun Tzeva'i Leumi, was actively and militantly agitating in the 1930s and calling for co-operation with Hitler against the English. It is a shame that such people should find room here.

34. Be that as it may, we can never forget that the Zionist doctrine is based on what Herzl described as the "spiriting across" of the indigenous population; on what Jabotinsky, one of the revisionist leaders, said: that the prerequisite for the achievement of the Zionist dream is to use the iron fist and get the indigenous population out; and on what Koenig said as recently as 1976: that the endeavour should be to "thin out" the non-Jewish population in Galilee. The

expression "thinning out" a population was first used by Eichmann when he referred to "thinning out" the Jews in Vienna.

35. Again, there is no difference in ideology. The Zionist and the Nazi ideologies are the same. Raanan Weiss, who was in charge of the Zionist colonization department, said that there was no room for the two peoples to live together, and their Chief of Staff, a certain Etan, said that the Arabs were like cockroaches dropped in a bottle. Very recently we have heard statements by members of the Knesset—which some people consider one of the most democratic institutions in the Middle East—really calling for a "final solution" and the elimination of non-Jewish citizens or elements from the State of Israel as well as from the occupied territories.

36. I just wished to remind this Assembly of what that gentleman who represents the Zionist entity belongs to.

37. The PRESIDENT: The voting on the draft resolutions submitted under this agenda item will take place at a subsequent meeting of the Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 15

**Elections to fill vacancies in principal organs
(continued):***

(a) Election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council

38. The PRESIDENT: As representatives will recall, at its 33rd meeting, on 22 October, the General Assembly elected four non-permanent members of the Security Council for a two-year period beginning on 1 January 1985. One seat therefore remains to be filled in the Council from an African or Asian State.

39. In accordance with established practice, there is an understanding to the effect that of the two States to be elected from Africa and Asia, one should be from Africa and one from Asia. Thailand was elected at the 33rd meeting; therefore, the remaining seat is to be filled from among the African States.

40. As the third restricted ballot, held at the 33rd meeting, was inconclusive, we must now, in accordance with the rules of procedure proceed to a first series of unrestricted ballots. In unrestricted balloting, any Member State from among the African States may be a candidate, except for Zimbababwe, which is an outgoing member and not eligible for immediate re-election, and for Burkina Faso and Egypt, which remain members of the Council in 1985.

41. Ballot papers are now being distributed. I request representatives to write the name of one State only. Ballot papers bearing more than one name will be declared invalid.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Boukrif (Algeria), Mr. Halinen (Finland), Miss Rovirosa-Priego (Mexico), Mr. Fernandez (Philippines) and Mr. Rydzkowski (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 4 p.m. and resumed at 4.10 p.m.

42. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows:

*Resumed from the 34th meeting.

Number of ballot papers:	152
Invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	152
Abstentions:	1
Number of members voting:	151
Required majority:	101
Number of votes obtained:	
Ethiopia	81
Somalia	68
United Republic of Tanzania	2

43. The PRESIDENT: Since none of those three States obtained the required two-thirds majority, the Assembly will now proceed to a second unrestricted ballot. As in the last ballot, I ask representatives to write the name of one State from among the African States, other than that of Burkina Faso, Egypt or Zimbabwe. Any ballot papers bearing more than one name will be declared invalid. The ballot papers are now being distributed.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Boukrif (Algeria), Mr. Halinen (Finland), Miss Rovirosa-Priego (Mexico), Mr. Fernandez (Philippines) and Mr. Rydzkowski (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 4.20 p.m. and resumed at 4.30 p.m.

44. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	149
Invalid ballots:	1
Number of valid ballots:	148
Abstentions:	1
Number of members voting:	147
Required majority:	98
Number of votes obtained:	
Ethiopia	77
Somalia	66
Kenya	2
United Republic of Tanzania	2

45. The PRESIDENT: Since the required two-thirds majority has not been obtained by any State, the Assembly will continue the voting and will hold a third unrestricted ballot. As in the last ballot, I would request members to write on each ballot the name of one State from among the African States other than Burkina Faso, Egypt and Zimbabwe. Any ballot papers containing more than one name will be declared invalid.

46. I call on the representative of Kenya on a point of order in connection with the voting.

47. Mr. KIILU (Kenya): I should like to thank those delegations that voted for Kenya in the last ballot. At the same time, I wish to inform the Assembly that Kenya is not a candidate.

48. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania on a point of order.

49. Mr. FOUM (United Republic of Tanzania): I wish to state that the United Republic of Tanzania abides by the decision of the Group of African States to support Ethiopia's candidature and that Tanzania is not a candidate.

50. The PRESIDENT: Representatives will bear those two statements in mind as they complete the ballot papers. Ballot papers are now being distributed.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Boukrif (Algeria), Mr. Halinen (Finland), Miss Rovirosa-Prie-

go (Mexico), Mr. Fernandez (Philippines) and Mr. Rydzkowski (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 4.35 p.m. and resumed at 4.45 p.m.

51. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	150
Invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	150
Abstentions:	1
Number of members voting:	149
Required majority:	100
Number of votes obtained:	
Ethiopia	76
Somalia	67
United Republic of Tanzania	3
Kenya	2
Cameroon	1

52. The PRESIDENT: Because the result of the third unrestricted ballot was inconclusive, we must, in accordance with the rules of procedure, proceed to a first restricted ballot in the second series of restricted ballots. Since one seat remains to be filled from among the African States, the ballot will be restricted to the two States which obtained the largest number of votes in the last ballot, namely, Ethiopia and Somalia. This is consistent with rule 94 of the rules of procedure.

53. Ballot papers will now be distributed. I would request representatives to write the name of the one State for which they wish to vote. Ballot papers containing more than one name will be declared invalid.

54. I call on the representative of Cameroon on a point of order.

55. Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): In stating that my delegation is not a candidate, we should also point out that it cannot be really serious for anyone to include the name of Cameroon, because this seat belongs to a State from East Africa, whereas Cameroon is in Central Africa. We take this opportunity to appeal to all representatives to focus on the two States that are known to be candidates and, in addition, on the opinion of the African States, and to listen to the appeal that has been made by the President with regard to the traditions of the United Nations system, since otherwise the consequences might be disruptive.

56. The PRESIDENT: I again remind representatives that this ballot is restricted to the two States which obtained the largest number of votes in the last ballot, namely, Ethiopia and Somalia.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Boukrif (Algeria), Mr. Halinen (Finland), Miss Rovirosa-Priego (Mexico), Mr. Fernandez (Philippines) and Mr. Rydzkowski (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 4.55 p.m. and resumed at 5.00 p.m.

57. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	151
Invalid ballots:	1
Number of valid ballots:	150
Abstentions:	1
Number of members voting:	149
Required majority:	100

Number of votes obtained:

Ethiopia	79
Somalia	70

58. The PRESIDENT: As neither candidate obtained the required two-thirds majority, the Assembly will continue the voting and will hold a second restricted ballot. As before, the only States whose names may be included on the ballot papers are Ethiopia and Somalia. Any papers containing the names of other States or the names of more than one State will be declared invalid. The ballot papers are now being distributed.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Boukrif (Algeria), Mr. Halinen (Finland), Miss Rovirosa-Priego (Mexico), Mr. Fernandez (Philippines) and Mr. Rydzkowski (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 5.10 p.m. and resumed at 5.20 p.m.

59. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows:

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	152
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	2
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	150
<i>Abstentions:</i>	0
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	150
<i>Required majority:</i>	100
<i>Number of votes obtained:</i>	
Ethiopia	78
Somalia	72

60. The PRESIDENT: Since neither of the States has obtained the required two-thirds majority, the Assembly will continue the voting and will hold a third restricted ballot. As in the last ballot the only States whose names may be included in the ballot papers are Ethiopia and Somalia. Any papers containing the names of other States or the names of more than one State will be declared invalid. The ballot papers will now be distributed.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Boukrif (Algeria), Mr. Halinen (Finland), Miss Rovirosa-Priego (Mexico), Mr. Fernandez (Philippines) and Mr. Rydzkowski (Poland) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

The meeting was suspended at 5.25 p.m. and resumed at 5.40 p.m.

61. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows:

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	152
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	2
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	150
<i>Abstentions:</i>	0
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	150
<i>Required majority:</i>	100
<i>Number of votes obtained:</i>	
Ethiopia	75
Somalia	75

62. The PRESIDENT: As neither of the two candidates obtained the required two-thirds majority, in accordance with the rules of procedure the Assembly will continue the voting and hold a series of three unrestricted ballots. However, I propose that we postpone the balloting to a later meeting to be announced in due course and suspend the election for the time being.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510, annex.