



President: Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

### AGENDA ITEM 28

**Armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations and its grave consequences for the established international system concerning the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and international peace and security: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*)\***

1. Mr. OULD HAMODY (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Alarm, indignation and condemnation, these are the particularly eloquent terms that were used on 19 June 1981 by Mr. Muñoz Ledo, representative of Mexico, who was then President of the Security Council,<sup>1</sup> to describe the state of mind of the international community when faced with the air attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor for peaceful purposes by the Israeli air force.

2. The circumstances of this premeditated, unprovoked and unprecedented act of war certainly do not require any tedious elaboration in the Assembly, which has expressed in clear terms, in the relevant resolutions, the justifiable feelings of the whole international community, and its firm condemnation of this most distressing event.

3. The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania has on several occasions conveyed to the Organization the feelings of indignation aroused by that action in our people. Our delegation wishes to recall once again today that the attack against the nuclear installations of Iraq committed on 7 June 1981 was not only a characteristic act of armed aggression but a further challenge to the Arab nation and the United Nations by international Zionism.

4. The destruction of the Tamuz plant has taken on dimensions which make it a matter of concern to the whole international community, including those who persist against all common sense in excusing crimes when they are committed by Israel and, with surprising indulgence, always find mitigating circumstances in the case of the Palestinian usurper.

5. First of all, it was a deliberate attack against the IAEA safeguards system. That Agency, which had inspected the Iraqi reactors, stated clearly in its report that it had not found any violation of the safeguards agreements.

6. Crying "stop thief", Israel, which is not a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] and which alone and in close collaboration with its South African ally and emulator is establishing a nuclear arsenal, attacks a country which is a member of the Treaty and, in addition, follows strictly the verification rules of the IAEA.

7. Israel, governed by its racial disdain and hegemonistic appetite, was actually attacking the technological and industrial prospects that the reactors could offer a country, which, in strange Zionist logic, must remain backward and therefore vulnerable. That, we are certain, is a theory that the overwhelming majority of countries represented here can neither understand nor accept and even less excuse.

8. Finally, obstinately refusing to be part of any peace process and emboldened by its military superiority in present circumstances, Israel continues to display disquieting signs of belligerence that are dangerous for the security and stability of the Arab East, while dangerously mortgaging the future of hundreds of thousands of innocent people brought over from five continents by international Zionism to strip the Palestinian people of its inalienable and unrestricted rights.

9. In addition, the immeasurable harm suffered by Iraq is difficult to quantify, while the adverse effects which the attack against the nuclear facilities will have for decades to come on the health of the Iraqi people are impossible to determine.

10. It goes without saying that this barbarous act and Israel's stubborn desire to carry out further attacks call for appropriate and truly deterrent sanctions from the international community, primarily from the Security Council and the General Assembly.

11. The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania is of the view that the measures proposed in draft resolution A/38/L.7 now before us could, *inter alia*, help us attain part of this objective.

12. Nothing, absolutely nothing, can surprise us from an entity which constantly defies all recognized practices of international legality and the rights of others. For Israel, crime has always paid and its main concern is to prevent all progress and stability in the Middle East.

13. We have no doubt that it is for the Arab peoples and for their brothers and allies to put an end to Israeli arrogance in all its unspeakable acts. But it is also the collective responsibility of the Assembly and the particular responsibility of those who shower this entity—which knows little fear and shows such disregard for the Organization's Charter—with human, technological, economic and military assistance, thus giving it this astonishing, emboldening but highly ephemeral illusion of eternal superiority.

14. Mr. PASHKEVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The piratical raid by the Israeli air force on the Iraqi nuclear centre near Baghdad was a deliberate and unprecedented act of aggression in terms of its unforeseeable consequences and a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law. The attack on the nuclear facilities of Iraq, which were under IAEA safeguards and were located on the territory of a Member State party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, is an act of defiance by Israel which demonstrates its disregard not only of the Non-Proliferation Treaty but of the role and functions of the IAEA and the international system of safeguards.

\*Resumed from the 42nd meeting.

This act represents a threat to the legitimate activities of sovereign States in using the advances of science and technology for purposes of development, in this particular case, for the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

15. The background briefing paper issued by IAEA in December 1981 and annexed to the study of the group of experts [A/38/337] fully exposes the baselessness of the charges levelled against Iraq with regard to the purposes for which they were allegedly using the research nuclear reactor and to the international control over its operation. In the study of the group of experts it is also made clear that the Iraqi research reactors were under IAEA safeguards and that the inspections carried out by the Agency brought out that "all nuclear material was satisfactorily accounted for and that Iraq had fulfilled its obligations under IAEA safeguards pursuant to the non-proliferation Treaty to the satisfaction of IAEA" [*ibid.*, para. 27].

16. All this authoritative testimony clearly shows the worthlessness of any attempts to justify the aggressive act of Israel. It is easy to understand why so many Member States of the United Nations, the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Board of Governors and the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency have condemned Israel's attacks on the Iraqi nuclear centre.

17. The study carried out by a group of experts, in accordance with resolution 37/18, provides further data for a comprehensive appraisal of the consequences of this raid. In particular, any armed attack on nuclear reactors represents a serious danger for the health of people and for the environment. It is contrary to the purposes of disarmament supported by the United Nations and all the peoples of the world and represents a gross violation of the letter and spirit of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)] and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3202 (S-VI)].

18. The need for discussing this item of the agenda in the Assembly is dictated by the urgency of devising effective measures to prevent the repetition of such barbarous actions in the future, since Israel, in disregard of the resolutions addressed to it by the Security Council and the General Assembly, is continuing to threaten a repetition of such piratical acts. This position on the part of Israel, which enjoys comprehensive support from its strategic overseas ally, represents a danger to international peace and security and makes it difficult for the peoples and countries of the Middle East to emerge from their situation of crisis. The most recent tragic example of United States aggression—against Grenada—makes it possible for world public opinion to see most clearly what are the possible sinister consequences which may ultimately arise from such threats and the use of naked force against other States. The Israeli action has also made clear that it is necessary to continue considering and adopting, at the international level, legal measures designed to prevent armed attacks on peaceful nuclear facilities, as well as the threats of such attacks. That is extremely important for promoting and ensuring the secure development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

19. The delegation of Byelorussia, like other delegations, believes that the General Assembly and the Security Council, in the face of the rising aggressiveness and terrorism on the part of Israel and the United States, should take the most effective measures under the Charter of the United Nations to curb the aggressors, to halt their aggressive actions and to protect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and legitimate rights and interests of independent countries and peoples. We also believe it

is the right of every country to utilize nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and in an atmosphere free from insecurity.

20. Mrs. DIAMATARI (Cyprus): On 7 June 1981, fourteen Israeli military planes, six F-15 fighter escort planes and eight F-16 bombers bombed and caused the destruction of the Iraqi nuclear installations of Osirak, which were devoted to peaceful purposes.

21. The whole world has denounced this unprovoked and unjustifiable act of aggression.

22. The General Assembly adopted resolution 37/18 on 16 November 1982, which denounced the Israeli attack in the strongest possible terms and condemned Israel's threats to repeat such attacks as endangering international peace and security.

23. The Cyprus Government and its people expressed their indignation immediately after the premeditated and cold-blooded attack by Israel, which added an extra burden to an already aggravated international situation and opened wider the chasm between the two sides in the Middle East conflict.

24. Cyprus, having itself been the victim of foreign invasion and occupation which brought its people untold misery, which is still only too evident, considers it its moral responsibility—indeed its duty—to come to the support of Iraq and reiterate its condemnation of the Israeli aggression.

25. Iraq has been the victim of an unprovoked, unjustifiable act. Moreover, Iraq intended to use its nuclear facilities strictly for peaceful purposes. It is well known that Iraq is a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and that its nuclear facilities were under the IAEA safeguards régime at the time when this unacceptable attack occurred. Thus, neither on moral nor on technical grounds can this act be justified, quite apart from the flagrant violation, with pure cynicism on the part of the Israelis, of the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

26. I wish to quote the most relevant paragraph of the Charter, paragraph 4 of Article 2, which says:

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."

27. It is apparent, then, that Israel acted in disregard of the Charter and of every principle of international law and relations; it acted in a lawless fashion, with grave consequences for international peace and the future of mankind.

28. Speaker after speaker at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, including heads of State, heads of Government, Foreign Ministers and heads of delegations, have all emphasized the point that, unless the world faces up to the dangers emanating from the brazen use of force in international relations and the ever-escalating nuclear arms race, the prospects for the future of mankind will indeed be at their most critical point.

29. No one can deny the inalienable sovereign right of any State to proceed with peaceful nuclear programmes which aim at the development of its economy, as long as they are in conformity with internationally adopted steps designed to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

30. I wish to draw the attention of the Assembly to the dangerous precedent set by Israel's unprovoked attack against the nuclear installations of Iraq, and to deplore Israeli's non-compliance with United Nations resolutions.

On this point my Government believes that it is high time for steps to be taken to strengthen the United Nations, so that acts of aggression such as that perpetrated against the people of Iraq may not be repeated.

31. Mr. HUCKE (German Democratic Republic): During the current session of the General Assembly the majority of States have expressed their deep concern about the increasing danger of the outbreak of a nuclear war and resolutely called for effective counter-measures.

32. The armed Israeli aggression of 7 June 1981 against the Iraqi nuclear installations is one link in the chain of the events that have caused this concern. As is well known, the destruction of non-military nuclear installations by conventional weapons can produce effects similar to those caused by a nuclear explosion. Such destruction could finally unleash fighting that might lead to the use of nuclear arms. This alone would be reason enough to condemn the destruction of non-military nuclear installations as an act that is tantamount to a nuclear attack, which has already been qualified by the United Nations as the gravest crime against humanity.

33. It is with careful attention that the delegation of the German Democratic Republic has taken note of the study on the consequences of the Israeli armed attack against the Iraqi nuclear installations devoted to peaceful purposes. My delegation especially shares the views expressed in the study which refer to the consequences that such an attack might have for disarmament, the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the IAEA and the international safeguards system. The study rightly notes that "the Israeli attack was dysfunctional to the disarmament aims of the United Nations and the world community" [A/38/337, para. 57]. It is also true that Israel's disregard and rejection of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the IAEA safeguards system seriously harm international norms and institutions. My delegation supports the proposal in the study for a measure prohibiting attacks against peaceful nuclear facilities on the basis of international agreement.

34. At their Prague session in January this year the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty already proposed the preparation of measures to ensure the safe development of nuclear energy and prevent attacks of any kind against non-military nuclear facilities. They evaluate such measures as a contribution to the strengthening of general security and, at the same time, to the extension of international co-operation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

35. In the Committee on Disarmament, the group of socialist countries submitted on 18 February 1983 pertinent proposals concerning the ensuring of the safe development of nuclear energy and the establishment of an *ad hoc* working group on negotiations for the purpose of drafting an appropriate international agreement.<sup>2</sup>

36. Despite all these efforts, no measures have been adopted that would preclude a repetition of the attack against peaceful nuclear facilities.

37. Neither the requests and demands made in Security Council resolution 487 (1981) nor those contained in General Assembly resolutions 36/27 and 37/18 have been complied with. The causes of the disregard of those resolutions must be seen in the light of the following background. The armed Israeli aggression against Iraqi nuclear installations is a consequence of the imperialist policy of confrontation. That policy has encouraged Israel to commit aggressive acts against the Arab States and the Palestinian people who, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], are fighting for the implementation of their inalienable rights. It is that policy that has led to the "strategic alliance" between

Tel Aviv and Washington and which has just enabled the ruling quarters in Israel to escalate their policy of oppression in the occupied Arab territories and to commit their aggression against Lebanon.

38. The "strategic alliance" of the United States with Israel has caused immeasurable sorrow to the Arab peoples and cost them many sacrifices. This imperialist policy is aimed at blocking a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict, at whose core is the question of Palestine, and at preventing effective measures from being taken against the aggressor.

39. In order to preclude once and for all any armed aggression against nuclear installations, it is particularly imperative that the imperialist policy of confrontation should give way to the policy of peaceful coexistence and détente. When relations between States are based on that policy, it will be possible to achieve a comprehensive and just solution to the Middle East problem through an international conference with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO.

40. Likewise, confrontation-free relations between States would help to bring about an international agreement containing effective measures to ensure the safe development of nuclear energy and prevent attacks of all kinds against non-military nuclear facilities. The abandonment of confrontation between States would finally make it possible to banish the nuclear threat to mankind.

41. Mr. ŠILOVIĆ (Yugoslavia): For the third time the General Assembly is devoting its attention to the armed Israeli attack against the Iraqi nuclear installations, which was and remains one of the most ruthless and unprovoked military acts.

42. The political assessments of this act made by the Security Council, the General Assembly, the IAEA and numerous Governments clearly testify to the unacceptability of the policy of force and intervention. The reply of Israel remains a rejection of the positions and decisions of the United Nations and of the international community.

43. Time does not bring oblivion in such cases. Every new act of aggression and disregard of the will of sovereign Arab States and of the Palestinian people brings memories of the tragic circumstances of this unprecedented use of military force.

44. General Assembly resolution 37/18 requested the Secretary-General, with the assistance of a group of experts, to prepare a study on the consequences of the Israeli armed attack against the Iraqi nuclear installations.

45. The thorough and responsible work of six experts, from India, Nigeria, Sweden, the United States of America, the USSR and Yugoslavia, has made a significant contribution to our perception of the gravity of the problem. Their comprehensive study [A/38/337] contributes to a broader understanding of the serious consequences which this and other similar acts can have for international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

46. The study confirmed that the nuclear installations near Baghdad were an integral part of Iraq's efforts to achieve economic, scientific and technological development. Those installations were in the service of the prosperity of the people of Iraq. The air raid caused the death of three persons and damage amounting to several hundred million dollars. The result was the halting for at least five years of Iraq's scientific and educational programmes in the sphere of nuclear energy. Iraq's nuclear activities were in compliance with IAEA safeguards. On the other hand, Israel is not a signatory of the Non-Proliferation

Treaty, nor has it placed its own nuclear installations under international control.

47. It is the sovereign right of every country to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Installations such as the one in Iraq are central to scientific research and they contribute to independence and to international co-operation in the development and use of nuclear energy, thus promoting the general well-being of countries.

48. In our view, this is closely linked with the inalienable right of every people to embark upon the road of economic and technological progress. In that sense, the Israeli aggression was a violation of the spirit and letter of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)] as well as of a number of principles subscribed to by all Member States in the Charter of the United Nations. That is why such an act is contrary to the objectives of promoting co-operation among States in the economic and scientific spheres, as well as in the political sphere.

49. In assessing this act of State terrorism, this flagrant violation of the principle of sovereignty in international relations, other issues arise as well, among them the consequences of such an act for disarmament. In our view, there is no doubt that this attack jeopardizes the efforts being made in various United Nations forums aimed at achieving disarmament and at preventing the use of force.

50. In view of the fact that Israel is pursuing a policy of aggression and intervention in various forms against its neighbours, it is difficult not to conclude that one of the consequences of the attack against the Iraqi nuclear reactor is the initiation of a new cycle in the arms race and of general uncertainty in the whole region.

51. At the same time, the study of the experts concluded that an attack against nuclear installations used for peaceful purposes can have grave consequences not only for the region where the attack occurred, but for neighbouring countries as well. The radioactive material released in such an explosion could spread far beyond the borders of a single country. In such conditions, how can we expect the creation of an atmosphere of confidence, which is the prerequisite for negotiations aimed at the achievement of peace and stability in the region?

52. Yugoslavia shares the view that the Israeli aggression is proof that it is more than ever necessary to proceed with the establishment of additional legal instruments to prevent similar attacks in the future. It is necessary to improve the international mechanisms in this sphere, since the possible consequences of such irresponsible acts could be even more serious tomorrow.

53. We cannot accept the interpretation that the attack against Iraqi installations was carried out in self-defence. The Charter cannot be interpreted by each according to his liking and to the needs and interests of the moment. Such logic would lead to anarchy. Acceptance of arbitrary interpretations of the right of self-defence could justify the use of force and the "might is right" policy.

54. Non-aligned Yugoslavia considers that no one can build his own destiny and security by denying the freedom, security and legitimate rights of others. We do not accept, and we do not approve of, aggression, intervention, interference in internal affairs, or the use of force in international relations on any pretext or for any reason whatsoever. Israel must cease to believe in the brutal use of force, which has already spread the flames and deepened the crisis in the Middle East.

55. Mr. ALEXANDROV (Bulgaria): Our attention is again focused on the subject of the armed attack by the Israeli air force against the Iraqi nuclear installations.

The United Nations has on a number of occasions expressed its position on this unprovoked act of aggression against a Member State which resulted in loss of life and extensive material damage. The world community has almost unanimously condemned this attack as a criminal act adding new threats to an already grave international situation.

56. More than two years have elapsed since the day when bomb explosions shook the installations at Tuwaiha. The developments that have unfolded in the meantime permit us to judge the armed Israeli aggression from the correct historical perspective, namely as a link in the strategy of imposing the Zionist-imperialist diktat over the Middle East. Israel's invasion of Lebanon and Beirut, the Shatila and Sabra massacres, the United States-Israeli machinations for consolidating the interventionists' gains, all point to a long-term policy of armed aggression and to a diplomacy of *fait accompli*.

57. At the same time, this period has been indicative of the stepped-up role for the nuclear factor in the policy of the imperialist forces on a global as well as on a regional scale. This has been clearly illustrated by the doctrines of "first disarming" and "first decapitating" nuclear strikes, of "limited" and "protracted" nuclear war, now in vogue in the West.

58. It is precisely this policy of nuclear blackmail and naked armed aggression, pursued by reactionary and militarist circles, that is the key to explaining Tel Aviv's raid against such a sensitive civilian target as the nuclear installations in question.

59. The comprehensive study on this question presents an analysis of the various physical, technical, economic and medical consequences of the armed attack. At the same time the study emphasizes the raid's destabilizing impact on the political climate in the region and in the world, as well as on the system of international relations as a whole.

60. My delegation has long since expressed in a most unequivocal manner its position concerning this piratical act. The Bulgarian delegation supported General Assembly resolutions 36/27 and 37/18 which denounced Israel for its armed aggression. My delegation reaffirmed its position that this act constitutes a gross flouting of the Charter of the United Nations and a most grave violation of the norms of international law. The Israeli air raid has created a dangerous precedent in international affairs which could encourage terrorist attacks of a similar nature under the guise of "anticipatory self-defence".

61. The armed attack against the Iraqi non-military nuclear installations which function under the supervision of the IAEA is an attack against the IAEA system of safeguards. The Israeli aggression thus poses a constant threat to the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. It is openly aimed at undermining the Non-Proliferation Treaty and at impairing the authority of this world Organization and its organs.

62. Israel's aggressive act acquires new criminal dimensions by constituting a blatant infringement on the sovereign right of States to build their national economy along the path they have chosen, and an open attempt violently to impede the socio-economic development of Arab countries, thus hoping to weaken them in the face of Israeli expansionist ambitions.

63. If the overall political and other consequences of the armed Israeli aggression are to be summarized in a single sentence, the above-mentioned study does it quite clearly in its section VII: "Summary and Conclusions":

"The more general consequences of the attack . . . include its potentially serious damage to international

norms and institutions. Thus, it involved Israel's direct disrespect for, and challenge to, the non-proliferation Treaty and the IAEA safeguards system; undermined international legal constraints on acts of aggression including those of the Charter of the United Nations; introduced new risks and uncertainties, posing a threat to further peaceful nuclear development and co-operation and the promotional activities of IAEA; and dis-served the objectives set forth in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and in the Declaration on the Establishment of the Programme of Action for a New International Economic Order." [A/38/337, para. 127]

64. In so far as the motives for this armed attack are concerned, beyond any doubt this is not a case of some sincere concern for the national security of Israel. The real motives are abundantly clear. Actions like these are designed to terrorize the non-aligned countries of the region and to force them back into the sphere of influence of imperialism. Also it is no less clear that these acts of armed aggression would not have been possible were it not for the massive and unconditional political, technical, military and financial support which the United States has extended to Israel and the "strategic alliance" between these two countries which is directed against the national liberation movement and the forces of social progress in that part of the world.

65. This is the third time that the item of the armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations is on the agenda of a regular session of the General Assembly. Once again the international community and the Member States are presented with indisputable evidence of Israel's readiness to resort to military means and methods which could be tantamount to the use of nuclear weapons. This course is especially menacing in the light of the undisguised ambitions of the Israeli ruling circles to acquire nuclear capability and ensure their monopoly as a nuclear-weapon Power in the Middle East. It is very well known that whereas Iraq is a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, Israel has so far refused to sign the Treaty or to accept IAEA supervision over its own nuclear installations.

66. It is beyond controversy that peace and security for all States in the Middle East cannot be secured through a policy of seeking military superiority and blackmail, or through the intimidation of this or that country of the region. The road to peace and security in the Middle East is the road of renunciation of aggression, of non-interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the region and of rejecting any separate deals like the Camp David accords. This is the road to achieving the legitimate rights and interests of the peoples of the Middle East through the concerted political efforts of all parties concerned and on the basis of a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem. Last, but not least, this presupposes the implementation of the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations concerning the region of the Middle East, including those adopted on the agenda item now under consideration.

67. Mrs. HEPTULLA (India): The General Assembly has on numerous occasions in the past considered the explosive situation in West Asia caused by the aggressive actions and expansionist policies of Israel. In total disregard of the repeated calls of the international community and in clear violation of canons of international law and of principles governing the conduct of relations between States, Israel has continued stubbornly to hold on to the illegally occupied Arab lands and to deny the people of Palestine their fundamental right to their homeland. To this day Israel defies the will of the

international community to find a just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the conflict in West Asia.

68. The Israeli military attack on the Iraqi atomic reactor near Baghdad in June 1981 was yet another dark episode in Israel's history of aggression and military adventurism against Arab countries. The Israeli action, which constituted a new threat to international peace and security and a new form of international terrorism, was condemned by the Security Council, the General Assembly and the IAEA, as well as in several world capitals. The Government of India unequivocally condemned the Israeli action immediately after the attack. We expressed our solidarity with the friendly Government and people of Iraq. We viewed this highly reprehensible act as a most unfortunate precedent and as a part of Israeli overall policy aimed at creating a situation of instability, tension and conflict in the region to further Israel's own political interests.

69. The attack by Israel against the Iraqi nuclear installations was in clear violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It also constituted a flagrant violation of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and the fundamental principles of the new international economic order. Above all, it had grave consequences for peace and security in the region. These aspects have been brought out in the study of the group of experts. *Inter alia*, the study refers to the need for adherence by Israel to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the IAEA safeguards system and the recognition of the fact that Iraq is a signatory of the Treaty and had placed its nuclear activities under IAEA safeguards. In our view, such detailed references to peripheral matters could result in diverting attention from the central issue: the unprovoked act of aggression by Israel. Even if Iraq had not been a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty or had not accepted the safeguards, the blatant act of aggression by Israel would have been equally reprehensible. The Israeli attack should therefore be condemned first and foremost as a violation of Iraq's territorial integrity, and secondly as an inhuman act.

70. In a world which is scarce in resources, the right of sovereign States to acquire and develop nuclear technology for peaceful purposes for their development programmes has been widely recognized. Iraq's nuclear installations, which were wantonly destroyed, were part of Iraq's endeavour to develop and utilize nuclear energy for its socio-economic development. Iraq had all along declared that its nuclear programme was devoted to the utilization of energy for peaceful purposes. Israel's contention that it chose to destroy the nuclear installations of Iraq since the latter was on the verge of producing nuclear weapons was a gross distortion of truth. The right of sovereign States to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes should not be thwarted through discriminatory practices or policies, and certainly not by such criminal acts of aggression as the one committed by Israel.

71. In our view, the General Assembly should censure Israel once again for its premeditated act of aggression and warn Israel against any such act in future. It should be ensured that Israel does not build a nuclear arsenal which would threaten the entire West Asian region. Apart from paying adequate compensation to Iraq for the damage caused, Israel should be asked to declare forthwith and undertake a commitment that it will not resort to such adventurist criminal actions in future.

72. My delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/38/L.7 because it clearly expresses the condemnation by the international community of the blatant act of aggression committed by Israel against Iraq on 7 June 1981. Our support for the draft resolution is without

prejudice to our well-known views on references to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and related full-scope safeguards which figure in the draft resolution as well as in the title of the agenda item itself. Our vote in favour of the draft resolution is also on the understanding that nothing in it, including in particular the comprehensive study referred to in paragraph 7, will be interpreted or used in any manner to strengthen the Non-Proliferation Treaty or the associated safeguards régime.

73. Mr. SUTRESNA (Indonesia): The Assembly is taking up a question which has been the subject of intense discussion not only by the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh sessions, but also by the Security Council and the International Atomic Energy Agency's Board of Governors and General Conference. In each of these forums the facts in the case have been indisputably established—namely, that aggression was committed against a peaceful nuclear installation. Responsibility for such an act and the need for adequate compensation and reparation for the crime have also been established. However, Israel's arrogant refusal to comply with the decision of the international community and its self-righteous assertion that it not only feels no remorse but would even take similar action in the future has taken the question well beyond that of an isolated incident.

74. What is involved is a question of credibility: a nuclear reactor of a State which is a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and which has placed all of its nuclear activities under IAEA safeguards was attacked by a State which is not a signatory to the Treaty or to IAEA safeguards. The question not yet fully answered is whether the integrity of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the IAEA safeguards system and, indeed, the IAEA itself has suffered irreparable damage, just like the physical damage suffered by the Iraqi nuclear facilities. What is more, the study on the consequences of the aggression has highlighted the far-reaching implications of the attack, going far beyond the credibility of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the IAEA itself.

75. In this regard, the study highlights the impact of Israel's criminal act on international efforts towards disarmament, national economic development, the establishment of the new international economic order, norms of behaviour by States and the legitimacy of international régimes, and other precedent-setting consequences.

76. In the field of disarmament, the study establishes that since Israel has not been compelled to provide reparations, to become a party to IAEA safeguards or even to renounce the instigation of such attacks in the future, States are placed in a position to acquire weapons systems that would ensure the protection of their peaceful nuclear installations. There can be no doubt that such a development would be contrary to the concerted efforts of the international community to reverse the dangerous and expensive arms race.

77. The Israeli action and the subsequent intolerable posture that it has adopted impinge upon a State's right to select nuclear energy as an alternative energy source for its national economic development. In addition, as is well known, nuclear research centres play an important and crucial role in developing scientific and technical excellence and contribute to related research in non-nuclear areas of economic development.

78. Thus, for developing countries the development of nuclear energy can be an important component in the attainment of their national economic goals. However, owing to the highly technical and scientific complexities involved, such development is dependent on bilateral and multilateral co-operation with advanced States. It should be noted that, in the context of the new international

economic order, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States has enjoined States to remove obstacles in the way of such co-operation. Indeed, as the study makes clear, Israel's attack was an open infringement of the right of a State to benefit from the advances and developments in science and technology for the acceleration of its economic and social development. Furthermore, this Charter directly establishes that a State cannot evade its responsibility to provide reparations when its coercive policies impinge on the economic rights of another State. These same principles are also fully elaborated in the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3201 (S-VI)]. Thus, the danger lies in the possible weakening of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, as well as of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

79. The United Nations came into being to establish an international body of law based on universal values. The most important of these are, of course, the Charter of the United Nations itself and scores of other international treaties and conventions that regulate various areas of relations among States. All of these contain two basic elements, the rights that they establish and the duties and obligations of States to respect those rights. With regard to the question before us, the IAEA safeguards and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons are facing the greatest challenge to their integrity since they came into force. That challenge comes from a single State, which has not only itself repeatedly scorned even the most sacred principles of the Charter of the United Nations but also repudiated scores of resolutions of the Organization. Therefore, even though Israel has flouted the decisions of the Security Council and of the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh sessions of the General Assembly, the international community must not now become complacent and should redouble its efforts to compel Israel to comply.

80. As a signatory to both the IAEA safeguards agreement and the Non-Proliferation Treaty, Indonesia has supported all the resolutions of the United Nations and of the IAEA on this matter. Further, as a developing country that is in the process of planning its own peaceful nuclear programme, we can attest to the validity of the findings contained in the Secretary-General's report.

81. The broader implication of Israel's action continues to be a cause of concern to my Government, even though it has not diminished, nor will it diminish, our commitment to the IAEA safeguards or the non-proliferation régime. It is most important that all Member States reaffirm the integrity of these international instruments by continuing to exert all possible efforts to compel Israel to enter into IAEA safeguards agreements, to become a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to pay compensation and reparations to Iraq for its unprovoked attack upon and destruction of the Iraqi peaceful nuclear facilities.

82. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey): The General Assembly has retained on its agenda the item on the armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations not only because of the severe consequences Iraq suffered but also because of the continuing relevance of the serious complications in regard to the development and promotion of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

83. We shall refrain from discussing Israel's expansionist and aggressive policies. The views of the Government of Turkey on the situation in the Middle East and on the question of Palestine are well known and we shall have occasion to return to them under the appropriate items

of the agenda. Today I shall dwell only on some salient aspects of Israel's destruction of the Iraqi nuclear installations.

84. The Government of Turkey has viewed this attack as a flagrant violation of international law and as contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and has condemned it accordingly. Our position, already stated in detail during the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh sessions of the General Assembly, remains unchanged. At this time, we should like to renew our call to Israel to comply with all the elements of Security Council resolution 487 (1981), which, as a unanimously adopted decision of the Council, is a feasible framework containing sound modalities.

85. In this context, we must also reaffirm the right of all States to employ nuclear energy for peaceful purposes under appropriate international safeguards and in accordance with the goals of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. We note that Iraq, a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, submits its activities in the field of nuclear energy to the monitoring and inspection of IAEA. We believe that if nation-States adhered to the Non-Proliferation Treaty régime and upheld the safeguards system, the international community would have a reasonable prospect of ensuring that nuclear energy was used for peaceful purposes. Israel, with its attack on the Iraqi reactor, has already caused considerable damage to the safeguards régime. This should not be allowed to constitute a precedent. This is why it is particularly important that Israel should now accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and permit the application of IAEA safeguards to its nuclear activities.

86. True and lasting security in the Middle East will not be achieved through armed aggression, irrespective of the results thus obtained. Only when Israel understands this elementary truth and impresses on its Arab neighbours this same understanding can there be genuine movement towards peace, justice and security in that region. One significant step would be for Israel to open up its nuclear operations to the safeguards regime.

87. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Iraq, who wishes to raise a procedural question with regard to a revision to draft resolution A/38/L.7.

88. Mr. AL-ZAHAWI (Iraq): After consultations with some delegations, I have been authorized by the sponsors to make the following revisions to the draft resolution.

89. In paragraph 2, the word "*Considers*" should be replaced by the word "*Notes*". This is the same language as was used in the resolution adopted by the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

90. In paragraph 3, the words "the standing Israeli" should be deleted and replaced with the word "any", and the remainder of the paragraph remains the same.

91. Mr. SALLAM (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On 7 June 1981 Israeli aircraft made in the United States of America bombed Iraqi nuclear facilities devoted to peaceful purposes. That aggression resulted in the destruction of the Iraqi nuclear reactor and inflicted great damage upon the nuclear research centre, causing a serious setback to research programmes. The cost of reconstructing those facilities to return them to the level at which they operated prior to the Israeli aggression is estimated at millions of dollars and such reconstruction would require at least five years. This information is set forth in the study of the group of experts [A/38/337].

92. The Israeli aggression against those facilities so vital to the development of the Iraqi economy, as well as to the economy of the Arab region in general, has been

denounced as both immoral and barbarous by the international community as a whole. In resolution 37/18 the General Assembly condemned Israel's acts of aggression in the region and called upon it to withdraw forthwith its officially declared threat to repeat its armed attack against nuclear facilities. The Assembly also requested the Security Council to consider the measures necessary to deter Israel from repeating such an attack.

93. In resolution 36/27 the General Assembly issued a solemn warning to Israel to cease its threats and the commission of such armed attacks against nuclear facilities. The Security Council in resolution 487 (1981), which was adopted unanimously, as well as the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency in its resolution of 12 June 1981, strongly condemned Israel for its blatant aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installation.

94. Yet what results have all these resolutions produced? They have remained nothing but ink on paper. Israel has trampled them underfoot in total disregard of international humanitarian norms, the rules and regulations of international law and the principles and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. In the face of Israel's brazen defiance of United Nations resolutions, the Organization has no choice but to apply the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of its Charter.

95. The delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic, which believes that Israel's continued aggression jeopardizes international peace and security, calls upon the United States of America, a country that claims to support the implementation of democratic principles everywhere in the world, to abide by the opinion of the democratic majority in the General Assembly, a body that is indeed the greatest democratic institution in the world. The United States of America bears a special historic responsibility before the international community since it is the only member of the Security Council that wrongfully supports and assists Israel in the latter's intransigence, preventing by the use of its right of veto in the Council the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly designed to deter Israel from committing aggression.

96. As we discuss the agenda item under consideration we must always bear in mind that the problem of armed Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations is but one of the many problems Israel has created in the Middle East, all of which stem from the core problem, namely, the question of Palestine. Any collateral issue stemming from that core problem can, in our opinion, easily be resolved in the light of the purposes and principles of the Charter when Israel agrees to withdraw completely from all occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and fully to recognize the inalienable, legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to return to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent Palestine on Palestinian soil under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative.

97. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly is today discussing a question that is still fresh in our minds because of the indignation of the international community at the armed Israeli aggression in 1981 against the Iraqi nuclear installations and its grave consequences for the established international order and for the right of States to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

98. As we join in this debate the Egyptian delegation firmly bases itself on the principle of the non-use of force or threat of force and the need to respect the

independence and territorial integrity of States and their right to devote their energies to development.

99. The international community's condemnation of the Israeli aggression in 1981 has always been unequivocal. It has rejected all of Israel's pretexts and baseless attempts to justify that act of aggression. Its incontrovertible position is supported by numerous international decisions of the IAEA, the General Assembly and the Security Council, which in June 1981 unanimously adopted resolution 487 (1981). The Security Council strongly condemned that armed aggression and considered it a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international conduct.

100. On 15 June 1981 the Egyptian delegation joined with others in the debate in the Security Council.<sup>3</sup> We denounced the Israeli act of aggression, refuted all Israeli pretexts and rejected all Israeli claims that it had acted in self-defence by carrying out pre-emptive attacks.

101. The study concerning the consequences of the Israeli armed attack against the Iraqi nuclear installations devoted to peaceful purposes [*ibid.*] contains conclusions which draw our attention. We are reminded that Iraqi nuclear activities were covered by the IAEA safeguards system, and that Iraq had committed itself to respect its safeguards agreement with the Agency, based on Iraq's accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, whereas Israel, which destroyed the nuclear reactor, has not thus far acceded to that Treaty or placed its nuclear activities under the IAEA safeguards system.

102. Among the consequences to which the study attaches great importance is the potentially serious damage to international norms and institutions. The report calls on all of us to guarantee the safe development of nuclear activities, and emphasizes that radioactive fallout is not restricted to the country which is the victim of any attack, but could spread to other areas, since it does not respect national boundaries. Furthermore, the study refers in paragraph 128 to the future and draws attention to a number of measures that need to be taken.

103. International law confirms the right of every country to develop its economy and to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. In light of the well-known international safeguards and of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, to which it has acceded, Iraq is fully entitled to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes on a par with all nations without any discrimination. Therefore any act or threat aimed at preventing or limiting the exercise of this right would be in violation of a basic principle of the Charter of the United Nations, namely, the equal sovereignty of States. Such act or threat would affect international co-operation and destabilize the established system created by the international community to organize the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

104. Consequently we feel impelled to reiterate our total rejection of any impediment to the exercise of that right on any grounds. The respect for that right is a basic principle which has been embodied in United Nations resolutions as well as in IAEA decisions and the safeguards system.

105. In conclusion, my delegation believes that the draft resolution before the General Assembly reflects all these considerations and fears and therefore, as at previous sessions, we will vote in favour of this draft, including the oral amendments made by the representative of Iraq.

106. Mr. NAWAZ (Pakistan): The blatant Israeli attack against the Iraqi nuclear research reactor complex nearly two and a half years ago was a violation of international

norms of conduct so unique in character that the incident cannot be erased from our memory. Beyond the obvious political and legal implications of that premeditated act of aggression, that attack raised, for the first time, a variety of questions with a serious bearing on matters related to disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation and the right of countries to scientific and economic development. The expert study prepared on the Israeli attack against Osirak is to be commended for its comprehensive approach and the care with which it has examined the far-reaching implications of the incident. The report enumerates the consequences of the Israeli action in the following words:

"The more general consequences of the attack—to which the Group attaches special importance—include its potentially serious damage to international norms and institutions. Thus, it involved Israel's direct disrespect for, and challenge to, the non-proliferation Treaty and the IAEA safeguards system; undermined international legal constraints on acts of aggression, including those of the Charter of the United Nations; introduced new risks and uncertainties, posing a threat to further peaceful nuclear development and co-operation and the promotional activities of IAEA; and disserved the objectives set forth in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and in the Declaration on the Establishment of the Programme of Action for a New International Economic Order." [*Ibid.*, para. 127.]

107. Politically, the Israeli attack was a flagrant violation of Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity which has been rightly condemned by the General Assembly as well as by the Security Council. In its resolution 487 (1981) the Security Council accepted the principle of Iraq's entitlement to appropriate compensation for the damage caused by the Israeli attack. That demand by the Council, like several other Security Council decisions, remains unheeded by Israel, which holds out the arrogant threat of repeating armed attacks against other peaceful nuclear facilities at will and on the basis of its own unwarranted, arbitrary and unilateral judgement.

108. Besides being discussed in the United Nations and other international forums, the Israeli attack on Osirak has been a subject of protracted discussions in various disarmament forums and in the IAEA. This is because of the unprecedented nature of the attack and its direct impact on the international non-proliferation régime and on disarmament concepts. The Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency has considered the attack as having undermined the international safeguards system for the peaceful application of nuclear energy. The Israeli action had shown that even adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons could not ensure the safety of the peaceful nuclear installation of a State against the wanton action of a determined aggressor.

109. The concerns of the IAEA over the safety of peaceful nuclear installations and the grave consequences of military attack on such facilities have been echoed in the various disarmament forums. Accordingly, the idea of prohibiting such attacks through an international agreement is gaining ground in the Committee on Disarmament. In its deliberations, the Group of 21 of the Committee on Disarmament has called for necessary measures to ensure against the repetition of such aggression by Israel or any other State and has urged the reaffirmation of international principles to ensure the prohibition of such attacks. A Swedish proposal to include a prohibition of this kind in the convention on radiological weapons has also been strongly supported by

most members of the Group of 21. It is our hope that the Swedish proposal will be incorporated in the radiological weapons convention, as and when it is finalized and adopted as an international instrument.

110. The right to economic progress and technological development is integral to the precepts of political and economic freedom of nations and human dignity. Among technologies, nuclear technology for peaceful purposes is unique to this century. Its acquisition is a right which cannot be denied to any nation and has been explicitly recognized by the United Nations at the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. This right cannot be obscured by unwarranted concerns for nuclear proliferation in view of the firm commitment of most developing nations not to develop nuclear weapons. A large number of these countries have acceded to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and accepted IAEA safeguards on the transfer of nuclear technology and materials which constitute the existing and universally acceptable international non-proliferation régime.

111. The Israeli attack on Osirak, which was under IAEA safeguards and located in a country which was a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, has challenged the basic and fundamental right of every country to acquire and develop nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and thus called into question the very basis of the understanding that a nuclear non-proliferation régime is sought to be promoted as a universal objective.

112. The Israeli attack on Osirak represents an unprecedented departure from the norms of international law. By its action Israel has arrogated to itself the right to preemptive strikes against peaceful nuclear installations of its neighbours in order to keep them deprived of the legitimate fruits of peaceful nuclear technology, while maintaining its own freedom of choice in the matter of developing nuclear technology and at the same time keeping its nuclear facilities outside IAEA safeguards.

113. The United Nations cannot remain inactive in such a situation. It must endorse the findings of the study of the group of experts, and they must be publicized in order to create international public awareness about the gravity of the Israeli action and its far-reaching consequences. Such awareness and unrelenting international opposition to the wanton Israeli act would in themselves serve as a deterrent against its repetition by Israel or any other potential aggressor.

114. Mr. BENKHAL (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): For the third time the General Assembly is considering the armed Zionist aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations, an aggression condemned by the international community at many and various levels, an aggression that constitutes a flagrant violation of international instruments and is considered to be an act which jeopardizes the work and aims of international organizations and agreements, such as the IAEA and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Also, it has an impact on the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and its use in the service of economic and social development and of mankind in general.

115. The Zionist aggression reflects the nature of that entity, which is based on terrorism, fanaticism, usurpation of the right of others, and destruction. Its practices and ongoing acts are evidence that it is not a peace-loving entity. In addition to usurping Palestinian lands and the land of neighbouring countries and its aggression against Lebanon, that entity has expanded the scope of its aggression, violated the airspace of other countries and attacked Iraqi nuclear installations devoted to peaceful purposes.

116. The aim of those acts of aggression is to prevent the Arab people from developing their economies and from improving their standards of living, is indeed to destroy their economies. Furthermore, those acts are against the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and of non-interference.

117. The Zionist authorities have adopted a policy which contradicts the principles of international peace and security and they continuously and openly threaten to repeat these aggressive acts against any Arab or Islamic reactor or any reactor belonging to a country which the Zionists consider as an enemy or a threat to their security.

118. Iraq is one of the countries which adhere to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and has placed its nuclear facilities under international control and safeguards. Israel, on the other hand, is not a party to the Treaty and has not placed its nuclear facilities under international control. We have no evidence whatever that Iraq possesses or intends to acquire nuclear weapons, whereas there are numerous reports and much information which prove that the Zionists have the capacity to produce nuclear weapons. Furthermore, the sources of those reports—including United States sources, since the United States is the strategic ally of the Zionist entity—prove that Israel possesses nuclear weapons.

119. Owing to their superiority in the nuclear field, Israel and the United States aim at bringing all Arabs to their knees and forcing them to accept Israeli and United States diktat, since both those partners adhere to the theory that "might is right."

120. Israel would never have perpetrated such aggressive acts had it not been for the support it receives from the richest and most powerful country in the world, the United States of America. Its Administration and some of its officials have fallen victim to blackmail by Zionist organizations within the United States itself, which have subjected the American decision-makers to all kinds of pressures, both moral and immoral. Those who do not submit are exposed to slander and persecution. The United States provides the Zionist entity with all the financial, technical and scientific information and components for the production of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, it allows American Zionists to work in Israel and provides or leaks the results of research and tests undertaken by American scientific institutions.

121. The situation is exacerbated by Israel's disregard of international law and is encouraged by the assistance given by that great Power which claims that it is in the vanguard of those defending human rights, the rule of law and democracy.

122. The American Administration opposed the inscription of this item on the agenda when it was first submitted to the Assembly. Furthermore, it prevents the most important international organ, the Security Council, from fulfilling its responsibilities and imposing sanctions against Israel because it does not comply with United Nations resolutions and continues its acts of aggression. The American Administration threatens to cut back the funds it provides to the international organizations if they take any effective measures against Israeli aggression, despite the fact that that Administration, in similar circumstances, attacks other States and imposes sanctions—for example, against Iraq at certain times, the Syrian Arab Republic, Democratic Yemen, my country as well as other struggling countries.

123. The Zionist aggression against the Iraqi nuclear reactor did not lead the American Administration to adopt a more just position. It was followed by an attack against Lebanon, the bombardment of the Lebanese

capital by American-made weapons and the conclusion of a strategic agreement in November 1981 between the United States and Israel which guarantees enormous financial and military aid to Israel.

124. In early 1982 Begin addressed President Reagan as follows:

“You said, Mr. President, in September of last year, on your own initiative, that you would fulfil your commitment to ensure Israel’s security, that is, to preserve the qualitative superiority of Israel’s defence force against its enemies.”

Reagan replied by reaffirming that he intended “to maintain Israel’s qualitative technological superiority”.

125. This appeared in the *International Herald Tribune* on 17 February 1982.

126. Different American Administrations have declared their interest in peace in the Middle East, but their actions show that they are working against peace and supporting aggression.

127. In this respect I would like to refer to the co-operation between Israel and South Africa in the nuclear field and to how those two racist régimes work against the original inhabitants of the land and against the neighbouring countries, frequently carrying out acts of aggression against them, under the smoke-screen of security and racist doctrines. All this shows the danger of Israel’s behaviour and its wide and far-reaching consequences.

128. In view of the international community’s condemnation of this crime, we believe that the Assembly must recommend the adoption of effective measures, to condemn this deed anew and to denounce those countries that helped carry it out, in order that it will not happen again.

129. In conclusion, I would like to express sincere thanks to the Secretary-General and the group of experts who prepared the comprehensive study on this act of aggression.

130. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Once again the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic is participating in this discussion, and that is because Israeli aggression is continuing. This aggression has so far gone unpunished. We speak once again to reaffirm that the Israeli attack against an installation which was intended for peaceful purposes, to produce energy, was only one more link in the chain of Israeli attacks against a part of the Arab nation and against the will of that people to join in the march towards progress, especially progress in the sophisticated technological field.

131. The Israeli aggression against the Iraqi reactor took place with the full knowledge and assistance of the United States of America. In spite of the fact that the United States did not vote against Security Council resolution 487 (1981), it has in no way dispelled the suspicion that it was fully aware of that attack and that it co-operated with Israel, its agent in the area.

132. The United States voted as it did on that Security Council decision in order to frustrate international efforts to isolate Israel completely from the international community through the application of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, which provides for the imposition of collective, comprehensive and effective sanctions against the aggressor. The act of aggression against the peaceful Iraqi nuclear installations was aimed not only at damaging an Arab project, but also at paving the way towards bombing every Arab project serving the interests of our people.

133. The invasion of Lebanon and the massive destruction of Lebanese economic, social and cultural facilities and other services in the areas occupied by Israel are but a continuation of the Israeli policy, because Israel cannot bear to see anywhere on earth Arab facilities that serve the interests of the mass of our people. The Israeli aggression, which involved the violation of the airspace of numerous Arab countries, is evidence that Israel does not comply with any of the commitments stemming from the Charter or the principles of international law.

134. We have become a sponsor of the draft resolution [A/38/L.7] which the General Assembly has before it, and this was but one step with a view to encouraging the Assembly to put an end to the Israeli presence among the States which are represented here.

135. At the 42nd meeting we heard the statements of the Israeli delegation, in which crocodile tears were shed over the waters and the environment of the Gulf. We did not hear one word which would enable us to believe that Israel will abide by international law or, at least, take into consideration the fact that it has been condemned by world public opinion. Resolutions will not halt Israeli aggression. We must take specific measures. The representative of Israel must leave this Hall following a resolution adopted by an overwhelming majority.

136. From the beginning of this session we have felt that there is a trend to deprive Israel of its presence in the General Assembly, just as we have deprived South Africa of the privilege of sitting in the Assembly—South Africa which is co-operating in the nuclear field with Israel, a country which has no love for peace.

137. There are indications that prove without a shadow of doubt that Israel is determined to wage further aggression against nuclear and non-nuclear installations, inside and outside Arab countries. Israel acts as if any progress scored by developing peoples constitutes a threat against it. According to its colonialist and racist logic, these projects must be eliminated. The co-operation between the two racist, colonialist régimes in occupied Palestine and in South Africa is but proof that the racists cannot live in an area which is prosperous and which witnesses socio-economic and technological progress.

138. The pretext used by Israel has always been Israel’s security. The representative of Israel can laugh if he wishes, but others do not laugh. They weep as they see the effects of Israeli and United States aggression on the destiny of the third world.

139. I would like to quote from the statement of the Syrian representative in the Security Council concerning Israel’s security:

“Israel’s fantasy of security is but a cover for its war crimes and expansionist practices. At all stages of the unfolding of the Zionist stratagem, fear for its security has remained the deceitful slogan of Israeli leaders, used to cover up any aggression or expansion. Colonial settlements in the occupied Arab territories are built on that false pretence; southern Lebanon has been subjected to a scorched-earth policy and repeatedly invaded on the pretext of security, pre-emptive or preventive; thousands of Arabs have been evicted from home and property, and the excuse is Israeli security; the Israeli collusion in the 1956 tripartite aggression occurred under the banner of preventive security; and the 1967 blitzkrieg and Israel’s consequent expansion to six times its original size were also justified as a pre-emptive imperative. Arrests, assassinations, collective punishments, deportations, the maiming of the

Palestinian mayors, the poisoning of Arab crops, the poisoning of Arab schoolchildren—girls and boys—and the diversion of Arab waters”.\*<sup>4</sup>

140. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Israel on a point of order.

141. Mr. BLUM (Israel): I should like to be informed what the agenda item is that we are discussing and what the relevance of these utterances by the Syrian representative is to the agenda item.

142. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I request the representative of Syria to be kind enough to refer to the item under discussion.

143. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic always bows to the ruling of the President. I would only like to recall what happened yesterday at the 42nd meeting. Yesterday we were speaking about the bombing of the reactor in Baghdad. The representative of Zionism talked about the waters of the Gulf, the environment of the Gulf, his love for the Gulf and its petroleum. The Iraqi delegation asked you to put an end to this farce which was begun by the representative of Israel. And now you are requesting me to stick to the point and I shall do so. I will not emulate the representative of Israel.

144. Yet we must look at this question not only from the angle of the bombing of an installation but, rather, at the Zionist racist Israeli policy which aims at destroying the Arab nation in all its components and all its resources.

145. Mr. President, I shall certainly abide by the ruling you made after the statement of the representative of Israel. I would have liked the very same ruling to have been made when the representative of Israel spoke yesterday.

146. I would like to recall that:

“The Israeli air strike of 7 June against the Iraqi centre for generating nuclear energy for peaceful purposes is but one link in the Israeli chain of aggression against the Arab nation, yet it denotes two new dimensions: the first is the unprecedented geographic expansion of the long-arm policy of Israel, made possible by the sophisticated lethal United States arsenal, and the second is Israel’s determination to prevent the Arabs, irrespective of their geographic location, from enjoying the benefits of their inalienable right to scientific and technological progress, in much the same spirit as its denial to the Palestinians of their inalienable right to self-determination.”\*<sup>4</sup>

147. My delegation would like to congratulate the United Nations for the study in document A/38/337.

Reality is clearly reflected in the study because it expresses the sentiments of all delegations, perhaps excepting the delegations of Israel and the United States. This study clearly states, in paragraph 110, that:

“ ‘Israel . . . has the capability to manufacture nuclear weapons within a very short time’ . . . It was also pointed out in the report that there was an unsafe-guarded natural uranium heavy-water-moderated reactor with a capacity of 25 MW capable of producing significant quantities of plutonium. . . . ”

148. This leads us to maintain that the General Assembly and the members of the Security Council should compel this expansionist, racist country to adhere to the Non-Proliferation Treaty as soon as possible and before a catastrophe occurs.

149. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of Iraq has asked to speak on a matter of interest to the Assembly.

150. Mr. AL-ZAHAWI (Iraq): In view of the lateness of the hour, the fact that some delegations are still seeking final instructions from their capitals, and that we also intended to have a roll call vote on this draft resolution, I request you, Mr. President, to postpone the vote until tomorrow morning.

151. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly has heard the request made by the representative of Iraq. I should like to consult members. If I hear no objection, then perhaps we might postpone the vote and it might be taken up as the first item for tomorrow morning’s meeting.

152. The representative of Israel has requested to speak in exercise of his right of reply. I should like to remind him of the rule concerning the time limit and the fact that he should make his statement from his seat.

153. Mr. BLUM (Israel): I merely wish to express our gratitude and appreciation to the representative of Syria for his statement, which was characterized by his now well-known intellectual lucidity and elegance of style. We found his statement most enlightening and we trust that other delegations share our feelings.

*The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year*, 2288th meeting.

<sup>2</sup>CD/421/Appendix II/vol. II, document CD/345.

<sup>3</sup>See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year*, 2283rd meeting.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 2284th meeting.

\*Quoted in English by the speaker.