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UNITED NATIONS  
SECURITY  
COUNCIL



Distr.  
GENERAL

S/10098  
2 February 1971

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

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LETTER DATED 2 FEBRUARY 1971 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE  
UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to enclose herewith the text of the Aide-Memoire which I communicated yesterday, 1 February 1971, to Ambassador Gunnar V. Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to the Middle East.

I request that this letter and the attached Aide-Memoire (and its annex) be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mohamed H. EL-ZAYYAT  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative

## AIDE MEMOIRE

On 22 November 1967, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 242, and accordingly the Secretary-General designated Your Excellency as his Special Representative to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles of this resolution.

During your contacts with us, which started on 18 December 1967, we have confirmed to you our readiness to implement the resolution as a "package deal" and our willingness to carry out our obligations as stipulated therein. We have explained this in our reply to your questions handed to you on 27 March 1969. This reply was included in the report submitted by the Secretary-General to the Security Council (document S/10070) on 4 January 1970.

Our readiness to implement resolution 242 emanated from respect for the will of the international community and our compliance with the United Nations Charter. We have also welcomed all the international efforts exerted to achieve a peaceful settlement, declared our support of the French initiative of 16 January 1969, and accepted the American initiative submitted on June 1970.

All our international contacts were aimed at achieving a permanent peace in the Middle East established on the firm basis of justice and not dictated by the threat or use of force or as a result of territorial expansion. Hence our position remained that the settlement necessitates that Israel respects the Charter of the United Nations and its decisions and implements the Security Council resolution in full. Each party to the conflict should pledge to abide by its obligations and the settlement should not reflect the weight of conquest or the consequences of the use of force against United Nations Member States.

Reaffirming our desire for peace and for continuation and success of your mission, we have stated our position in the communication submitted to Your Excellency on 15 January 1971, which was based on the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 in order to achieve a peaceful and durable settlement (annex).

From our experience, during the long time which lapsed since the beginning of your mission, it has become evident that Israel refuses to implement the

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Security Council resolution and continues to seek to impose its terms from a position of strength thus blocking the progress of your mission.

Firmly believing in the importance of achieving a just and lasting peace in the area, and because of Israel's persistence in its refusal to implement the Security Council resolution, and being concerned about the continuation of your mission, we have submitted the issue to the United Nations General Assembly, at its twenty-fifth session. The General Assembly adopted resolution 2628 on 4 November 1970 which expressed serious concern that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) has not been implemented, and reaffirmed that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible and that consequently territories thus occupied must be restored. The resolution reaffirmed that the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East necessitates the withdrawal of the Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the conflict, the termination of all claims or states of belligerency, and recognized that the respect for the rights of the Palestinians is an indispensable element in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The resolution also called upon the parties directly concerned to resume contacts with you with a view to carry out at the earliest possible date your mandate for the implementation of the Security Council resolution in all its parts. In adopting this resolution the United Nations have once more stressed the importance of achieving a peaceful settlement in accordance with the Security Council resolution, thus rejecting Israel's policy which is based on the use of force to impose an Israeli settlement in the area, disregarding the Security Council resolution and the United Nations Charter.

Upon the adoption of that resolution on 4 November, the United Arab Republic Government declared its readiness to resume contacts with you and instructed its representatives accordingly. On the other hand, Israel has always refused to comply with the Security Council resolution, rejected all international efforts deployed towards achieving a peaceful settlement in the area, and continues to occupy Arab territories.

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In these occupied Arab territories, Israel persists in carrying a policy of repression, expulsion, and collective punishment against the inhabitants, adopting various administrative and legislative measures including the use of armed force to impound the property of these inhabitants. Moreover, it continues to establish settlements in the occupied territories whose indigenous Arab inhabitants are replaced by new immigrants. The General Assembly and the Security Council adopted several resolutions calling on Israel to abide by the provisions of the United Nations Charter, norms of international law and relevant international agreements which obligates Israel to respect the rights of the Arab inhabitants of occupied territories. Nevertheless, the repressive measures being currently perpetrated by Israel in these territories clearly reveal its persistence in the policy designed to change their Arab character, establish Israeli settlements and create a fait-accompli with a view to consolidating its occupation. This brings further evidence of its expansionist policy. This explicitly indicates that the peace claims of the Israelis are merely intended to delude world public opinion.

We consider that the two Israeli notes of 10 and 27 January 1971 which were submitted to Your Excellency reveal that Israel continues in its refusal to implement the Security Council resolution, since Israel does not commit itself to withdrawal from all Arab territories it occupied in June 1967. We also consider that peace referred to by Israel in its notes remains meaningless as long as Israel evades the total withdrawal from the Arab territories. Israel's refusal to commit itself to withdraw from all the Arab territories is a confirmation of the expansionist designs for the realization of which it had launched its 1967 aggression.

Israel's deliberate omission in its notes of peace guarantees the open opposition by its leaders to the stationing of United Nations peace-keeping forces in which the four permanent members of the Security Council would participate to guarantee peace, and its opposition to the establishment of demilitarized zones astride the borders clearly underlines Israel's rejection of a just and lasting peace.

In its notes, furthermore, Israel does not commit itself to the implementation of the United Nations resolutions relevant to a just settlement of the refugee problem, resolutions which were adopted by the General Assembly during the past twenty-two years, the last of which was resolution 2672 of 8 December 1970.

In adopting a position based on the use of armed force aiming at dictating its terms on the Arab States in order to realize its expansionist design, Israel is obstructing the achievement of the peaceful settlement stipulated in the Security Council resolution.

The continuation of the Israeli occupation of Arab territories is an act of aggression that constitutes a breach of peace in the area and seriously endangers world peace. Israel's adamant refusal to implement the Security Council resolution makes it incumbent on the Council, in exercising its responsibility under the Charter, to take the necessary measures required to assist Your Excellency in the discharge of your mandate and the implementation of its resolution 242, thus securing the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from all the Arab occupied territories and establishing the requisite guarantees to ensure that international peace and security will not be endangered.

Annex

Excerpts from the Aide-Memoire handed to Ambassador Gunnar V. Jarring,  
the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to the Middle  
East on 20 January 1971 (document S/10083)

In order to reach such a settlement (just settlement in the Middle East) in accordance with the provisions of the Security Council resolution, it is necessary that:

1. The Israeli aggression be terminated and the Israeli armed forces be withdrawn beyond the 5 June 1967 lines, as provided for in Security Council resolution 242 which reaffirms the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war, and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security;
2. Israel declare its repudiation of the policy of territorial expansion which it has pursued at the expense of the neighboring Arab States. This policy is repeatedly expressed in the statements made by Israeli leaders;
3. A just settlement of the Palestine refugees must be reached. This can only be realized through Israel's respect for the rights of the Palestinian people in accordance with the United Nations resolutions;
4. The termination of all claims or states of belligerency and guaranteeing freedom of navigation in waterways;
5. Respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;
6. Guaranteeing of peace and the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area.

The Security Council may decide upon the necessary arrangements which would provide security to all States in the area. These arrangements may, inter alia, include:

- A. The establishment of a United Nations peace-keeping force in which the four permanent members of the Security Council would participate.
  - B. The establishment of demilitarized zones astride the borders.
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