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of the death of Mr. Abdullah El-Erian, a member of the International Court of Justice.

2. I am sure that I interpret the sentiments of the Assembly in expressing to the President of the Court and his colleagues the condolences of the General Assembly. I would ask the delegation of Egypt to accept and to transmit to the Government of Egypt and Mr. El-Erian's bereaved family our expressions of sympathy at this sad loss.

3. I invite the Assembly to stand for one minute in silent tribute to the memory of Mr. Abdullah El-Erian.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence

4. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Egypt.

5. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It was with great sorrow that we learned of the death of Mr. Abdullah El-Erian of the International Court of Justice. He died in The Hague where he was discharging his duties as a member of the Court.

6. Egypt has lost a great man of the law, of diplomacy and of politics. He was well known and his qualities were much appreciated by all the representatives at the United Nations and by all the others who knew him. I feel his loss personally because he was my close friend. I was particularly sorry to hear of his death, and I feel that my sorrow is shared by everyone who knew him.

7. On behalf of the Egyptian Government, I extend to the President of the General Assembly and all representatives our thanks for the kind words about the death of Mr. El-Erian.

8. We ask God to have mercy on the departed and to grant his family comfort in their bereavement.

Organization of work

9. The PRESIDENT: As representatives know, the General Assembly at its 4th meeting, held on 18 September, decided to set Tuesday, 15 December as the date for the closure of the thirty-sixth session. It is, however, quite clear that the Assembly will not be in a position to comply with that decision, as the Fifth Committee has not yet finished its work. The reports of that Committee will not be ready until 17 December. I have already held consultations with the chairmen of the regional groups on this point and have made informal contacts with the members of the General Committee. I should like to approach this situation realistically, and I therefore propose to extend the date for the closure of the session to Friday, 18 December. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to that proposal?

It was so decided.

President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

Tribute to the memory of Mr. Abdullah El-Erian, member of the International Court of Justice

1. The PRESIDENT: It is with deep regret, both officially and personally, that I have to inform the Assembly

AGENDA ITEM 79

Alternative approaches and ways and means within the United Nations system for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms:

- (a) Implementation of General Assembly resolutions 34/46 and 35/174: report of the Secretary-General;
- (b) National institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/36/731)

AGENDA ITEM 83

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees:

- (a) Report of the High Commissioner;
- (b) International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/36/725)

AGENDA ITEM 88

United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace:

- (a) World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: report of the Secretary-General;
- (b) Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women: reports of the Secretary-General;
- (c) Draft Declaration on the Participation of Women in the Struggle for the Strengthening of International Peace and Security and against Colonialism, Apartheid, All Forms of Racism and Racial Discrimination, Foreign Aggression, Occupation and All Forms of Foreign Domination: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/36/789)

AGENDA ITEM 89

Status of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/36/724)

AGENDA ITEM 129

International campaign against traffic in drugs

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/36/785)

AGENDA ITEM 138

New international humanitarian order

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/36/786)

10. Mr. FUJII (Japan), Rapporteur of the Third Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the reports of the Third Committee on agenda items 79, 83, 88, 89, 129 and 138.

11. The first report [A/36/731] relates to agenda item 79. The Third Committee recommends that the General

Assembly adopt the three draft resolutions contained in paragraph 20 of that report. The Committee adopted draft resolution I after a vote. Draft resolutions II and III were adopted without a vote.

Mr. Thunborg (Sweden), Vice-President, took the Chair.

12. Paragraphs 41 and 42 of the report on agenda item 88 [A/36/789], contain five draft resolutions and one draft decision, which the Third Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption. I am pleased to report to the General Assembly that this year the Third Committee adopted all the draft resolutions and the draft decision on this item without a vote.

13. Paragraph 8 of the report on agenda item 89 [A/36/724] contains a draft resolution which the Third Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption. The Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote.

14. Paragraph 12 of the report relating to agenda item 83 [A/36/725] contains two draft resolutions which the Committee recommends to the Assembly for adoption. Both draft resolutions were adopted by the Committee without a vote.

15. The next report [A/36/785] relates to agenda item 129. The Third Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt the draft resolution, in paragraph 8 of the report, which the Committee adopted without a vote.

16. The last report [A/36/786] relates to agenda item 138. At its 46th meeting, on 4 November 1981, the General Assembly decided to include this item in its agenda [decision 36/402]. After considering the item, the Third Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt the draft resolution in paragraph 5 of the report. The Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Third Committee.

17. The PRESIDENT: The positions of delegations on the various recommendations of the Third Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant official records.

18. May I remind members that, in its decision 34/401, the General Assembly agreed that when the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in plenary meeting, a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, that is, either in the Committee or in plenary meeting, unless that delegation's vote in plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee. May I also remind members that, in accordance with the same decision, explanations of vote should not exceed 10 minutes and should be made by representatives from their seats.

19. The Assembly will first consider the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 83 [A/36/725].

20. The Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendations of the Third Committee contained in paragraph 12 of its report.

21. Draft resolution I, entitled "International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa", was

adopted by the Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 36/124).

22. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn their attention to draft resolution II, entitled "Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees". The Committee also adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly also wishes to do so?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 36/125).

23. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 88 [A/36/789].

24. The Assembly will take a decision on the draft resolutions recommended by the Committee in paragraph 41 of its report.

25. Draft resolution I is entitled "United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace". It was adopted without a vote in the Committee. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 36/126).

26. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "Consideration within the United Nations of questions concerning the role of women in development". The Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that it is the wish of the General Assembly also to adopt it?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 36/127).

27. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution III is entitled "International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women". The Committee adopted this draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 36/128).

28. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IV is entitled "Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women". The Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that it is the wish of the General Assembly to adopt draft resolution IV?

Draft resolution IV was adopted (resolution 36/129).

29. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution V is entitled "Equal rights to work". The Committee adopted this draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly also wishes to do so?

Draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 36/130).

30. The PRESIDENT: Finally, in paragraph 42 of its report, the Committee recommends the adoption of a draft decision entitled "Draft Declaration on the Participation of Women in the Struggle for the Strengthening of International Peace and for the Solution of Other Vital National and International Problems". May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to adopt this draft decision?

The draft decision was adopted (decision 36/428).

31. The Assembly will now turn to the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 89 [A/36/724].

32. The Assembly will take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "State of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women", recommended by the Committee in paragraph 8 of its report, which it adopted without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 36/131).

33. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will consider next the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 129 [A/36/785].

34. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "International campaign against traffic in drugs", recommended by the Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. This draft resolution was adopted without a vote. May I consider that the Assembly also wishes to do so?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 36/132).

35. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Brazil wishes to explain his position on the resolution just adopted. I call on him.

36. Mr. MASSOT (Brazil): My delegation is very much in favour of the main thrust and the social purposes of the draft resolution entitled "International campaign against traffic in drugs" and consequently joined in the consensus when it was adopted by the Third Committee and by the Assembly.

37. Nevertheless, in our opinion it would have been more appropriate to use the word "drugs" instead of "narcotics" in the third and fifth preambular paragraphs, since the word "drugs" refers both to narcotics and to psychotropics, thus covering the two main directions of the illegal traffic, namely the traffic in narcotics, which occurs mainly from developing to developed countries, and the traffic in psychotropics, which in its turn occurs mainly from developed to developing countries. The word "narcotics" seems to reduce the problem to the first kind of substance only.

38. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 79 [A/36/731].

39. I shall call on representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote.

40. Mr. NORDENFELT (Sweden): My delegation has asked to be allowed to speak to explain its vote on draft resolution I in the document which is before us under agenda item 79.

41. It is my Government's firm view that the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms is an unconditional responsibility of all Governments. They have assumed this responsibility as Members of the United Nations. My Government cannot accept formulations that could be interpreted to mean that neglect to protect and promote fully the human rights of each individual can be excused in certain circumstances.

42. Suggestions are often made to extend the concept of human rights so as to cover various categories of rights

which do not concern relations between the individual and the State. On the one hand, it is sometimes suggested that human rights are not only the rights of individuals but also certain rights of States, nations or peoples; on the other hand, human rights are sometimes said to include the rights of individuals in their relations with other individuals.

43. In both cases we are concerned with important categories of rights, but we should avoid diluting and distorting the concept of human rights by including them in that concept. The rights and obligations of States in their relations with one another are, and have always been, a main field of interest in international law, and we do not need the label of "human rights" to deal with such rights and obligations.

44. The right of the individual fully to participate in and benefit from the process of development should, in our view, be confirmed. However, the draft resolution before us may give rise also to other interpretations which in our view cannot be contained in the concept of human rights.

45. The fact that my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution in spite of those serious hesitations is due to efforts, however inadequate, by the sponsors to improve the text. In our view, however, the text represents a continued erosion of the very concept of human rights as one which essentially concerns the relationship between the State power and the individual. My delegation will therefore decide on how to vote on future draft resolutions under this item solely on the merits of the text at hand.

46. Mr. VERKERCKE (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation would like to explain its vote on draft resolution I contained in the Third Committee's report on agenda item 79 [A/36/731]. My delegation will vote in favour of it. It abstained in the vote on the corresponding draft resolution in the Third Committee. By our positive vote on draft resolution I my delegation intends to show the importance it attaches to the dialogue between Member States concerning other ways and means offered within the United Nations system for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, in particular by studying the right to development.

47. My delegation also appreciates the revisions that the sponsors agreed to make so as to secure broader agreement. However, we maintain the reservations that we entered in the Third Committee on several paragraphs of the draft resolution.

48. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the three draft resolutions recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 20 of its report [A/36/731].

49. We shall first vote upon draft resolution I entitled "Alternative approaches and ways and means within the United Nations system for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental human freedoms". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas,

Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: United States of America.

Abstaining: Bahrain, Canada, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 135 votes to 1, with 13 abstentions (resolution 36/133).¹

50. The PRESIDENT: The Third Committee adopted draft resolution II, entitled "National institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights", without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 36/134).

51. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution III, entitled "Alternative approaches and ways and means in the United Nations system for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights", which the Third Committee adopted without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to do so?

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 36/135)

52. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will turn next to the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 138 [A/36/786].

53. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "New international humanitarian order", recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 5 of its report. It adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 36/136).

AGENDA ITEM 33

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

54. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): There is no doubt that the present situation in the Middle East is extremely dangerous. At the present time there are no signs that tension is easing or that the peace-threatening tendencies are lessening. The hopes which have been voiced many times by certain parties, that tension has been lowered and that lasting peace may be established, have proved unfounded. A number of facts point to the possibility of an explosion.

55. The German Democratic Republic has repeatedly drawn attention to this peace-threatening situation, stressing that peace and security in the Middle East can be attained only if all the peoples in the region can enjoy peaceful coexistence on the basis of the full exercise of their right to self-determination.

56. The main reasons for the ominous situation in the Middle East are well known. They lie primarily in the aggressive policy of those in the ruling circles of Israel, which is directed against the Arab States and, in particular, against the Arab people of Palestine. That policy, as events of recent months have clearly shown, has been further intensified. The world public remembers the overt threats of war against sovereign Arab States, the act of piracy by Israel against Iraq's peaceful nuclear facilities and also the criminal attacks on Palestinian refugee camps and on villages and towns in Lebanon.

57. The policy of terror and oppression of the Palestinian people has been stepped up. The decision adopted only a few days ago to create two new Israeli settlements in the occupied Golan Heights area proves that Israel is trying to annex more territories by force, although this runs counter to existing international law.

58. It has been emphasized repeatedly in this forum that without the broad-based political, economic and above all military support given by the United States and other imperialist Powers, those in the ruling circles of Israel would be in no position to continue their policy of occupation and aggression. If that assistance had not been given to the aggressor, the international community would long since have been in a position speedily and effectively to achieve respect in that region for the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

59. The ruling circles of the United States see Israel as the stronghold for attaining their aspirations to domination in the Middle East. The conclusion of the recent agreements between the United States and Israel, the creation of the so-called strategic alliance, are an attempt to give effect in that region to the United States desire for imperialist domination. It is understandable that the foreign ministers and heads of delegation of the non-aligned countries, at the end of their meeting which took place on 25 and 28 September of this year in New York, expressed their profound concern at the development of that alliance. They said that the alliance "confirms the role of [Israel] as a true bridgehead of imperialism, as an element threatening the stability of the countries in the Middle East region as well as international peace and security". [See A/36/566, annex.]

60. This concern is especially understandable since the very forces that have declared half the globe to be their so-called sphere of interest have been trying to force on the Middle East as well a new escalation in the arms build-up. The aggressor Israel is given the most sophisticated weaponry by the major imperialist Power. The military and political leaders of the United States are constantly looking for new military bases and bases for the so-called rapid deployment force, the purpose of which is to blackmail the Arab States and the countries of the Persian Gulf region. Large-scale military manoeuvres such as Bright Star are being carried out at a time when the international community, here in this forum, is making serious efforts to pave the way for a comprehensive and lasting peace in the area. Typically, as a result of this policy, there is growing dissatisfaction in the Israeli parliament.

61. Thousands of kilometres from the United States, under the pretext of a threat to so-called American interests, provocative exercises have been and are being carried out off the coast of a sovereign Arab State by the United States Sixth Fleet. Here in this country war hysteria is being whipped up against the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. This kind of activity must be seen for what it is—a return to the imperialist gunboat policies, policies applied from a position of strength and aimed at intimidating sovereign States to induce them to pursue policies which suit the United States. Such a policy of confrontation can be interpreted by Israel only as encouraging it to step up its aggressive policy.

62. Much has been said in the past about certain new initiatives by the Western European States. All that remains of them is nothing more than an attempt to expand *de facto* the sphere of action of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. This is shown in the intention of the NATO States to participate in the so-called Sinai armed force.

63. In stating this, we see at the same time that there is a growing desire among the peoples of Western Europe to promote genuine peace in the Middle East. There is growing understanding of the fact that it is imperative finally to implement the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on the Middle East and on the Palestinian question.

64. The German Democratic Republic shares the opinion of many States that it is high time to adopt decisive measures against the aggressor, Israel. For this, the Charter of the United Nations offers ample opportunity.

65. Despite various imperialist manoeuvres, there is a growing understanding that the basis of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is a solution to the Palestinian question.

66. It has become obvious to the whole world that the policy of separate agreements and the exclusion of the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], are incompatible with the interests of the Arab people of Palestine and of the Arab States and have no chance of success. That is borne out by the continuous growth of the international authority of the PLO. We welcome that development. The German Democratic Republic has long felt itself to be closely linked with the Palestinian people in its just struggle to exercise its inalienable rights. We assure the Arab people of Palestine of our full solidarity with it, both now and in the future, in its struggle against imperialist oppression and for the implementation of its right to self-determination.

67. There is a greater recognition that a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict is possible only in the following circumstances: first, an unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967; secondly, the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights, including its right to return to its homeland, to self-determination and to the establishment of its own independent State; and, thirdly, a guarantee of the stability and the security of all States in the region. Talking of stability and security of all States in the region, we naturally also mean the Palestinian State, which must be established.

68. The message sent by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, to the Secretary-General on the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, emphasized:

“In view of the increase in international tensions, which are threatening world peace, a complex peace settlement in the Middle East is becoming ever more urgent. In order to achieve it, the German Democratic Republic feels it is necessary to implement consistently the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

“The convening of an international conference on the Middle East with the Palestine Liberation Organization participating on an equal footing can, in the view of the German Democratic Republic, pave the way towards peace in the Middle East.”

The Soviet proposal to convene such a conference indicates a realistic means whereby it would be possible, through the honest, collective efforts of all parties concerned, to attain a comprehensive, just and lasting peace. In this respect we must note that the thesis put forward by influential circles in the United States on turning the Middle East into an arena for struggle against the socialist world is, as history has already amply demonstrated, a hopeless matter, but a very dangerous one.

69. The leaders of the Arab world constantly stress, quite justifiably, that a solution to the Middle East conflict without the participation of the Soviet Union, or even against it, is impossible.

70. It is true that in the face of the imperialist plans which threaten the cause of peace, what is needed more than ever in order to reduce tension and transform the Middle East into a peaceful region is unity of action among the Arab peoples.

71. Concerning the situation in Lebanon, the sovereignty of that country demands the cessation of all acts of aggression by Israel and of support by Israel of the separatist Haddad and his mercenaries. It would be unjust to predicate the ending of the problems in which Lebanon was embroiled by Israel on an overall solution to the Middle East problem, although we cannot deny that there is an objective link between the two.

72. The German Democratic Republic believes that the United Nations, which has been considering the Middle East problem and the question of Palestine for decades now, must play an important role in establishing a just and lasting peace in the area. Therefore, the United Nations voice must be raised ever more resolutely for a constructive programme to solve these vital questions. All-

round support must be given to the fighting Arab peoples, and one must be prepared to use any possibilities to bring about fruitful talks among all sides which are anxious to see a really lasting peace in the Middle East.

73. Mr. ABULHASSAN (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is the universal view of the international community that, because of the nature of its political dimensions, its economic repercussions and its negative effects on the entire spectrum of international relations, the Middle East crisis is the severest and most intense crisis in the world. It has developed and become so complex that it has become the focal point of confrontation the consequences of which reach beyond the Middle East region. The inescapable result is that failure to resolve this crisis, or the desire to avoid it, would jeopardize the basic principles governing contemporary international relations. Anything that would directly or indirectly aggravate an already complex crisis by introducing new elements or expanding its scope would, therefore, help to increase the potential threat to peace, not only in the region, but also in the world as a whole.

74. The proper approach to the settlement of the crisis is to go back to the essence of the problem. Those who listened attentively to the remarks made about the question of Palestine in the Assembly last week have undoubtedly understood that the international community, despite its various tendencies, is unanimous in its belief that the Palestine question is the core of the problem. It was with this issue that the Middle East crisis actually began and with which it developed and became complicated, and it is with its solution that the entire crisis will be resolved. In other words, the question of Palestine and the Middle East crisis are two sides of the same coin. Nobody with a sound mind and a sense of realism would deny this, either from the moral or from the political point of view.

75. By continuing to occupy the Arab territories and refusing to withdraw totally and unconditionally therefrom; by continuing its atrocious military rule in the occupied Arab territories, which is based on oppressing innocent people and denying them all their civil, political and economic rights in contravention of all international norms; by continuing its policy of establishing settlements on confiscated Arab lands in order to impose another *fait accompli*; by illegally annexing Jerusalem; by attacking Lebanon repeatedly on false pretexts; by stretching its tentacles to Baghdad and striking its nuclear installation; and by its recent violation of sovereign Saudi airspace by repeated sorties, Israel is entirely responsible for the continuance of the Middle East crisis, with all its potential threats to world peace and security, and for its grave consequences.

76. We do not exaggerate when we say that Israel bears the primary responsibility for the Middle East crisis. Time and again it has proved this. The latest example was the announcement this morning that the Israeli Cabinet had decided to propose to the Knesset the application of Israeli law to the population of the occupied territories in the Golan Heights. Israel has shown us that this is always the first step it takes in annexing land, and it intends to do with the Golan Heights just what it did with Jerusalem. These schemes are another link in the chain of Israel's violations of all the norms of international law, and my delegation calls on the General Assembly and the Security Council to fulfil their established responsibilities concerning international peace and security by collective condemnation of this illegitimate Israeli action and calling upon Israel to revoke that decision.

77. The international community is unanimous in holding Israel responsible for the crisis being discussed today. The United Nations, as the conscience of the world, cannot remain idle in the face of this problem. Realizing the grave international dimensions, the United Nations has given it its utmost attention. A long series of resolutions has been adopted after profound and thorough consideration, resolutions which have outlined the solution and the principles on which it should be based. They have become so familiar that they are beginning to sound like a lament reflecting the terrible conflict between good and evil or between the power of principles and values on the one hand and the power of arms on the other. Israel, however, accustomed as it is to scorning the values and the very foundations of international relations, has always refused to abide by the consensus reached by the international community concerning the solution to the most dangerous crisis threatening world peace and security. Israel believes that it can commit its crimes against the world and against humanity with impunity, and its representative has claimed from this rostrum that those resolutions were adopted as a result of the existence of a guaranteed majority in favour of the Arabs in the General Assembly. We hasten now to reply that the matter is not one of majorities or minorities but rather of deep conviction, reflecting the consensus in support of the Arab cause. Some States have begun to realize what Israel stands for and what its limitless aims are. Those same States are also beginning to realize the justice of the Palestinian cause. Good always prevails over evil in the end, pushing aside the clouds of suspicion and mystery and allowing the light of truth to prevail.

78. Kuwait welcomes the increasing awareness of this just cause, particularly among some countries which have not always taken encouraging positions in the past, such as those of the European Community. We hope that this increasing awareness will continue until it has become a positive influence in favour of what is just. At the same time, we should like to point out to those countries that if they are careful not to fall into the trap of exclusive solutions, whether directly or indirectly, this will not fail to strengthen their role or participation in any future effort to solve the crisis under discussion today. The countries of the European Community, which have outlined their more explicit and more positive role *vis-à-vis* the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian cause, should shield themselves from any Israeli or American influence. The Arab countries have rejected the Camp David accords as a framework for peace. Any participation by the European Community nations within this framework, whether directly or indirectly, will not only embroil them in a vicious circle but will also make it difficult for them to exert any meaningful effort in support of peace and security in the Middle East.

79. My delegation is convinced that the United Nations is called upon, through the General Assembly and the Security Council, to respond to the speculation raised on every occasion as to how the Assembly and the Council could go about implementing their resolutions. The purpose of adopting such resolutions and recommendations has never been a simple desire to express an opinion or to take a stand, because that could be done through other channels which have already been utilized and through which world opinion can now distinguish between the aggressor and the victim and discern the prerequisites and components of the solution. We should not allow this explosive crisis to remain unsolved at a time when the Assembly has adopted numerous recommendations constituting a proper framework for the solution. Our real

responsibility now is to consider the Zionist intransigence and total disregard for the will of the international community. But it is only fair to the international community to say that one of the super-Powers, which has a special responsibility in maintaining international peace and security, is giving Israel unlimited support and encouragement which shelter Israel from an irate world.

80. The continued spontaneous use of the power of veto by the United States in the Security Council against any resolution relating to Israel, irrespective of its nature, impedes any genuine effort to carry out the will of the international community. The unlimited military and economic support given to Israel by the United States is tantamount to rewarding those who deserve to be punished. We believe that the responsibility of the United States and its historic role in the maintenance of world peace and security require it to correct its policies which are hostile to the Arabs and totally biased in favour of Israeli aggression. Its continued hostility towards the Arabs will undoubtedly be detrimental to the vital and basic interests of the American people and cannot fail to obstruct any potential stability in the Middle East.

81. It is the responsibility of us all to contribute to help the world Organization pass that serious test, through seeking practical ways to force Israel to respect the will of the international community and abide by its resolutions and through calling upon the United States to adopt a balanced policy making the interest of world peace supersede the interests of one of the parties to the dispute.

82. I pointed out previously that the elements of the solution to the Middle East crisis are not unknown and that the resolutions of the United Nations repeated annually cover every aspect of the solution—whether the aspects relating to the safeguarding of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination and to have a State of its own, or those relating to total withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories.

83. But knowing the elements of the solution is one thing, and reaching a solution is another. As is known, the road to this solution is fraught with obstacles hindering a genuine momentum towards the attainment of the solution. Those obstacles are raised by Israel together with its protector, the United States.

84. With the exception of the racist régime of South Africa, Israel is almost the only outlaw Member of the world Organization which ignores its resolutions and recommendations with an indifference unparalleled in the history of the Organization.

85. This unparalleled indifference on the part of Israel constitutes a charge against the United States, which encourages Israel to act in a manner entirely incompatible with its actual size by adopting policies which aim at anything but the restoration of peace and security in the Middle East. These policies are: first, its insistence on giving Israel total moral and material support despite the brutal Israeli expansionist policies whether in the occupied territories or against the neighbouring countries; secondly, its insistence on protecting Israel from the wrath of the international community every time the latter seeks to punish Israel for disregarding the resolutions of the world Organization, by its use of the power of veto against any resolutions seeking to impose sanctions against Israel; thirdly, its insistence on providing Israel's colonialist and coercive policies with enough support by always supporting Israel in all the resolutions at the United Nations con-

demning such policies, on the one hand, and by going beyond the stage of simple moral support to an organic relationship through the initiation of so-called strategic co-operation between the two countries, on the other; fourthly, its insistence on unilaterally opposing the PLO and blocking its participation in any negotiation to settle the Middle East crisis, despite the international community's unanimity in considering the Palestinian cause as the core of the Middle East crisis and the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

86. Everybody knows that without the United States Israel would never have dared to bite the hand of its benefactor, namely, the world Organization which contributed to its creation at the beginning. The world Organization has therefore to put things back in perspective and bring Israel back to its right size, through exerting pressure on the United States to cease supporting the Israeli policies; otherwise it will help to create the impression that it is collaborating with Israel in its expansionist policies and that any alleged peaceful effort made on behalf of restoring peace to the Middle East is nothing but a sham.

87. Last Saturday the United States outdid even itself in its strange and suspicious support to Israel and its open challenge to Arab feelings, when it abandoned the most elementary international norms and even its hypocritical leadership in the causes of human rights by extraditing an innocent Palestinian youth and delivering him to the Israeli gladiators, whose torture of thousands of Palestinian detainees in the occupied territories is well documented by the United Nations. What makes the matter more painful is that a super-Power such as the United States, with a history of a reputable system of justice, could stoop to such a low level for political reasons which smell of racial discrimination.

88. The United States authorities, by extraditing Ziad Abu Eain to the Israeli authorities after detaining him for two years in a jail in Chicago, did not only deviate from international norms, but also did not respect even the United States-Israeli extradition treaty on which its action was based. That treaty provides that extradition shall be granted only if the evidence be found sufficient to justify the accused's committal for trial. It also contains provisions dealing with exceptions relating to political offences.

89. However, while looking for a "probable cause" to justify the extradition, the United States District Court of Illinois refused the introduction of new evidence which would have permitted a challenge to the Israeli charges. The only witness in the case, whose confession against Abu Eain was obtained in a dubious manner—namely, by his signing a document written in Hebrew, which he does not know, after being detained for three weeks without seeing any attorney—has since twice repudiated this confession. Besides, Abu Eain was also able to submit 11 affidavits saying that he was in Ramallah during the whole day when the bombing took place in Tiberias, which is several hours away by car from Ramallah.

90. These developments made the well-known American attorney, Ramsey Clark, who once held the position of United States Attorney General, say that the confession in this case seemed dubious and that the new evidence should be introduced to support the "probable cause" issue.

91. What adds insult to injury is that when the Court refused to introduce the new evidence and Abu Eain's at-

torney switched his defence to the political offence issue, the United States Department of State sent its Assistant Legal Adviser to state before the Court that the crime with which Abu Eain was charged did not constitute a political offence but a common crime. And so in one stroke the State Department tried to disregard the long-standing struggle of the Palestinian people for the restoration of its rights and its land.

92. What raises suspicion and speculation about this infamous United States behaviour is that it came only a short time after a similar incident took place concerning an Irish youth by the name of John McMullen, who admitted his responsibility for a fatal bombing in Ireland and yet was allowed to stay in the United States, despite his confession, in view of the political nature of his deed.

93. The former well-known American Senator William Fulbright, who was Chairman of the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee, asked several years ago why it was that every time a matter relating to Israel was discussed, all procedures were turned upside down. If the conditions which the former Senator said several years ago prevailed in Congress were allowed to move into the sacred arena of the judicial system, as is the case here, then this would be recorded in the annals of history as a day of infamy for the American judicial system, which allowed itself to succumb to political pressure.

94. If there were any doubt that the United States committed this crime against Abu Eain because he is a Palestinian and is therefore an easy scapegoat for its quixotic and single-handed campaign against so-called international terrorism—and we all know what that term means in the mind of United States officials—then the comparison between the treatment accorded to the Irish youth, despite his confession, and the one accorded to the Palestinian youth, despite his innocence, should eliminate any shadow of doubt.

95. My delegation has read the Secretary-General's report on the situation in the Middle East [A/36/655] and believes that he was right in the conclusions he reached about the gravity of the situation in the Middle East.

96. Paragraph 33 of the Secretary-General's report accurately reflects the true situation which with all its complexities and ramifications continues to be of central concern to the entire international community, containing as it does an explosive potential of conflict endangering world peace. My delegation also agrees with the Secretary-General that the United Nations can do much to facilitate a settlement and that the Organization provides a universal forum which enables us to arrive at a settlement by peaceful means.

97. However, we must reiterate that the potential of the United Nations is still blocked by Israeli rejection and intransigence. It is the Organization's responsibility, therefore, to deal with that rejection and intransigence. We should rearrange our priorities in such a way as to maintain the Organization's role, its prestige and its reputation in its efforts to further world peace and to respond to the aspirations of mankind, objectives for which the Organization was created.

98. Mr. CORRÊA da COSTA (Brazil): As we are only too aware, the fundamental principles of the United Nations have been repeatedly transgressed this year in the Middle East. Israel has insisted on pursuing a strategy of pre-emptive attacks, posing new and serious threats to

world peace and security. The Organization cannot accept that the existence of an unsolved conflict justifies the use of force. It is therefore imperative to create without delay conditions propitious for the achievement of a comprehensive solution of the question of the Middle East.

99. Realistically, if the parties directly involved are truly convinced that they must face the challenge of finding a compromise that has any possibility of permanence, it should be clear to them by now that they must concentrate their efforts on the fundamentals and place problems in the broader context of their historical co-ordinates. In his statement at the opening of the general debate, the Foreign Minister of Brazil reaffirmed that the basic conditions for a lasting peace are:

“the complete withdrawal of occupation forces from all Arab territories; the exercise of the right of the Palestinian people to return to Palestine and recognition of their right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty; the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the peace negotiations; (and) the recognition of the right of all States in the region to live in peace within recognized borders.” [5th meeting, para. 42.]

100. The complete withdrawal of Israel from territories occupied in 1967 and the recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent State in their homeland constitute the only formula that would ensure the free exercise of the national rights of the Palestinian people and set in motion the process of arriving at a comprehensive settlement, which remains the responsibility of the United Nations. It is, therefore, incumbent upon this Organization to promote initiatives which will lay realistic bases for the achievement of that goal. Proposals exist, and they should not be left unanswered.

101. Brazil shares the prevailing conviction that there are no cogent reasons for persistently dodging the question of the establishment of a Palestinian State. Not only has the solution of this question become in itself increasingly urgent and necessary in recent years, but in the void created by the lack of a political settlement threats to world peace are multiplied. Because this is so we remain convinced that an overall peace will never be achieved by dealing with the issue of Palestine as if it were a secondary aspect of the Middle East question. We all know that the Palestine issue is at the core of the instability in the Middle East. The rights of the Palestinians include the right to self-determination, which cannot be considered as the right of local autonomy, as it has been defined by some. They have the right to set up a separate State, as contemplated by the partition resolutions, and we cannot accept the denial to the Palestinians of the elementary rights that other peoples freely enjoy as citizens of independent States.

102. In our times the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible and cannot be legitimized, whether in Palestine or elsewhere. The perpetuation of the Israeli presence in occupied Palestinian territory is a breach of international law and a recurring challenge to the United Nations. In fact, no action or initiative taken so far seems to have had any effect on Israel's accelerated drive to expand a network of settlements in occupied Arab territories on the West Bank. In this connection, we share the concern of the international community about measures taken by Israel in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, which entail changes in the demographic character of those lands, such changes being fraught with adverse con-

sequences for the future of the region. The confiscation of Arab land in occupied Palestinian territory is a serious obstacle to any initiative aimed at a lasting peace.

103. Furthermore, it is becoming idle to carp at the overwhelming international recognition of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. No workable formula for solving the Middle East problem can ignore the existence of the PLO as a political entity. Whatever the arguments, the PLO is the only entity representing Palestinian interests and capable of expressing Palestinian views on a permanent basis.

104. Another element in a durable peace is the right of all States in the region to live in peace within recognized borders. This principle applies unequivocally to the State of Israel and constitutes a pillar as fundamental to any definitive settlement as that of the creation of a Palestinian State.

105. We realize that this is a complex issue. But what is at stake is the possibility of preventing the conflict from growing ever wider as a result of frequent unilateral actions, whether in Tamuz or in Lebanon, that fan the fires of war in that troubled region.

106. The conditions for peace referred to by the Foreign Minister of Brazil in the general debate constitute a widely accepted basis for progress on this complex issue. The proposals recently advanced by Saudi Arabia bear in the same direction and are an important contribution to negotiations. Those proposals present substantial and positive points that deserve full consideration. Among other points, I wish to stress the paramount importance of ensuring freedom of worship for all the religious groups in the area. The success of these endeavours to achieve peace in the region is undoubtedly beyond the control of individual countries. It is therefore for the United Nations, and especially for some of its Members together, to ensure the implementation of the steps in the peace process.

107. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): The Middle East crisis is no nearer a solution today than when this body dealt with the same problem a year ago. That area continues to be ravaged by tension and strife, posing a threat to world peace and international security. This threat has become even more obvious and direct as a consequence of the events of the past year in that troubled part of the world. Tension in that region has been increasing. These developments have made the international community realize once again the danger posed by escalating the conflict, prolonging the confrontation and further delaying a solution of the problem. Nevertheless, as stated by the Secretary-General in his report to the Security Council in November of this year, “the situation regarding the Middle East as a whole continued to be potentially dangerous and was likely to remain so unless and until a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the Middle East problem could be reached”. [A/36/655, para. 31.] But in spite of all the genuine efforts by the United Nations and the world community, no progress has been achieved so far on the road to a just and lasting solution.

108. The main obstacle to a comprehensive settlement and the cause for the aggravation of the situation are the same as the root cause of the entire Middle East crisis for decades: Israel's policy and the support it enjoys from its well-known major ally.

109. As a consequence of the Israeli policy of aggression and expansion the Middle East region has become a hotbed of crisis and a focal point of international tension. During the past several decades Israel has occupied vast Arab territories, displaced and uprooted the majority of their Arab population and embarked upon a policy of annexation. This political course of the Israeli Government, characterized by provocations, oppression and expropriation by systematic measures aimed at deliberately changing the geographical character, demographic nature and legal status of the occupied areas with the objective of perpetuating the results of its aggression, flagrantly violates the norms of international law and code of conduct. Those endeavours, together with the most recent Israeli step aimed at annexation of the Golan Heights, openly contradict the generally accepted principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force.

110. The major victim of this policy and practice is the Arab people of Palestine. That people of long traditions has gone through untold sufferings and ordeals. Its problem is the core of the Middle East issue, and if it is not solved, no lasting settlement in the region is possible.

111. Parallel with its unlawful practices in the occupied Arab territories, Israel has created an atmosphere of instability and fear in the whole region. It has committed a series of unprovoked attacks and incursions against independent countries of the Middle East violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of several States Members of the United Nations. The numerous hostile actions and other steps of that kind during the past year have been repeated manifestations of Israel's bellicose policy.

112. The aggressive political course of Israel, based on the principle of "might makes right", challenges the world community and defies the relevant resolutions adopted by various United Nations organs. It directly threatens the peace and security of the States in the Middle East and constitutes a permanent danger to international peace and security as well.

113. At the same time, that very policy of the Tel Aviv Government runs counter to the vital interests of the Israeli people, for violations and the use or threat of force will lead nowhere. The secure frontiers and national security of Israel so often referred to by the Tel Aviv Government can never be achieved at the expense of, and denial of similar rights to, the other parties involved in the conflict.

114. It is only too obvious to everyone here that Israel could never have pursued its present policy of aggression without the multifaceted support of its major ally. Almost unconditional support for Israeli policy has for long been the common feature of consecutive United States Administrations, with the aim of thereby promoting their endeavours to consolidate United States influence in the strategically important region of the Middle East. The latest manifestations of these ambitions are the strategic co-operation alliance with Israel and the joint military exercises held in close co-operation with some countries of that area.

115. The Camp David accords were designed to cover up the real nature of those aspirations and to impose sham solutions of the long-standing problems of the Middle East crisis. Time has proved that separate deals based on a partial approach and aimed at preserving unilateral, egoistic interests of some of the parties involved cannot fundamentally change the situation, cannot eliminate the root

cause of the conflict and can never result in a just and lasting settlement of the crisis.

116. We are of the view—a view shared by the overwhelming majority of the nations—that a just and comprehensive settlement is long overdue and that there is a pressing need to take again the path of an honest collective quest for such a solution of the Middle East crisis. That is the reason why the Hungarian delegation wholeheartedly supports in this regard the initiative put forward by the Soviet Union which provides for the attainment of a peaceful settlement through the collective efforts of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, within the framework of a specially convened international conference. That conference would be a constructive alternative to any separate deals and partial agreements concluded behind the back of the Arab peoples.

117. The settlement to be formulated by the proposed international conference should be based on the principles enshrined in the relevant United Nations resolutions, namely: immediate, unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; recognition and exercise of the inalienable national and human rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and property, and to self-determination, including the right to establish an independent sovereign State of their own in Palestine; and ensuring that all States in the region, including Israel, live in peace and security within secure and internationally recognized boundaries.

118. We are firmly convinced that that is the only way to turn that hotbed of unending wars into a land of lasting peace and justice for all its peoples.

119. Mr. AL-MOSFIR (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like at the outset to express the anger of my delegation over the latest step taken by the United States of America in extraditing an Arab citizen, a national of an Arab sovereign State, to a third party, Israel, without basing itself on established fact, as stated by the representative of Kuwait, in spite of the promises made by United States ambassadors to officials in many Arab countries. In addition, the United States Government, at its highest level, promised the Arab ambassadors in Washington and some Arab leaders that the matter of Mr. Ziad Abu Eain would be considered by the courts and that there would be no injustice with respect to the rights of that citizen, who had been detained for two years. Today we are extremely surprised by the extradition of that Arab citizen to an enemy country, Israel.

120. Beginning my speech here, I should like to thank the Secretary-General for his report to the General Assembly on the item under discussion, entitled "The situation in the Middle East", in which he reviews briefly the developments in the Middle East region since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 35/207 on 16 December 1980. We would have liked the report to be more comprehensive concerning Israel's actions and practices in contravention of international custom and human rights as well as the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The report should also have contained details of the escalation of operations undertaken by Israel against southern Lebanon, the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon and the city of Beirut. It should also have covered Israel's violation of the airspace of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and its brutal aggression against the nuclear research installations in Iraq.

121. In discussing this item at previous sessions, the General Assembly always examined its numerous aspects, such as the right of the Palestinian people to return to its homeland and to establish its independent State, the situation in the occupied Arab territories and the repeated aggressions against southern Lebanon.

122. During the discussion of the item on the question of Palestine last week, the head of my delegation reviewed all the developments concerning the Palestinian cause, including Israeli action to confiscate Arab land, to establish settlements, to Judaize the Palestinian homeland in order to change the national character of the usurped Palestinian territories, in addition to the acts of repression, terrorism, expulsion, detention and torture of the Palestinian people under Israeli occupation, the blowing up of houses, violation of the Holy Places, the changes in the education system and the closing of Palestinian universities, institutes and schools.

123. There is no doubt that the Middle East problem is today one of the most important and most serious of international issues. A people—the Palestinian people—has been expelled from its homeland, and people brought in from other regions of the world have taken possession of its homeland, colonized it and created the State of Israel, which was provided with funds, weapons and political support and which has become a serious threat to international peace and security.

124. The Middle East region, with its cultural and spiritual prestige, financial potential and abundant natural resources, could have been a source of support for all peace-loving States aspiring to security and stability. It could have contributed to the welfare of mankind. But the implanting of that alien body, Israel, in the heart of that region and the resulting tragedy for the Palestinian people contributed to the draining of its resources and potential, thus preventing it from performing that humanitarian role.

125. Israel has waged four wars against the Arab nation, bringing the development process to a standstill and dispersing rural manpower in southern Lebanon, as well as on the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. Furthermore, Israel did not confine itself to that; its planes raided the territory of Iraq, hundreds of miles away, and destroyed the industrial development complex there. It threatens to destroy any development facilities built in the Arab world.

126. All those wars and raids against the innocent inhabitants in Lebanon and the camps of the Palestinian refugees were carried out with weapons made in the United States. The United States covertly and overtly provides Israel with the most modern weapons in its arsenal and gives it political support in the Security Council and in other organs of the United Nations. If it had not been for that United States support, Israel would never have been able to wage those wars against the Arab homeland.

127. Last week the United States concluded a strategic co-operation agreement with Israel. We view that agreement, in its secret as well as public clauses, as support Israel needs to increase its arsenal of destruction against the Arab people and their resources. The agreement raises Israel's military capability and stiffens its intransigence and defiance of United Nations resolutions and of the will of peoples. We denounce that agreement and consider the United States to be responsible for any consequences it may entail.

128. Peace in the Middle East requires a just and sincere solution to the Palestinian problem. The cause of the Palestinian people is a just cause, and its right to a homeland must be realized. That cause is the essence of the Middle East crisis. That solution will not be achieved without accepting the Palestinian people as a partner, represented by its sole legitimate representative, the PLO. The participation of the PLO is essential in any conference or undertaking whatsoever if it is to be successful.

129. With respect to the occupied territory of the Syrian Golan Heights and plains, we note the continual escalation of the arbitrary Zionist practices against the Arab citizens there by establishing new settlements for groups of people from abroad brought in to live in occupied Syrian territory. We denounce the Zionist actions aimed at changing the legal status and geographical or demographic character of the Syrian Golan Heights. In this respect, we note in particular the attempts made by the Zionist occupation authorities to compel Syrian citizens living under military occupation in the Golan Heights to renounce their Arab identity and accept Israeli citizenship, in violation of international norms and conventions, especially the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.² On this occasion, we cannot but pay a tribute to the struggle and heroic resistance of the Syrian citizens and their rejection of those Zionist activities.

130. Southern Lebanon is subjected daily and regularly to land and air raids by Israel, which result in the displacement of its people and the loss of their homes and fields. UNIFIL in that area has been witness to that brutal aggression. A number of soldiers of that Force were killed during Israeli raids against southern Lebanon.

131. On this occasion we cannot but express our sincere condolences to the families of those who were martyred for the sake of the maintenance of peace in southern Lebanon.

132. We call upon all peoples that cherish peace and justice to stand by the Lebanese, to help to preserve the territorial integrity of Lebanon and to deter the Zionist aggression. We also call upon all peoples to support the Palestinian people in its struggle for its freedom and self-determination and to return to its usurped homeland.

133. We call upon the American people, who liberated their own country from colonialism, to help the Palestinian people to liberate their country, Palestine, from the Zionist settler-colonialists and to exert pressure on their government to stop providing Israel with political, military and economic support.

134. We call upon the entire international community to denounce the Zionist aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples and to do its utmost to bring about the return of the Palestinian people to its land and the establishment of its own independent State.

135. Finally, I should like to affirm here that Israel, with the help of its allies, is making plans to carry out a new act of aggression against some Arab country. The acts of military provocation in the area, the violation of the airspace of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Lebanon, and the provocation and propaganda campaigns against the Syrian Arab Republic and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the secret war being waged against the

Palestinian leadership all suggest that aggression against an Arab country is now being planned.

136. In his report on the work of the Organization this year the Secretary-General reminds us that the situation in the Middle East contains "an explosive potential of conflict endangering world peace" [A/36/1, sect. IV]. We agree with the Secretary-General. We believe that the United Nations is capable of preventing an explosion of the situation by means of a solution that would ensure Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories, the return of the Palestinian people to its home, its legitimate right to establish its own State and its other inalienable rights and would end the aggression against Lebanese territory.

137. The United Arab Emirates is ready to participate in any endeavour to restore freedom to the Palestinian people, to return it to its home and to establish a sovereign State in its own territory.

138. Mr. EL-SOLH (Lebanon) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is an honour for me to speak on behalf of Lebanon in the debate on the situation in the Middle East and to express our thanks to the Secretariat and to the international Organization as a whole for their efforts to solve the crisis in the Middle East. The area has become a hotbed of tension and an arena for the struggle between Powers, small and large, which threatens international peace and security.

139. In connection with the Middle East crisis the role of the United Nations has been and remains the most important of all in the search for a just, comprehensive and permanent solution that will satisfy all parties and guarantee the right of the Palestinians to establish their own independent State in their territory and to recover their legitimate, inalienable and internationally acknowledged rights.

140. In spite of the efforts of the international Organization, Israel has persisted not only in obstructing the sincere efforts but also in creating new difficulties which reflect its policy and its expansionist ambitions. The most recent example of this is the decision announced today to enforce Israeli laws in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights, and to completely annex that area, as Israel did to Arab Jerusalem.

141. In the last few years Israel has persisted in its violation of the sovereignty and independence of Lebanon, a peaceful State that has respected the principles of the United Nations since the foundation of the Organization, which participated in the drafting of the Charter, and which has supported all the resolutions adopted by the international community. Lebanon, which has suffered much from the Israeli policy that has forced Palestinians into Lebanon and has been the target of repeated acts of aggression against the Lebanese people and Lebanese territory, finds itself faced with an increasing need for support from the international family and from the United Nations, which approved the partition of Palestine in 1947 but which has so far failed to solve the problem that has resulted from that partition.

142. In southern Lebanon UNIFIL, while playing a valiant role, has so far been unable to put an end to the direct and indirect Israeli aggression against Lebanese territory and the Lebanese people. Last summer Israeli warships and planes, which reach beyond the theatre of operations of UNIFIL, mercilessly and indiscriminately bombed peaceful civilian areas, leaving behind them hun-

dreds of innocent victims, including old men, women and children. Lebanon's tragedy is not confined to those casualties; it is further aggravated by the social conditions caused by the migration of hundreds of thousands of Lebanese from their villages and cities, in which until recently they led a peaceful life. Thus many Lebanese have become migrants in their own homeland, in their own territory, moving from one place to another in their suffering homeland to escape bombardment, fire and destruction.

143. Despite all this Israel claims to be the only State in the Middle East that plays a positive role in the efforts to achieve a just and comprehensive solution. Does Israel's positive attitude consist in its continuing violation of Lebanese, Iraqi, Jordanian and Saudi Arabian airspace, in its repeated attacks on Lebanese territories, in its attack on the Iraqi peaceful nuclear installations, in the annexation of Arab territories occupied by force, or in the destabilization of the States of the region one after the other?

144. Is it not time for Israel to realize that the solution of the Middle East crisis lies in its absolute compliance with the relevant United Nations resolutions and in the restitution of the occupied Arab territories so that the Palestinian people may establish their own independent State on their now occupied territory? Is it not time for Israel to realize that peace in the Middle East can be achieved only through the cessation of its threat to the security of the Arab States and the abandonment of its expansionist policies and its historical designs?

145. In this regard, we must declare that Lebanon, which has always awaited the solution of the Middle East issue so that an end may be put to the current no-war, no-peace situation, is incapable of bearing further fighting, displacement and destruction and of continuing to be the victim of the war of others. Therefore, Lebanon appeals today to the international community to take all the necessary measures to preserve its independence, its sovereignty, its territorial integrity and the security of its people. The continuance of the current no-war, no-peace situation will aggravate the problem and create an atmosphere fraught with tension and risk, because, despite the relation between the two issues, we in Lebanon cannot link the solution of our problem to the solution of the Middle East crisis. Any solution which does not take Lebanon as its starting point will only make the crisis in the Middle East more dangerous. The solution cannot be achieved by creating a new problem; such an approach is incompatible with common sense and the principles of right and justice. Any solution which is not based on a solution of the Lebanese problem will lead to the deterioration of the Middle East crisis and will threaten international peace.

146. Mr. SULAIMAN (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): For more than three decades the United Nations has been dealing with the Middle East situation, at times in the Security Council, and year after year in the Assembly. Numerous appropriate and suitable resolutions have been adopted in that regard, but they have yet to be implemented.

147. Today, as the Middle East crisis deteriorates and becomes more serious, it constitutes a constant threat to international peace and security. It is thus no wonder that it arouses the concern and commands attention of the international community.

148. In his report on the work of the Organization [A/36/1, sect. IV], the Secretary-General, in assessing the situation in the Middle East, reflects the growing concern and deep anxiety of the international community, which has always called for a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East crisis in order to achieve the desired permanent peace.

149. The position of Oman concerning the settlement of this crisis is well known and unmistakable. It is reflected in numerous United Nations resolutions and in the decisions of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned States. That firm position has already been expressed on many occasions, most recently in the statement by the head of the Oman delegation to the Assembly during the general debate, on 2 October, when he said:

“The claims of the leaders and officials of Israel are well known, even if they are sometimes disguised as peaceful solutions. In the past, some States believed in these Israeli claims. Then, ample evidence of the falseness of their declared desire for peace was given in the form of expansionist and aggressive Israeli policies and practices, Israel’s declaration of its annexation of the Holy City of Jerusalem and its consideration of that place as its eternal capital, as well as its efforts to change the city’s character and demography, and its oppressive policies directed against the Palestinian people and the creation of settlements on Palestinian and Arab lands.

“We have mentioned before, and we wish to repeat here, that there cannot be durable and just peace in the Middle East unless there is a complete withdrawal by Israel from all the occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and unless Israel restores the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Those rights have been affirmed through resolutions of the United Nations and the Islamic Conference, as well as by the non-aligned countries.” [24th meeting, paras. 173 and 174.]

150. No one can deny that Israel’s violation of the rights of the Palestinian people, its deliberate defiance of the will of the international community, international legitimacy and the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations are the only reasons for the continuing deterioration of the situation in the Middle East, for further bloodshed in that area and for the continuing threat there to international peace and security.

151. Israel still persists in the policy of occupation, the annexation of Arab territories by force and the establishment of illegal settlements in the occupied territories. This year Israel has added another dimension to its record of criminal acts by bombing densely populated towns and villages in Lebanon and the Iraqi nuclear reactor intended for peaceful purposes. Now, persisting in its disregard of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,² it is proceeding to dig a canal linking the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean. It continues its settler-colonialist policies and its plunder of the natural resources of the occupied territories, completely ignoring the consequences of the implementation of this project. Israel is also continuing its archaeological excavations, digging deeply around the Holy Mosque of Al-Quds Al-Sharif, undermining that holy edifice treasured by every Moslem, under the pretext of archaeological research.

152. In that regard, the delegation of my country cannot but denounce Israeli actions. By changing the physical character, demographic composition and institutional structure of the Holy City of Jerusalem, Israel denies the unique religious and spiritual dimension of the Holy City.

153. This morning we were informed by press agencies of a new Israeli defiance of the Assembly just while we were considering the situation in the Middle East. Israel timed its latest illegal action in the occupied Arab territories for this day, and the Israeli Cabinet put a draft resolution before the Knesset to apply Israeli laws in the occupied Golan Heights as an introduction to the area’s annexation by Israel. We cannot but condemn this new action, which is in contravention of all international conventions and principles, especially the Geneva Convention.

154. Faced with these evil practices and the continued premeditated aggression, we have a right to wonder whether it is not high time to stop seeking to resolve the Middle East question by waiting for time to render it obsolete. How long will the Palestinian people remain a people of refugees and a victim of conflicts and the desire of parties to outdo each other, which only benefit Israel?

155. In this respect my delegation would like to express its full support for the principles for the solution of the Middle East problem expressed in the declaration by His Royal Highness Prince Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz, the Crown Prince of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.³ Those principles, drawn up on the basis of the just principles approved by the United Nations more than once, are also based on dealing with reality from a position of strength supported by right. My delegation believes that those principles can be a source of inspiration in preparing a resolution to be adopted by the Security Council as a framework for a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East issue.

156. But Israel, with its well-known rigidity and arrogance, refuses all peaceful endeavours and declares anew its intention to establish new settlements as a response to any step towards peace. In view of that, and with the intensification of terrorism in the form of the blowing up of houses, the annexation of territories and the repression of defenceless citizens, the international community is today called upon more than ever to concentrate on continuous and firm efforts to solve the crisis in the Middle East by enabling the Palestinian people to exercise its inalienable national rights to return to its homeland and to self-determination, including the establishment of its own State on its territory after the complete withdrawal of the occupying forces from all the Arab territories and from the Holy City of Jerusalem. In our view, these are the essential elements of a solution aimed at establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

157. Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): This debate on the situation in the Middle East has again highlighted the legitimate desire of peoples to see resolute action taken to do away with focal points of tension, to maintain their freedom and independence and to guarantee and strengthen international peace and security. At the same time, the debate reflects the deep disquiet caused by the persistence of conflicts and war in various parts of the world and by the worsening of the international situation as a result of the unbridled arms race and of tendencies to consolidate and share out spheres of influence and of domination.

158. The present conditions of international life, so complex and contradictory, call for the States of the international community to make efforts to speed up the settlement of disputes and do away with hotbeds of war through negotiations.

159. Consequently, Romania is in favour of the exclusion, once and for all, of force and the threat of force in international relations and is in favour of the implementation of the principle of the settlement of conflicts between States solely by political means and by negotiations between the interested parties, and of respect for the right of each people to develop independently. The conflict in the Middle East can be no exception, particularly in the light of experience which has shown military means to be invalid in resolving the problems of this sorely tried region.

160. It is in this spirit that Romania and its President are in favour of a peaceful settlement to the conflict in the Middle East, through negotiations, for achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace, based on Israel's total withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, including Arab Jerusalem; on the settlement of the problem of the Palestinian people by acknowledgement of its legitimate rights, including its right to self-determination and the establishment of its own independent State; and on the assurance of the independence and sovereignty of all the States in the area.

161. More than ever, the Middle East is proving to be an area of great instability, one of the main sources of danger to international peace and security and co-operation. The consolidating and sharing out of spheres of influence in order to control areas of strategic interest, increasing the stockpiling of weapons and the fact that fundamental problems are still without solution and that obstacles still remain in the way of a peaceful settlement give a new dimension to the conflict.

162. The consequences of events in the Middle East show that real peace and security cannot be brought about by force, with disregard for international legality and the denial of the right of other peoples to a free and independent existence. On the contrary, the facts show strongly that force and war, far from contributing to a solution to the problems, merely make a dangerous situation even more complicated and sow the seeds of fresh and even more deadly armed conflicts.

163. The perpetuation of the Israeli occupation of the Arab and Palestinian territories, the proliferation of illegal measures in those territories, including those which concern Jerusalem, the refusal to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to an independent existence, Israel's military actions against Lebanon and the air attack against the Iraqi nuclear facilities are acts which have given rise to many debates at the United Nations and which have been firmly disapproved of and condemned by the international community. Such acts merely increase instability, maintain a dangerous hotbed of conflict and exacerbate tension, with serious consequences for peace and security in the region and throughout the world.

164. The very serious tension which persists in the Middle East means that all States must act with the highest responsibility so that the situation be settled through negotiations and so that a just and lasting peace be established among all peoples and States of the region. Fully aware of the responsibility incumbent upon every country for the future of peace, the Romanian head of State and the Government of our country have acted consistently to

contribute to the realization of this high-minded aim, the vital importance of which for present and long-term interests of all peoples of the Middle East and for the cause of world peace and security requires no further proof.

165. From the beginning of the 1967 war, Romania has clearly expressed its deep conviction, reaffirmed many times since then, that a viable response to the problems confronting the States and peoples of the Middle East can be found only in a political settlement conforming to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which really meets the fundamental and legitimate interests of all States and peoples of the region and which would promote détente, peace, and international security and co-operation. Such a settlement is the only way to establish a peace enabling all the peoples of the region to devote their efforts, talents and resources to the consolidation of their national independence and their economic and social revival.

Mr. M'rani Zentar (Morocco), Vice-President, took the Chair.

166. We believe it is in the interests of all peoples and all countries to act with more resolution in order to give new impetus to the peace process and to bring about a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. To postpone indefinitely a political solution to the conflict—as the tragic experience of the region has amply shown—merely further complicates and aggravates the situation. We also feel that decisive steps must be taken without delay to bring about the necessary conditions for genuine negotiations among all the parties concerned. For that to happen, there must be an end to all action which raises obstacles to a settlement, to the policy of force against the Palestinian population and the neighbouring Arab States, to the establishment of new settlements in the occupied territories and to all illegal Israeli acts and measures in those territories.

167. As has been repeatedly stressed in the Romanian statements, on the basis of the principle of the inadmissibility of the occupation of territories by force, the realization of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East must be based on the withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied following the 1967 war, including Arab Jerusalem.

168. The acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible under the Charter and the generally recognized norms of international law, and all territories occupied in this way must be handed back to the peoples to whom they rightfully belong. This is precisely the case with the territories occupied by Israel since 1967. The resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council which laid down the fundamental principles of a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East and the ways and means of achieving it further set out the clear obligation of Israel to withdraw from all the Arab territories it occupies.

169. Any arbitrary act aimed at changing the status of those territories constitutes a flagrant violation of the norms of international law and of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and would merely further increase tension in that part of the world and raise new obstacles to a comprehensive political settlement of the Middle East conflict.

170. At the same time, Romania considers, as we stressed in the recent debate on the question of Palestine, that the linchpin of such a peace lies in the solution of the

Palestinian problem and in the creation of the conditions needed to allow the Palestinian people to attain as soon as possible its natural aspirations to live in peace and tranquillity in its own independent State. Without a solution to the problem of the Palestinian people, on the basis of its right to self-determination, including the right to establish a national independent State, it will not be possible to bring about genuine peace in the region. In the light of these considerations and pursuant to the principle of the settlement of disputes by the parties concerned, we are convinced that broad participation on the part of the PLO in the international efforts to solve the problem of the Palestinian people would have a positive effect on all action taken to bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

171. Finally, we consider that a settlement consistent with the interests and legitimate aspirations of all the States and peoples concerned presupposes guarantees for the independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty of every State in the region. That would make it possible to establish relations of co-operation, confidence and mutual respect among all States and peoples of the region.

172. As is known, Romania has spared no effort; it has worked relentlessly, and continues to do so, for the settlement of the conflict by political means and by negotiations, and for the achievement of comprehensive peace in the Middle East. Romania's positions and actions are part of the overall effort to bring about peace in the Middle East, which, among other things, has led to a number of proposals aimed at a political settlement of the conflict.

173. Giving expression to my country's continuing concern for international peace and security, President Nicolae Ceaușescu recently stressed that "Romania has stated and resolutely states that it is in favour of the convening of an international conference with the participation of all countries concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people".

174. It is our view that what is called for now is the intensification of diplomatic and political activities and efforts, including those in the United Nations, to give fresh impetus to the peace process in the Middle East, thus taking advantage of the present favourable conditions to build a new negotiating framework. Romania has proposed in this regard that the General Assembly state its firm support for effective measures capable of ensuring lasting peace in the Middle East and conducive to the convening of an international conference under the auspices and with the active participation of the United Nations, in which all interested countries would take part, together with the PLO, the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as other States which could make a positive contribution to the comprehensive settlement of the situation in that part of the world and to the solution of the Palestinian problem.

175. It is our firm conviction that the United Nations can and must play an even more active part in efforts to resolve the Middle East conflict and in the settlement of areas of conflict and tension. The adoption of a resolution providing for the convening of an international conference to achieve a comprehensive settlement and a just and lasting peace in that sorely tried region of the world would fully meet the hopes and expectations of the peoples of the region and of all peoples to be able to live in a climate of peace and calm, of security and of co-operation.

176. For its part, Romania has decided that it will in the future also do everything it can to make its contribution to a just and lasting solution to the problems of the Middle East, to the establishment of a comprehensive peace in the region and to the consolidation of international peace, security and co-operation.

177. Mr. SHELDON (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The General Assembly is again considering the situation in the Middle East, which continues to be one of the hottest and constantly bleeding regions of our planet. All the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council aimed at settling the problem of the Middle East and ending aggressive actions by Israel are cynically being flouted by the Tel Aviv authorities and remain unimplemented. The Arab people of Palestine, which has been suffering for decades, continues to suffer.

178. The gathering clouds over the Middle East have brought this region to a very dangerous pass, and the tense situation in the region is fraught with serious consequences for international peace and security.

179. At the present time the noticeable worsening of the international situation because of the adventurist actions of imperialism and reaction, which are out to undermine détente and which oppose the freedom and security of peoples, is having a negative impact on the Middle East as well. Israel's perpetration, with the actual encouragement of the United States, of the barbaric strikes against Lebanon, the piratical attack against Iraq by the Israeli Air Force, the brazen threats against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Syrian Arab Republic, the increasing colonization of the seized Arab territories and the hastily arranged military alliance with the United States and the latter's increasing military presence in the region—all are manifestations of the growing aggressiveness of the policy of imperialism and zionism in the region.

180. The tragedy of the Middle East is a clear illustration of the growing dangers threatening the freedom of peoples, the independence of States, peace and international security. The neo-colonialist scheming of American imperialism and its protégés in the Middle East make it necessary to strengthen the solidarity of all patriotic forces in the Arab world and their anti-imperialist struggle and to activate international support for the just aspirations of the Arab peoples.

181. What is going on right now in the Middle East is a stark reminder to the entire world that the time is overdue to settle the Middle East conflict as a whole and solve its key problem, namely, to ensure the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

182. One can sometimes hear that a peaceful settlement in the Middle East is allegedly being hindered by the "rivalry of the two super-Powers". This much trumpeted notion of "rivalry" is but a cover for what is happening. Actually, one Power—the United States of America—would like to squeeze this region in its fist. It is trying to impose its will on independent States and to frighten them. It is trying to infiltrate the region with its armed forces and is showing its muscles. An additional testimony to that is the military manoeuvres recently organized by the United States which took place in the region. The primary target of its interventionist rapid deployment forces is precisely the Middle East, which the United States, with cynical scorn for the sovereign rights of the peoples of the region, has proclaimed a sphere of its vital

interests. This Power, it seems, treats the natural wealth of the Middle East as if that wealth lay somewhere underground in Texas or California.

183. With regard to the position of the Soviet State, it was clearly and precisely laid down by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, who stated:

“We do not feel that we have any right to the natural resources of the Middle East countries. We do not present ourselves as the self-proclaimed guardians of those countries. We want only one thing: a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We wish to have good relations with all countries in the region. This goes both for those with whom we already have friendship and mutual understanding and for those with whom our relations have not been completely settled or are as yet non-existent.”

184. The approach of the socialist community to Middle East problems is determined by the sole desire for justice and lasting peace, and not to infringe the rights of a single people or a single country of that region.

185. The achievement of a comprehensive political settlement in the Middle East should include the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied by Israel in 1967 and the exercise of the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including its right to create its own independent State under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine.

186. The sorry Camp David accords—no matter how they have been praised by some, including praise from this rostrum—have only aggravated the explosive nature of the situation in the region and have made the possibility of achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East more remote. These accords contradict the fundamental interests of the Arab countries and peoples. They seek to split their ranks and to consolidate Israeli colonization of the occupied Arab territories; they are being used by the United States to strengthen its military presence in the region. Negotiations within the framework of the separate Camp David accords on so-called Palestinian autonomy are a usurpation of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and an attempt to deprive that people of the opportunity to decide its fate on its own. Everything the United States plans to carry out with the assistance of the Camp David deal is intended above all to strengthen its military presence in the Middle East and further to militarize that region, where too many weapons have already been accumulated. These goals and only these goals are served by the agreement reached between Washington and Tel Aviv on “strategic co-operation”.

187. If one takes a careful look at that agreement, one can easily see that it is one more step towards the formation of an American-Israeli military alliance. It is significant that this alliance was born out of the notorious Camp David process, which they tried to advertise as the beginning of an era of peace and prosperity in the Middle East. Now this promised peace has been turned into an increased United States military presence in the region and a further growth of Tel Aviv's aggressiveness. The new steps by the United States and Israel are also evidence of a significant expansion in the scale of imperialist interference in the affairs of Arab States and that United States

imperialism, in the name of its selfish interests in the Middle East, intends to make even more active use of the Israeli military. It is clear that the threat to peace and security in the region can only continue to grow.

188. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR has supported in the past and supports at this session all General Assembly resolutions condemning Israel's aggressive actions, the efforts of Israel to consolidate its hold on the seized Arab territories, any action by Israel to establish Israeli settlements on those lands, changing the status of Jerusalem, defiling the Arab historic, religious and cultural monuments and acts of terror against the Palestinians and their leaders. All this must be considered an outright violation of international law, including the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.² It is also a serious obstacle to the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

189. We call for an end to the aggressive actions of Israel and its hirelings against the people of Lebanon and for guarantees of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that Arab State. We support the strengthening of the legitimate authority of the Lebanese Government over all the territory of its country and observance of the legitimate interests of the Palestinian resistance movement in Lebanon.

190. The Byelorussian SSR, like other countries in the socialist community, attaches great importance and significance to the contribution of the Arab peoples to ensuring lasting peace in the Middle East. The countries concerned—primarily the Arab countries—rightly wish to make every effort to work out agreements which can bring peace and tranquillity to the Middle East. How and where can all these efforts best be united? Where can we find the common denominator which can only be genuine peace in that region? It is our firm conviction that the answer to this question is to be found in the Soviet proposal to convene an international conference to work out a comprehensive Middle East settlement, with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO.

191. The fight for a comprehensive, just, political settlement of the situation in the Middle East and the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine is in our view an organic component part of the efforts to eliminate the threat of war, to maintain and strengthen international détente and to give support to the peoples who are defending their national independence, freedom and social progress.

192. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): The crisis in the Middle East has been a cause of concern to the international community for some time now, since that region is one of the most sensitive centres in the world. The situation there, brought about by Israel's acts of aggression, continues to poison the international climate and defy efforts to make it healthier. The complex and conflicting interests of the various countries and the explosive nature of the situation in the Middle East constitute a serious threat to international peace and security.

193. Political experience has shown that in order to do away with this hotbed of tension, the most critical in the world, it is imperative to put an end to the Israeli occupation of all the Arab territories seized in 1967, to enable the Arab people of Palestine to exercise their inalienable rights, including the right to establish their own indepen-

dent State, and to guarantee the security and independence of all States in the region. These are the principles on which the People's Republic of Bulgaria bases itself in its evaluation of and approach to the Middle East problem.

194. In recent years Israeli militarism has constantly added to its already long list of crimes against peace and security. In this respect we need mention only the many occasions on which the world Organization and its principal organs have had to discuss these issues. Nevertheless, the scope of Israel's acts of aggression is becoming broader, the effect of which is to increase the danger to peace throughout the world. The attack on the nuclear facility near the capital of Iraq is only one of many examples in this regard. At the same time, the brutal interference in the internal affairs of Lebanon is continuing, while oppression of the population in the occupied territories is increasing. The arrogance of the aggressor, drunk with power, becomes increasingly threatening, particularly because of its nuclear capability in the establishment of which close co-operation with the racist régime of South Africa has played its part.

195. The policy of "divide to rule" and of declaring whole regions "spheres of vital interest", together with the unrestrained increase in military supplies to that part of the world, the manoeuvres of the rapid deployment force and the strengthening of the American presence in the region, including the setting up of new bases, have proved once and for all that the reactionary forces of imperialism disregard without a scruple the interests of the peoples and States of the Middle East and do not in the least desire an equitable settlement of the conflict.

196. This policy of ensuring American supremacy in the region has been made manifest once again of late with the signing of a memorandum of agreement on strategic co-operation between the United States and Israel, under the pretext of a so-called Soviet threat. This agreement shows clearly that imperialism intends to make ever more active use of Israeli militarism to safeguard its interests in the Middle East. The aggressor, for its part, relies on the support of its powerful protector in order to pursue its expansion and perpetuate its occupation of Arab territories, which once again proves the anti-Arab nature of the Israeli-American alliance.

197. Interference in the internal affairs of Egypt and of its neighbours is intensifying, while emergency measures are being instituted in the eastern Mediterranean and pressure is being brought to bear on Libya and the threats to its security are multiplying. The United States is adopting measures to create what are called multinational forces for the Sinai, which without a doubt introduces a fresh negative anti-Arab element into the situation in this region.

198. This political line, far from eliminating tension from the Middle East, is making it worse and is increasing the danger to the peace and security of all the peoples and countries in the region, without exception, including Israel itself.

199. That being so, the urgent need for a constructive alternative in this tense situation is more than obvious: constructive, frank and comprehensive dialogue likely to eliminate the last vestiges of Israeli aggression and of the Camp David policy, and to guarantee the rights of the Arab people of Palestine. The proposal made by the Soviet Union for convening an international conference on the Middle East is one constructive and suitable alter-

native. The great merit of the Soviet proposal lies in the fact that it provides for a settlement of the whole of the problem by collective effort, a settlement that would not be to the advantage of some and to the detriment of others, but would rather be in the interests of all. The participation proposed is a guarantee of this. The Arab States bordering on Israel and Israel itself would be included, as well as the PLO participating on an equal footing. Under this proposal, besides the Soviet Union and the United States, other States representing regions close to the Middle East such as Western Europe, North Africa and South Asia could take part in the conference. Such broadly representative participation would tend to guarantee a mutually acceptable solution to controversial problems.

200. Of course, the conference could be successful only through frank, democratic and comprehensive dialogue. Without doubt this would lead to progress in the search for an equitable settlement to the Middle East situation which would guarantee the security and independence of all the States of the region, which would be an important step towards the stabilization and strengthening of world peace.

201. Clearly, the only ones who would not accept such an approach to the problem are those who are hatching aggressive plots in their own selfish interests.

202. My country is a sincere advocate of such an approach, which would effectively ensure a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. That concern is a practical expression of our peaceful foreign policy, a policy of selfless support for national liberation movements which the People's Republic of Bulgaria pursues as a socialist country. Its interest in this regard derives also from the fact that it is geographically close to the region.

203. Without a doubt, the efforts made by the international community, including those made within the framework of the world Organization, aimed at opening frank and comprehensive negotiations on the controversial problems, are an important factor in ensuring victory for political wisdom and the principle of justice.

204. A final and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem would undoubtedly make for a healthier international situation and be a valuable contribution to the strengthening of peace and security throughout the world.

205. Mr. PIRACHA (Pakistan): The General Assembly considers the conflict in the Middle East year after year, for that conflict constitutes the greatest danger to regional and international peace and security. And yet, year after year we find that the situation has deteriorated still further. As correctly described by the Secretary-General in his annual report on the work of the Organization, "The situation in the Middle East with all its complexities and ramifications continues to be of central concern to the entire international community, containing as it does an explosive potential of conflict endangering world peace". [See A/36/1, sect. IV.]

206. In contemptuous defiance of the elementary norms of international conduct and in flagrant disregard of world opinion, Israel continues to pursue with impunity its ambitions for a greater Israel. New settlements continue to be established. Old ones in the occupied territories continue to be expanded. A policy of creeping annexation is systematically pursued to change the demographic, historical and cultural features of the ancient land of Palestine,

which has been the cradle of a distinct culture and civilization for countless centuries. A reign of terror has been let loose against the Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories, involving arbitrary arrests and expulsions, the harassment of innocent people, acts of terrorism, the sequestration of property and the demolition of homes. There are frequent acts of sacrilege of places venerated by Moslems.

207. The past year has seen a new and more ominous escalation of this Israeli policy. There is blatant aggression against neighbouring Arab States. Lebanon is today the primary focus of this wanton attention. The bombardment of Beirut last July alone resulted in the death of hundreds of innocent civilians, including women and children. Palestinian refugee camps have become a daily target of Israeli terrorism practised as a conscious act of State policy.

208. These acts of terrorism are not only confined to Israel's immediate neighbours, but extend as far as Israeli aircraft can reach. Last June, the peaceful nuclear installations of Iraq near Baghdad were bombed and destroyed. Not very long ago, Saudi Arabian airspace was violated; this was followed by an official statement from Israel that in view of Saudi plans to buy advanced military equipment from the United States, "Israel will treat the Saudis exactly as it treats every confrontation State".

209. It was reported today that the Syrian territory of the Golan Heights occupied by Israel in 1967 has been annexed illegally by Israel and that Israeli law and jurisdiction have been extended to it. We condemn this action as a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, and we regard it as totally null and void. It is a development with grim portents for the peace and security of the region and betrays Israel's true intentions when it talks of a Middle East settlement.

210. In the manner of a bully, Israel declares that it, and it alone, has the right to do what it pleases, to attack whomsoever it wants, to destroy whatever it desires and that it is not answerable for its actions at the bar of world opinion. The profound concern of the international community over Israel's arrogance and defiance of international law has been expressed time and again. The records of the United Nations are replete with numerous resolutions of condemnation of Israel, both by the Security Council and by the General Assembly. Two emergency special sessions of the General Assembly have been convened to consider the Palestine question and the Middle East conflict. The Organization of the Islamic Conference, the non-aligned movement and almost all countries have pronounced themselves in clear and unambiguous terms on this situation. But Israel continues on its path of aggrandizement. A most sinister feature of Israeli aggression is the occupation of the Holy City of Jerusalem and the Zionist actions aimed at destroying the historical and spiritual character of the Holy City, whose unique position was preserved with such reverence and devotion during 13 centuries of Muslim rule. Israeli actions to alter the status and character of the Holy City have stirred deep indignation throughout the Islamic world and profound concern in the international community. The Security Council, in several resolutions, has strongly censured these actions and has declared them to be totally invalid.

211. If Israel is so impervious to the collective will of the world community, it is obvious that admonitions will not help. The Security Council, as the organ of the

United Nations charged with safeguarding peace, must fulfil its responsibility by taking firm and decisive action under the Charter provisions. Those who have encouraged Israeli intransigence and nourished its lawlessness bear the heavier responsibility in this regard.

212. The elements of a just and peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict remain immutable. A just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without ensuring the complete withdrawal of all Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the exercise by the people of Palestine of their inalienable national rights, including the right to establish a sovereign State of their own in their homeland. It is also recognized that there can be no Middle East settlement without the full and equal participation of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

213. Partial and one-sided strategies for a settlement or any agreements which exclude the PLO from the peace process cannot bring about a just and durable peace. Nor can such an approach be a substitute for the decisions of the United Nations contained in its resolutions, notably in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). We repeat that only a comprehensive plan which has as its goal the complete restitution of the inalienable and fundamental national rights of the Palestinian people can restore peace in the Middle East.

214. We salute the Palestinian people for struggling relentlessly for the restitution of their just rights. They have made great sacrifices, and their indomitable courage will surely bring them victory. Those who struggle for justice and freedom always triumph. That is the lesson of history, more particularly of contemporary history.

215. We in Pakistan have rendered whatever support we could, and shall continue to do so, to the Palestinian and Arab peoples until final victory is achieved. This resolve of ours stems from our commitment to the ideals of peace, freedom and justice and from our deep devotion to Islamic causes. In the historic final communiqué, adopted at the Third Islamic Summit Conference of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, held at Mecca-Taif from 25 to 28 January 1981 [see A/36/138, annex IV], the Islamic nations committed themselves to liberating the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories and the Holy Places and to restoring the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, as recognized by international law and the United Nations resolutions. Not until that objective is achieved will there be peace in the Middle East. Until then, the spectre of a wider conflict will continue to haunt the world.

216. Mr. WYZNER (Poland): This is not the first time that the General Assembly has been faced with the dangerous trends in the development of the situation in the Middle East. Its grave implications for international peace and security have been unequivocally underlined in this Hall many times throughout the years. The overwhelming majority of statements have reflected a genuine, deep concern and sincere efforts to reduce tensions in the region.

217. Amongst those there has always been the voice of Poland, a country vitally interested in the consolidation of peace and the strengthening of international security, a country presenting a firm and consistent position on the situation in the Middle East. Our stance on this issue derives from the fundamental premises of Poland's foreign policy. It stems from our concern for our future and that

of the world. It flows from our involvement in efforts to find solutions to acute political problems and to reduce and extinguish hotbeds of tension.

218. For years now we have been pointing out that a settlement which would bring lasting security and peace to all States and peoples of the region can be reached only through a comprehensive and just solution in which the key issue is the question of ensuring independent statehood for the Arab people of Palestine. In his statement during the general debate at the current session, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic said, "Until such time as this issue is made an integral part of a comprehensive rather than a separatist formula, attempts to ease tensions in this region will remain fruitless". [11th meeting, para. 139.]

219. Indeed, the development of the situation in the Middle East unfortunately does not encourage us to cherish hopes for a speedy restoration of peace to that vital region of the world. Israel's aggressive acts are reflected, *inter alia*, in brutal interference in the internal affairs of Lebanon and attacks on its population, provocations against Syria, ignoring the rights of the Palestinian people and the bombing by the Israeli Air Force of the Iraqi nuclear centre near Baghdad in June of this year, and those are but a few examples of that dangerous trend. Poland has strongly condemned all forms of Israeli aggression against the Arab countries and has voted accordingly on General Assembly resolutions dealing with those matters.

220. For years the Israeli authorities' policy of adventurism has made it impossible to find a lasting and just solution to the Middle East crisis, a solution responding also to the vital interests of the Israeli nation itself. In the light of the illegal acts committed by Israeli authorities, it is clearly evident that there are forces which count on escalation of tension in the region and continue their efforts to block the settlement of this conflict that has lasted for more than 30 years. Those forces are responsible for the heightened tension. They saturate the area with sophisticated armaments. The situation in the Middle East continues to cast a long, ominous shadow over international relations.

221. Tension in the Middle East persists, threatening a confrontation on a much larger scale. It might prove to be the pilot-flame of a wider conflagration, with disastrous consequences which are difficult to foresee.

222. It is obvious, however, that the dangerous steps taken by Israel can only diminish the security in the region and make the prospects for a settlement yet more distant. All peace efforts taken after the Arab-Israeli war of 1973 have so far been of no avail because of the total negation and neglect of the heart of the Middle East conflict. The first necessity is the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories, including Arab Jerusalem. Observance of the principle of the inadmissibility of the occupation of foreign territory by force, and hence the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the territories which it has occupied by force, is a matter of principle which cannot and will not be short-changed by a piecemeal or separatist approach. The second necessity is the achievement of a just solution of the problem of Palestine on the basis of the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

223. There is only one way to establish lasting peace in the Middle East, and that is by searching for a comprehensive, overall settlement on a realistic basis. A return to

this global formula is today more necessary than ever before. At the same time, let me emphasize that in the negotiations on the Middle East peace settlement all interested Arab States should participate, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the two great Powers and interested European States. We fully support the Soviet proposal concerning this matter.

224. Such are the prerequisites for a just settlement in the Middle East. This position of my delegation and of other socialist States is shared, we believe, by a decisive majority of the members of the international community.

225. The difficulties and obstacles notwithstanding, we are determined to work actively towards achieving the goal of restoring peace in the sensitive area of the Middle East. It has always been with that in mind that we have made our contribution to the common cause by concrete action. For eight years now, since October 1973, Poland has taken a direct part in United Nations peace-keeping operations. Only recently we reacted positively to the Secretary-General's request for the extension of our participation in UNDOF for another six months. Polish soldiers have been serving with distinction and dedication under the United Nations flag. They selflessly carry out their responsible mission, thus giving yet one more proof of our strong commitment to the cause of strengthening peace and security in the world.

226. Mr. SUJA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): In the joint communiqué of the meeting of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the member States of the Warsaw Pact dated 2 December this year, it was stated that in the recent past: "There has been a further worsening of the international climate and an increase in the military threat and the threat to the freedom and independence of peoples as a result of the intensification of the imperialist policy of force". In our opinion, that is an accurate characterization of the present international situation and is fully applicable to the situation in the Middle East, which is one of the most serious hotbeds of international tension, threatening international peace and security.

227. It is precisely now, when there is feverish activity on the part of the opponents of international détente and when the United States is proclaiming the Middle East and the Near East to be one of its most important spheres of vital interest, that attention should be drawn to the fact that it is in that region that four armed conflicts have recently taken place which brought the world, in varying degrees, to the very brink of a global catastrophe. The present situation in the Middle East grows worse every day in line with the increase in Israeli aggressiveness and the appearance and implementation of new doctrines of imperialism. Whether the talk is of the doctrine of muscle-flexing, of strategic consensus or of declaring various regions of the world spheres of vital interest, the purpose and essence of those statements are purely and simply to arrogate exclusively to itself the right to control the natural wealth of and approaches to the Middle East and the Persian Gulf and at the same time secure its own military presence in that conflict-ridden strategic region of the world. Therefore, using the obsolete Camp David accords and the slogan of strategic partnership, that Power has embarked upon the course of strengthening its own military presence from Suez to the Persian Gulf, counting on the fact that by exacerbating the hotbed of tension in the Middle East and alleging a so-called Soviet threat it can strengthen its military bases in order to dominate that region.

228. The agreement signed recently in Washington between the United States and Israel on the so-called strategic partnership is just a legalization of the establishment of a new military alliance. Moreover, it is an alliance between countries whose aggressive policy is fraught with a serious danger to world peace. There is no doubt that Israel possesses all the attributes of a reliable strategic ally of its overseas partner. The aggressive policy of Israel, which continues illegally to occupy the Arab territories and to pursue a policy of gradual annexation, is the main reason for the continuing existence of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is precisely Israel that for several decades now has ignored the inalienable rights of several generations of the Arab people of Palestine, including that people's right to self-determination and to establish its own State. It is Israel that, using all the means available to it, is suppressing the resistance of the Palestinian population, systematically exerting political, economic, moral and physical pressure and continuing to establish and expand its militarized settlements in the occupied Arab territories.

229. There has been an escalation of aggressive Israeli raids against Lebanon, a sovereign State Member of the Organization. Those raids have reached the scale of an undeclared war, in particular after the conclusion of the Camp David accords. In those attacks Israel has used the most sophisticated American weapons. All this is proof of the actual long-term character of that alliance.

230. This policy of expansion and annexation in the Middle East is fully in keeping with Washington's new global strategy, which is intended to upset the established military balance in the world. Within the framework of that policy comes the establishment of the rapid deployment force, which is prepared to undertake direct military intervention at any moment in that sensitive part of the planet.

231. These elements are trying to disguise their ambitions by equating terrorism with the legitimate struggles of peoples for national liberation. The propagandistic allegations of terrorism seem particularly cynical with regard to the Middle East and the Near East, where it is precisely imperialism that is giving material and military support to the forces of terror. New confirmation of this fact was provided by the Israeli air attack against the Iraqi nuclear reactor, which showed that the ruling circles of Israel have elevated such behaviour to the level of State policy. That arbitrary act is only too obvious a reminder of the well-known first-strike concept, and surely the opposite side of the coin is found in the attack by United States fighter aircraft on two Libyan aircraft in Libyan airspace in August of this year.

232. It is obvious that the complete liquidation of the hotbed of tension in the Middle East, the achievement of a genuine and comprehensive settlement and the establishment of a just and lasting peace are not component parts of the policy being carried out by the imperialist and militarist circles of the West. Furthermore, underlying that policy is a gamble on the continuing expansion of Tel Aviv and the gradual capitulation of the Arab countries. The fact that these forces cannot crush the just struggle of the Arab peoples defending their rights and interests testifies to the futility of the attempts falsely to label the Camp David agreements a peaceful settlement.

233. A large part of the international community today clearly realizes that the policy of separate negotiations cannot lead to a genuine settlement. Given the background of the developments in the Middle East, it is now

clearer than ever that these anti-Arab deals are illegal because they have been concluded without the participation of the Arab people of Palestine; they have been carried out behind their backs by by-passing their legitimate representative, the PLO. Separate negotiations have ended up in a blind alley because they have ignored the legitimate right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent State and have been carried out under the cover of so-called autonomy in an attempt to maintain the Israeli occupation of Arab territories.

234. The establishment of the so-called multinational force in the Sinai Peninsula next April is a continuation of the separatist Camp David settlement. The presence of United States forces, which are to replace the Israeli occupiers, will just be a new source of tension in the region. The real nature of that force cannot be improved by including contingents from other countries, including Western Europe, upon whose deployment the Pentagon is in fact counting.

235. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always stood on the side of the just struggle of the Arab people, and our position of principle is not subject to momentary, passing fluctuations. Ours has been a traditional anti-imperialist alliance with the just national liberation movement of the Arab peoples. This position was once again confirmed in the joint statement adopted at the end of the official friendly visit by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustáv Husák, to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in September of this year. In that joint statement they said:

"The parties decisively rejected the Camp David agreements, which constitute an element in the plot by imperialism, zionism and reaction against the people of the Arab countries, in particular the Palestinian people, and condemned all these agreements and the consequences resulting from them. The high leaders confirmed the solidarity of their countries with the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestine people. They stated that the only possible way to a just and lasting peace in the Arab world is through the liberation of all occupied Arab territories and the guarantee of the legitimate rights of the Arab people, including their right to return to their homeland, to self-determination and to establish their own independent State."

236. Czechoslovakia fully supports the view that it is high time to proceed to a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the situation in the Middle East. Therefore we for our part fully support the proposal of the Soviet Union to convene an international conference with the participation of all interested parties, a proposal made at the twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We are convinced that that initiative offers a constructive means of achieving precisely that type of a settlement.

237. Mr. AL-ALI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Throughout the past three decades the Middle East area has experienced dangerous and bloody events that have turned it into one of the most serious hotbeds of tension and crisis in the world, whereas for several centuries it had enjoyed stability and tranquillity and was a true source of progress for civilization. The Zionist gangs and their racist, expansionist, Fascist régime were able to oc-

cupy all the territory of Palestine and to expel the majority of Palestinians from their homes and their fatherland. These gangs have subjected the indigenous inhabitants who stayed in the occupied lands to all sorts of terrorism, torture, murder and discrimination. They have occupied land belonging to three other Arab countries—Egypt, Jordan and Syria—through perfidy and cunning, deceiving public opinion, waging aggressive wars, exploiting the unlimited support they continuously receive from the colonialist States, foremost among them the United States of America, and using all these activities to achieve their expansionist, aggressive designs against the Arab countries.

238. In order to perpetuate that occupation, the Zionist authorities hastened to establish settlements in various parts of the occupied Arab territories after expelling the Arab inhabitants of those areas, demolishing their homes and murdering or imprisoning for long periods all those who opposed their designs. Israel's illegal occupation of the Arab and Palestinian territories, which has lasted for more than 30 years now, and its refusal to withdraw from those territories in any circumstances are the essential components of what is called the problem of the Middle East. Menachem Begin, in a speech last year in answer to President Jimmy Carter, said, "We are determined to go on building settlements, and we shall maintain the annexation of the West Bank. It would be absurd to claim that this is not the policy of the Israeli Government." Yitzhak Shamir, the Foreign Minister of the Zionist entity, says in an interview this week with the German magazine *Der Spiegel* that it is not possible to establish a Palestinian State in the territories now occupied by Israel, nor will it be possible to do so in the future, because the Palestinians have a homeland—by which he means Jordan.

239. The resolution adopted by the Knesset declaring Jerusalem the united and eternal capital of Israel is another example of Israel's violation of international law and legitimacy. This morning, we learned through news agency reports and radio broadcasts that the Zionist entity had decided to apply its local laws to the Golan Heights in occupied Syria and to the Syrian citizens living in that area. That declaration is a decisive step on the path to the annexation of that Arab area by Israel. Iraq, deploring this new act of aggression, calls upon the international community to take immediate and effective action to deter Israel from implementing its new conspiracy and force it to rescind its latest measures in regard to the Arab Golan. That conduct proves that Israel rejects the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and will continue to oppose it. In those circumstances the United States is clearly increasing Israel's military potential by supplying it with the most sophisticated arms and military hardware, without getting anything in return. It has thus transformed that entity into an arsenal of terrifying American weapons in order to maintain the entity's supremacy over the Arabs, thereby encouraging it to accelerate its aggression against the Arab countries. Israel has therefore continued to violate Lebanese sovereignty. Its aircraft have savagely bombarded Lebanon's largest cities, including Beirut, causing great material damage and the death of many peaceful civilians. The Zionist entity has carried out aggression against Lebanon's vital services and installations. For example, the main bridges over the waterways of the country have been destroyed.

240. There has been another grave event in the Middle East region: the aerial attack by the Zionist entity on 7 June 1981 on the Iraqi nuclear research centre. That bom-

bardment caused considerable material damage and loss of human life. This brutal action by Israel gave rise to wide-scale international reaction and was violently condemned.

241. It is obvious today that the founders of the Zionist entity in Palestine drew up, from the very outset, plans for their occupation of Palestine with the idea in mind of possessing nuclear weapons as a means of blackmail against the Arab nation and in order to carry out their designs for expansion into the Arab territories, creating "Greater Israel" from the Nile to the Euphrates and extending Zionist hegemony over the entire region, as well as preventing the Arab people from advancing, like other peoples, towards well-being and economic prosperity.

242. The Zionist entity, from the moment it was established in Palestine in 1948, was taken under the wing of American and colonialist circles, which viewed it as an advanced aggressive base for their aims of hegemony and influence in the Arab homeland. Hence, they provided the Zionist entity with broad economic, military and political support which made possible the building up of an arsenal of modern weapons and encouraged the Zionist entity to engage in repeated acts of aggression against the Arab nation. The United States has constantly taken care to maintain its alliance with the Zionist entity along the path that entity has followed—a path of aggression and expansion. That alliance recently culminated in the conclusion of a strategic agreement, dated 30 November 1981. The agreement must be regarded as a specific development in the alignment of the United States with Israel and a legal commitment by the United States to continue to support Israel in its policy of occupation of the Arab territories and the city of Jerusalem and plunder of the national rights of the Palestinian people. It also helps Israel to intensify its policy of aggression. It will, furthermore, cause a postponement in the search for a just peace in the Middle East, transforming the region into a hotbed of international rivalries. It will do very great damage to the vital interests of the Arab nation and to international peace and security.

243. By this action the United States reveals the falseness of its previous claims that it desired a peaceful and just solution of the problem, just as it reveals the despicable role played by the United States in complicating the situation in the Middle East by placing itself in a situation of confrontation with the Arab States and showing hostility towards them. The attempts made in recent months by Alexander Haig, Secretary of State of the United States, to convince some Arab countries of the existence of an imaginary danger other than the Zionist danger—one which would require abandoning the struggle with Israel, and even perhaps co-operating with it—failed miserably because the Arabs see no other enemy and no other danger to themselves and to their future security, independence and sovereignty than Israel and its allies, headed by the United States.

244. If we admit that the Zionist occupation authorities have the force today to engage in acts of aggression and to attack and occupy the territory of others, must we admit also that they have the right to use that force against the peoples of the region? We think that Israel, with its repeated acts of aggression, is a threat to peace and security in the Middle East and other regions of the world. Hence, the international Organization has the obligation to discharge its duty by forcing the Zionist entity to withdraw, without any prior conditions, from all the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and to recognize the in-

alienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to return to its lands and property and its right to self-determination and the establishment of its independent State on its own soil. Only in that way can the United Nations meet the just desires of the international community

245. The situation in the Middle East still represents a flagrant challenge to the international community and a major test of the credibility of the United Nations and its ability to maintain international peace and security and to ensure the effectiveness of international law. Israel's disregard of the Charter and of the principles of the United Nations and international norms and laws, including the Geneva Convention² and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, whose twentieth anniversary we are now marking, as well as its resistance to all the resolutions adopted by the international Organization and its principal committees and its intransigence in persisting in its arbitrary and expansionist policy in the occupied Arab territories, have serious repercussions on and implications for the attempts to find a just solution to the problems of Palestine and the Middle East.

246. Establishing Israeli settlements and changing the legal, demographic and geographic character of the occupied Arab territories, annexing part of the occupied Arab territories and effacing their cultural and religious character, forcing the Arab population to emigrate from the occupied territories, plundering the wealth and natural resources, dominating the economic activities, diverting the underground water in order to drive out the indigenous inhabitants and to replace them with foreigners, closing institutes and universities, persecuting and arresting students and teachers, as in the case of the Bir Zeit University—all these actions have created an atmosphere of tension in the occupied Arab territories. The Arab population has been compelled to resist those oppressive measures in defence of their legitimate rights, recognized by all international laws and conventions.

247. It is not realistic to assume that the legitimate owners will abandon the struggle for the recovery of their rights. The Palestinian people provides the best proof of this. Despite more than 30 years of the Fascist and racist policy of Israel, and despite terrorism, murder and arrests, the patience and steadfastness of that people in resisting and struggling to recover its rights are confirmed every day. That is why we so greatly admire that people and the able leaders of the PLO.

248. The continuous tension and the bloody events in the occupied Arab territories give us the clearest proof of the failure of the international policy followed in the Middle East, which has enabled Israel to persist in violating the international will. We must refer here to the United States policy on the Middle East problem and the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is a prejudiced policy, always to the advantage of Israel, which the United States supports all the time at the expense of the Arabs and their legitimate rights. Israel is always supported and helped in all military and financial fields by the United States. That entity is always helped in all international activities and forums and is protected from the sanctions that would otherwise be imposed by the Security Council. All the matters that I have mentioned enable that entity to continue to occupy the Arab lands and to reject all the solutions aimed at a just solution of the problem.

249. The Arab nation does not see in the Camp David accords or in the agreements stemming from them any-

thing but a recognition of the Zionist entity and of the legitimacy of its occupation of the Palestinian and Arab territories in return for the recovery of part of the land of Sinai, which is demilitarized. All these agreements, which have a separate character, can in no way represent a just solution to the problem; rather, they further complicate the situation in the area. We did not exaggerate when we said in previous debates on the two agenda items concerning Palestine and the Middle East that those agreements were bound to fail because they did not meet the aspirations and the will of the Arab nations and did not restore Arab rights or Arab land to its legitimate owners. The Camp David accords were aimed at destroying the unity and solidarity of the Arabs and imposing a colonialist settlement on the Arab nation. They have undoubtedly created a tense situation in the area, the aim being to give Israel more freedom to increase its aggression and to expand. The results have included the brutal attack on Lebanon and the unbridled ability of the Zionist entity to take Fascist and racist action against the Palestinians and their refugee camps in Lebanon. In addition, Israel has extended its aggressive operations against other Arab countries, as we have seen in the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear centre and the violation of the airspace of certain Arab States, thus violating their sovereignty and endangering peace and security in the area. Recently we have seen the application of the Zionist racist laws in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights.

250. After the conclusion of one phase of the Camp David accords, the Zionist entity moved its aggressive practices, causing still more tension in the area and prejudicing its interests by taking part in the conflict between Iraq and Iran. It concluded with Iran an agreement to provide it with military hardware, with the aim of prolonging the war and encouraging the Iranian régime to persist in it, without ever listening to the voice of reason, without accepting the mediation offered by the non-aligned movement, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the special representative of the Secretary-General. That military collaboration of Iran with the Zionist entity has been officially confirmed. In an interview with Ted Koppel of ABC television, held after an Argentinian aircraft crashed on Soviet territory with a shipment of weapons from Tel Aviv to Teheran, the then President of Iran, Bani-Sadr, said that he had refused to deal with Israel and that in official meetings the Iranians, instead of concerning themselves with that, should have agreed with Iraq to establish peace. He added that he had failed in his efforts because of the clergy's fear that if there were peace with Iraq the Iranian army would overthrow them.

251. Other official Iranian sources have also confirmed that military collaboration, for on 25 November Mr. Rafsanjani, the head of the advisory council in Iran, said that his country had acquired military hardware and weapons from the Zionist entity. He justified that by claiming that the value of the weapons was equivalent to a previous loan that Israel had to repay to Iran. There was further confirmation of this co-operation in what Mr. Hassan Nazih, the first president of the Iranian oil company, appointed by Khomeini, told *Ad-Dastour*, a magazine published in London, that Khomeini had sent one of his relatives to London in February 1980 to investigate, with an agent of the Zionist entity, the possibility of acquiring military hardware from Tel Aviv. Mr. Fatimi, one of the aides closest to Khomeini, mentioned that Iran had paid large sums to Israel in order to break the international embargo which had been imposed on Iran.

252. According to many Israeli sources, Israel helped Iran in its war against Iraq, especially after it became clear that Iraq was winning. Mordechai Tsibori declared during the first months of the war that Israel was ready to provide military assistance to Iran, that in fact the Iranian navy was equipped with Israeli missiles of the Imperial type and Israel was able to provide Iran with other significant military assistance. General Mordechai Gur commented on the rapid retreat of Iran in the face of the steadfastness of the Iraqi army, saying that Israel could help Iran in its ordeal with military and technical assistance. Yitzhak Shamir, the Israeli Foreign Minister, and Moshe Arens, the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee in the Knesset, invited the United States to intervene to prevent Iraq from achieving decisive victory in the war.

253. Co-operation between the two régimes of Iran and Israel continued and developed until it reached the form of agreement that provided for the continuance of Israeli technical, military, and other assistance. In November issues of a United States newspaper published in Chicago and of the British newspaper *The Observer* it was reported that Iran received military equipment, arms and spare parts from Israel from the very first days of the war in September 1980. These supplies reached Iran through a third party, the Netherlands, and Dutch ships carrying the supplies would deliver their consignments to three main ports, that is, Chahbar, Bandar Abbas and Bushire. The Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* published an article which said that, according to information gathered from official sources in Israel, Israeli exports to Iran were worth \$40 million by the beginning of 1981. As for the newspaper *Ma'ariv*, which is published in Israel, it indicated that weapons had been sent to Iran during the month of February 1980 and that there was a third party, which was European, involved in that process.

254. It is natural that the Israeli authorities should have been so secretive about this relationship before the Argentinian aircraft crashed in Soviet territory in order not to embarrass Khomeini, especially since he pretends to be hostile to Israel.

255. When an ABC correspondent contacted a responsible Zionist official, who refused to give his name, to ask him about the volume of co-operation, the Zionist official's answer was that it was better not to discuss that matter in public. Despite that, the correspondent, Bill Seamans, said in an interview that he did not doubt for a single moment the truth of the information concerning the Iranian-Israeli co-operation.

256. An expert in Israeli affairs, Mr. Orivate, said that Israel considers Iraq to be the most serious threat to it, and that is why they support Khomeini.

257. International zionism and the Zionist entity are not the only forces that have tried, with the support of international imperialism, to extend their aggression at the expense of Arab rights. Iran, under its successive Governments, has the same goal. Despite the fact that Iraq sincerely welcomed the new régime in Iran, that régime's intentions were hostile and it deliberately tried to bring about a serious crisis between the two countries, following which it unleashed an aggressive war against Iraq on 4 September 1980.

258. The Iranian régime has often claimed that it is an ally of the Arab revolution and is in solidarity with the struggle for the liberation of Palestine. This is nothing but

slogans. How can it be true while Iran is carrying out acts of aggression, creating problems, interfering in the internal affairs of an Arab State and occupying Arab territories and islands? How can its claims be true while it collaborates militarily with the Zionist entity? It was the scandal of this collaboration that revealed the great difference between the claims of the Iranian rulers and their real conduct, which is devoid of any values or principles. In fact, there is not a single piece of evidence that proves the serious intention of the Iranian régime to establish proper relations and a true alliance with the Arabs and to stand by them in the cause of Palestine.

259. We have read the report of the Secretary-General [A/36/655] submitted in accordance with General Assembly resolution 35/207, in paragraph 9 of which the Secretary-General is requested to

“report to the Security Council periodically on the development of the situation and to submit to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session a report covering the developments in the Middle East in all their aspects”.

We wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the efforts he made in compiling that report. However, although the report contained an account of the events in the area, we should have liked it to be more comprehensive and to review in more detail the development of the situation and the aggressive practices of the Zionist entity in all their aspects.

260. The United Nations has adopted many resolutions calling for the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab and Palestinian occupied territories, including the city of Jerusalem, the abolition of all the illegal measures adopted by the Zionist entity to change the historical, demographic and Arab character of those territories and for the restoration of the inalienable national rights and the fundamental human rights of the Palestinian people. The resolutions have specifically recognized the right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland and have repeatedly condemned the terrorist practices and policies of the Zionist entity in the occupied Arab territories and its attempts to annex them to form a “Greater Israel”, as well as its attempts to impose its colonial domination over the Palestinian people. But Israel, in spite of these resolutions, has persisted in rejecting the solutions of the United Nations and in defying the judgement of the international community.

261. The international community should not allow an arrogant and intransigent State to continue its challenge and to obstruct all the avenues to a just and lasting solution of the conflict in the Middle East. The United Nations must take up this flagrant challenge by the racist Zionist régime and compel it to comply with its resolutions, in order to achieve its primary aim—that is, to establish a lasting and just peace in the region and to ensure the prevalence of peace throughout the world.

262. Before concluding, I wish to deplore and protest strongly the terrorist action of the American authorities two days ago in extraditing a Palestinian youth, Ziad Abu Eain, who had been detained in Chicago for two years, to the enemies of his people, the Zionists in the occupied territories, in contravention of all international norms and laws, as a result of a false allegation which has no basis in law. This criminal act of the American Administration will be added to a record already full of criminal actions

and conspiracies against the Arab nation and the people of Palestine in particular.

263. Mr. OULD HAMODY (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Never since its inception has the Organization had to discuss more extensively any other issue than that of the Middle East. It goes without saying that, contrary to the strange arguments of Israel, the blame cannot be laid at the door of the victim.

264. It is clear that the Arab peoples did not ask the trusteeship Power at the time to establish a foreign settlement by bringing together hundreds of thousands of persons in the name of a doubtful right.

265. It is also clear that the Arab peoples did not ask for the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of their brothers to make way for victims of pogroms and other atrocities, which we censure but for which we have no responsibility and which can hardly justify the atrocities and crimes of every kind committed against innocent Arab populations.

266. It is even more obvious that no Arab country asked for the persistent refusal of Palestinian rights, even less for innumerable acts of aggression and the occupation of its lands. More than any other forum, the Assembly has heard and lived through Israel's unceasing aggression in the Middle East. Since its establishment by a conditional resolution of the United Nations, Israel has practised artfully every known form of terrorism, aggression, expansionism and fraudulent manipulation of international public opinion by blackmail and lies. But public opinion, thanks to the sustained resistance of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, and also because of the emergence on the international scene of previously dominated people, is becoming increasingly aware of the tragic truth of the Middle East situation.

267. The curtain is raised and raised high. The tragedy of the Middle East did not come about because of the wish of the victims of anti-Semitism to find a refuge in order to live in peace. It was born of a European colonial philosophy of the last century pointlessly to dispose of lands, people and resources of colonial territories because "their backward peoples cannot look after their own affairs". But thanks to the patriotic struggle in Palestine, the Zionist dream could be achieved only in part, at the tail end of traditional colonization. Thus, what we are living through in Palestine is the vicissitudes of outdated colonization, which would not like to claim that title but whose face cannot be hidden with all the guile in the world.

268. The year that is drawing to a close will have been very rich again in examples showing that this tragedy of decolonization, because of the economic and emotional weight of the Middle East, holds immense dangers for the entire world. This year again we have seen greater forms of repression against the Palestinian population in the occupied lands. Nothing has been spared us, from the closing of universities and the suspension of newspapers to the assassination of young and innocent victims and other acts of terrorism. The brutal and pointless bombing of populous quarters of Beirut recalls to us all that if the practices and pretexts of nazism still exist, they are to be found in Israel. Another development on which the international community could not look impassively was the bombing of the Tamuz plant for the use of atomic power, which gave rise to an instructive discussion a few weeks ago in this same Hall. This year has also been marked by

repeated violations of Saudi Arabian airspace, threats against the Syrian Arab Republic and the outrageous claim to regulate the public life of the entire region by land, sea and air. This pretentious idea is all the more visible in the Israeli plans to dig a canal between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean and in the systematic excavations profaning and endangering the holy places of the Moslem and Christian faiths.

269. The list is undoubtedly long, but now today this determination is strikingly illustrated by the news we have just had concerning the decision, ratified this very day by the Knesset, to annex the Syrian Golan, under the disguise of applying Israeli laws in the occupied Syrian territory. My Government condemns this act of piracy and appeals to the Assembly and the Security Council to condemn this new episode in the deliberate escalation of Israeli action in the Middle East.

270. There is nothing really new in the Israeli attitude. There is only the deliberate will to trivialize the problems, to make the Organization become used to *faits accomplis*. All this finds its source in the persistent will to obliterate from our memories the word "Palestine", which is the cornerstone and the deep-seated reason for the Israeli-Arab conflict.

271. Israel, which has indeed accustomed us to its disdain for the decisions of the Organization, today wishes to dictate humiliating conditions to European Powers, whose only crime is their timid recognition of the Palestinian reality. This overweening arrogance has its roots in the extreme sensitivity of a country for which peace has never been the goal and whose strategy has always used confrontation as the only real and permanent factor.

272. This year too has been marked by the announcement of a strategic alliance between Israel and the United States. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mauritania said in the general debate:

"The Islamic Republic of Mauritania sincerely hopes that the United States, which in spite of everything must remain a friend of the Arab world, will not take this stance, which has unpredictable consequences and which is in any event not in keeping with the many interests of a great nation which takes on world-wide responsibilities." [33rd meeting, para. 63.]

We reiterate that position and we hope to see it realized.

273. However, and despite Israel, the Middle East is still the Middle East. In this context the Arab peoples continue to refuse any peace based exclusively on the enemy's terms and unanimously reject the Camp David agreements because they leave out the essential fact of the Israeli-Arab conflict: the question of Palestine. More particularly, the Palestinians are demonstrating, within and outside the occupied lands, that their people is united under the sole banner of the PLO.

274. The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania today as always reiterates its country's position on the problem of the Middle East. First, no power in the world can impose on the Middle East a foreign presence which does not respect its cultural values, its ancient heritage, its dignity and the rights of its peoples to liberty. Secondly, there will be no definitive peace without the total and unconditional withdrawal of the forces of occupation from all Palestinian lands and other occupied territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem. Thirdly,

there will be no comprehensive peace in the Middle East without meeting the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people with regard to the establishment of its own sovereign State on the land of its ancestors. Those are a few principles underlying our assessment of the Middle East situation and of a possible solution to such a sensitive issue in a region so close and dear to our hearts and as vital today for the peace of the world as it has been in the past for its progress.

275. The United Nations, which to our mind remains essential for world-wide understanding, peace and justice, will have to continue considering the question with lucidity, patience and firmness. We must not give in to Israel's manoeuvres designed to wear us down and have its *faits accomplis* accepted, make light of its crimes against the rights of peoples, tire out the universal conscience and burden it with guilt. More than ever the United Nations should multiply all the instruments of investigation in order to make sure that world public opinion is informed on all the aspects, avowed or covert, of Israeli practices against the people of Palestine and other Arab peoples and, consequently, against the stability of the Middle East and the peace of the world.

276. The General Assembly must repeat its condemnations made previously and add to them if necessary, thus showing our refusal to accept or even simply to tolerate a policy based on racism, denial of human rights and the rights of peoples and scornful defiance towards international agreements.

Mr. Kam (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.

277. Mr. M'RANI ZENTAR (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): A few days ago the General Assembly was studying the Palestinian problem, which for decades now has been one of the problems of greatest concern to the international community. Today the Assembly is taking up the problem of the Middle East. In fact, this is one and the same question, one and the same situation, the situation caused by the injustice done by Israel to the Palestinian people and also the dramatic consequences which that has for the stability, peace and security of the Arab countries and for all the countries in the entire region.

278. Since the end of the British Mandate for Palestine in 1948 the strategists of Zionism have methodically planned the unrelenting process which was to lead them by successive stages, illustrated by periodic wars of aggression, to achieve one day their ultimate goal, that of "Greater Israel", to the detriment of the Palestinian people, who were the first to be driven from their homes, and also to the detriment of the other Arab peoples whose international frontiers were for Israel nothing more than provisional lines which the Zionist State felt it had a right to modify unilaterally according to the needs of the moment, needs which are renewed again and again.

279. Sometimes the lines which Israel dreamed of were intended to restore the historic limits of the State, which as everyone must know ran from the Nile to the Euphrates, encompassing a large number of territories located "in the very heart of Jewish history". Sometimes these limits were dictated by the so-called security needs of Israel and to come up with supposedly defensible natural frontiers, whether they were the Suez Canal, the banks of the river Jordan, the Golan Heights or Lebanese territory; but each new acquisition of territory by force implied a reorganization of the so-called defensive system, until there were no limits to the voracious appetite of Israel.

280. The time has now come when it has been adequately demonstrated that the State supposedly threatened by its neighbours which had sworn to destroy it is indeed the true threat to the security and survival of those same neighbours, which are confronted by the frightening military machine that Israel is constantly improving.

281. In only the past year the international community has several times had striking proof of the improper, excessive and unjustified use by Israel of its lavish military machinery to attack its neighbours without justification and in all sorts of circumstances. We have witnessed the unprovoked attack on the peaceful Iraqi nuclear installation near Baghdad, which was condemned unanimously by the Security Council not only because it was aggression against an innocent country, but also because it did serious damage to the credibility of the international system of control over the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. We have also seen with very great concern increasingly flagrant Israeli acts of provocation against the Syrian armed forces, particularly in the skies over Lebanon or in the positions they hold in Lebanon as part of the Arab peace-keeping force. Those are provocations whose consequences could be extremely grave, given the present precarious balance in the region.

282. The bloody attacks against the populated areas of Lebanon and the populous neighbourhoods of Beirut have given rise to a justified world movement of serious criticism and unreserved condemnation of such inhuman and irresponsible behaviour towards the people of a peaceful country which has several times already been harmed physically, materially and psychologically. I should like to reaffirm here my country's solidarity with the Lebanese people in their struggle for unity, territorial integrity and respect for their national sovereignty and all the rights deriving therefrom, in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations and with international law.

283. Moreover, on the subject of Lebanon, the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in November, unanimously adopted a very relevant resolution⁴ the sincere implementation of which, together with the efforts of all the Lebanese people themselves, will certainly make it possible for that people to achieve its legitimate goals in its national territory.

284. In Palestine and in the other occupied Arab territories the Israeli military authorities are continuing their oppressive, arbitrary action against the people, in particular the young people, whose schools and universities are often closed by authoritarian administrative measures, while students are arrested or expelled on the most ridiculous charges. Many houses have been blown up by the Israeli army in the course of measures of blind collective reprisal such as were the custom in Europe during the reign of nazism and fascism.

285. In administrative terms, Israel has developed ruthlessly its policy of outright Judaization of Jerusalem and the occupied Arab territories through the application of arbitrary measures intended to modify the economic, political and demographic structures of the territories by the forcible transfer of populations and the concomitant establishment of armed Jewish settlements in the midst of Arab territory. As a striking example of this permanent policy of conquest of the territory of others and its illegal annexation, today we have learned that Israel has for all practical purposes annexed the Syrian Golan Heights under cover of a law that will extend the Israeli judicial system, administration and legislation to that area. Such

behaviour, which has already been seen in the Holy City of Jerusalem, the first kiblah of the Moslems, is a shameful act of provocation against the most profound feelings of the Arabs and of the entire Islamic community.

286. At the historic Third Islamic Summit Conference of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, held at Mecca-Taif in January, the Islamic community reacted by reaffirming its commitment to the Palestinian people, until its just cause triumphs for the liberation of Jerusalem and the other occupied Arab territories. Furthermore, the Organization of the Islamic Conference reaffirmed its determination to work for a just peace in the Middle East, for harmony among peoples, respect for human rights and the establishment of international relations based on noble principles free of the use of force and of any kind of oppression, exploitation or infringement of the dignity of the human being.

287. In the Arab context, the Arab Summit Conference held at Fez at the invitation of His Majesty King Hassan II studied the situation in the Middle East in the light of the important developments in the present crisis. The Saudi plan, known as the Fahd plan,³ is one of the best contributions to peace which we have been offered in the recent past, and it particularly occupied the attention of the participants in the first phase of this Arab Summit Conference. This plan, which in reality is addressed to the entire world, has proved that the Arab countries, through their history and civilization, are capable of making the most positive and most appropriate contributions to the peace and well-being of mankind. At the second stage of the Arab Summit Conference at Fez it will be possible, we are sure, to adopt appropriate specific measures which can be immediately implemented.

288. In the mean time, Israel has tried to involve the international community in a labyrinth of truncated plans, which at most offer a probable Palestinian autonomy under political conditions which are unacceptable to the responsible, emancipated Palestinian people, which for decades has been carrying out an admirable struggle under the guidance of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative, to re-establish its inalienable right to create an independent State in Palestine, including the Arab city of Jerusalem.

289. There can be no solution to the Middle East problem without a solution to the Palestinian problem, and there can be no solution to the Palestinian problem without the effective participation of the PLO in the negotiations to re-establish peace in the entire region.

290. The international community, which today admits this obvious fact and which has reaffirmed it in many resolutions adopted by ever larger majorities, must take all concrete measures necessary to implement such a clearly and solemnly expressed determination. That is the fervent wish of my delegation.

291. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with the provisions of resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974, I call now on the observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

292. Mr. EL-HOUT (Palestine Liberation Organization) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Fourteen years ago, the so-called Middle East crisis was not among the concerns of the world, nor was it among the problems before the international Organization. The single concern and the only

problem in the Middle East region was the question of Palestine.

293. If the alien intruding entity had not been imposed by oppression, terrorism and usurpation to destroy the Palestinian homeland and to disperse its people and deprive them of all their human and national rights, the successive wars would not have occurred and the Middle East would not have had a crisis.

294. Since the emergence of the question of Palestine, we, along with many peoples and Governments around the world, have been warning what the dangerous consequences of the situation could be if a solution is not found in accordance with the rules of right and justice. Unfortunately, all those warnings failed to elicit the required response. The situation has deteriorated and the war has taken on such proportions in the area that today we have before us two questions instead of one. The first has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for over 30 years, the second for 14.

295. We wonder whether it is useful again today to warn that if the question of Palestine is not resolved, the question of the Middle East will not be resolved either, and in that case, we should expect a further deterioration of the situation which would bring us face to face with a third crisis that would certainly reach beyond the borders of the Middle East. Signs of that deterioration loom over the horizon already, foretelling ominous events; thus, no one will have any excuse if a volcano erupts, drowning all in a flow of blood and fire.

296. First and most worrying among those warning signs is the persistence of the State of the Zionist entity in its colonial expansionist policies, its terrorist practices against the people of Palestine and its refusal to withdraw from the occupied territories heedless of world public opinion. What is happening today in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is adequate evidence of that.

297. The second sign is the continued aggression against Lebanon, its people, the Palestinians who have been forced to take up residence in Lebanon and other Arab States. The Zionists' greed to expropriate additional Arab lands and water and their desire to impose hegemony over the Arab States are the two major reasons for the suffering of fraternal Lebanon as a country and as a people. Representatives should not be taken in by the crocodile tears shed by the head of the Israeli delegation when he speaks about Lebanon while his Government swallows another piece of that country every day.

298. The third warning sign is the Zionist attempt to Judaize the Golan Heights, as a preliminary step towards annexing it to Israel. That happened with Jerusalem and with the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. All this confirms that Israel has entirely renounced any recourse to political action and refused to withdraw from the territories it occupies by force of arms. The Government of Israel has spared me the effort of providing any proof of this with the step it took two days ago, during this session, as if to tell us all that the Organization and its resolutions are worthless. This is really the height of arrogance, indifference and lack of respect for international will.

299. The fourth sign is Israel's insistence on preventing the Arab States from making any progress in the development of their economic, cultural and scientific capabilities. That attitude took concrete form in the bombing of the nuclear reactor in Baghdad. What is worse still

is the pretext Israel used to attempt to justify its crime: the obvious Zionist pretext that Israel must not let the Arabs make progress, for their progress threatens its security. It is not at all far-fetched to imagine Israel tomorrow bombing children's schools in our Arab countries on the pretext that literacy would awaken the next generation of our children, which would constitute a threat to Israel's security.

300. The fifth warning sign is Israel's boasting about its ability to violate Saudi Arabia's airspace to photograph bases and airports, citing the same pretexts and logic, to the effect that such acts of defiance and provocation are necessary for Israeli security.

301. The sixth sign is Israel's project for building a canal linking the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea, an act that suggests—even proves—that it is in no way considering withdrawing from the occupied territories or respecting international law, which prohibits theft and usurpation.

302. The seventh warning sign is the Zionist promotion of Jordan as the homeland of the Palestinians. Following the failure of the imperialist-Zionist plot to resettle the Palestinians in Lebanon—a failure caused by the alertness of the Palestinians and Lebanese—Israel started to prepare a new plot in another Arab country, namely, Jordan. We are fully confident that that plot will not succeed; Jordanians and Palestinians will ensure its defeat. The Palestinians will not accept any homeland other than Palestine.

303. These signs have culminated in a strategic co-operation project between the United States and the usurping, intruding racist State. That great Power—which is deeply involved in its submission to Israeli blackmail and which a few days ago handed over to the Israeli occupation authorities the innocent Palestinian citizen Ziad Abu Eain—does not uphold law and conscience and sets little value on relations with Arab States which it considers friendly. That American position, which places honourable militant opposition to occupation and oppression on the same footing as ordinary crime, does not harm us as much as it harms the reputation, prestige and credibility of the Government of the United States of America. In this regard, our only concern is that all the Arab peoples should realize that, according to that American position, they have become in the eyes of the United States Government bands of ordinary criminals, for every Arab is an image of Ziad Abu Eain and his like—militants rejecting occupation and any form of oppression and colonialism.

304. What are we to conclude from all this? The only conclusion possible is that while we attempt to solve problems that have been outstanding for decades, Israel and its great ally act to create new realities, that is, new problems which will soon become included among other items on the Assembly's agenda awaiting solution.

305. The Israelis and the Americans may be encouraged by the results of their continued transgressions and policies of force and oppression, for they have not yet received the punishment that they deserve from our Arab nation. For how long will they continue to gamble on the Arabs submitting to humiliation and contempt and not settling their differences and uniting in a battle that will be decisive for their destiny and their very existence? Those who have read Arab history know that no conqueror or occupier has been able to remain for ever in our countries. Those that remained were the ones that agreed

to be part of our countries, our peoples, our heritage, sharing our concerns and our aspirations.

306. Recent history, the history of the past 30 years, shows clearly that those that want to do so can see and appreciate the extent of the progress and prosperity achieved by our nation, which continues on this course notwithstanding the differences of interpretation and opinion that emerge. The achievement of a strategic balance between Israel and the Arabs is difficult but not impossible. No single State has a monopoly of the acquisition of sophisticated weapons and the ability to absorb and use them. Just as Israel and other racist entities can depend on a strong ally like the United States, so the Arab peoples can depend on strong, faithful and friendly allies all over the world, foremost among them the Soviet Union, which continues to support the Arab struggle at all levels.

307. The leaders of the Zionist enemy, in order to justify their policies based on the myth of everlasting military superiority, have reiterated that the Arabs can afford to lose more than one war, while Israel cannot afford to lose a single battle, for such a loss would mean an end of Israel. Listening to such talk, is there not one Jew in Israel who asks "What if that happens?" This is a possibility, if not today, then tomorrow; if not this year, then next year, or in 10 years, or in the following 10 years. If it happens, the only response will be that what was taken by force was recovered by force; force made Israel and force will break Israel. Those that impose their logic must bear its consequences. Has that not been for thousands of years the destiny of those that depend for life and survival on force alone, without any respect for the principles of right and justice and the stability of peace?

308. We Palestinians, together with the Arab nation, notwithstanding the aggression against our land, against our rights and against the lives of our children, and despite the fact that we have a just cause, as attested to by the international community as a whole, are careful to avoid bloodshed and shorten the time of tragedies and wars. We bore the olive branch along with the gun and allowed the entire world to discuss the case, assess it and pass judgement. The Assembly has announced the verdict many times, but there is no way to get Israel to change its mentality, arrogance and superiority complex, for it can rely on the support of a strong ally which tries to give credibility to its need to continue its absurd acts of hooliganism instead of restraining it and checking such behaviour. That ally should put Israel on a straight course and persuade it to adopt other values that would guarantee its survival and save generations of its sons from bloodshed.

309. Tomorrow or the day after, the Assembly will adopt a number of draft resolutions all calling, in the final analysis, for a political solution that will guarantee peace and stability for the area and defuse the situation which has already lasted for 30 years and threatens to explode into an enormous conflagration. We all sincerely hope that those resolutions will be implemented without delay in order to avoid a horrible tragedy that we would be unable to confront and contain and in the face of which we would be helpless. If that happened it would be futile to stand here expressing sorrow and wishing that we had been aware enough to foresee the tragedy and that we had done what we could to solve the root problem, the question of Palestine, which precipitated the Middle East crisis and which threatens to engulf the entire world. It was here in the Assembly that the question of Palestine arose. It was here that it developed, and it is here that we

must find a way to solve it and the problems resulting from it, unless we want the whole world to solve it instead of the Organization.

310. Mr. SARRÉ (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation congratulates the Secretary-General on the praiseworthy efforts he has constantly made on the question of the Middle East. In his report [A/36/655] he stresses the seriousness of the situation prevailing in that region. I am sure that his concerns are also ours, and I shall not come back to that point.

311. It is now almost 35 years that the General Assembly has been discussing the question of the Middle East. During that period innumerable efforts have been undertaken to find a way out of this conflict, which is, to say the least, most serious because it threatens international peace and security. Furthermore, it sometimes causes doubt about the ability of the Organization to deal with it.

312. Indeed, tension and violence continue to be the main characteristics of the situation in that part of the world, despite the efforts made by the United Nations to find a just and lasting solution to the problem. This in no way means that the United Nations will be for ever incapable of promoting a peaceful settlement of that question. Indeed, the lack of a settlement has depended rather less on the nature of the problem than on the various approaches in seeking a solution to it, approaches which, in my delegation's opinion, did not take sufficiently into account the central nature of the Palestinian question in the Middle East conflict.

313. The Assembly has, fortunately, undertaken a review of those approaches in the light of experience for some years now. It was in that spirit that six years ago it established, for example, the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, over which my country has the honour of presiding. Since its establishment the Committee has tried to arrive at a precise definition of the rights of the Palestinian people and has made recommendations on the subject to the Assembly. In a number of resolutions the Assembly has endorsed the recommendations of the Committee and has called for their implementation. After more than 30 years of useless attempts, of lack of understanding and armed conflict, a broad consensus has now emerged on the components of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Need we recall that this consensus is based on withdrawal by Israel from all the territories that it occupies by force, the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State in its homeland, recognition of and respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the States of the region and of their right to live in peace within recognized boundaries, and, finally, a settlement with the full and responsible participation of the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

314. That consensus within the international community could be given effect if the Security Council, the organ specifically responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, were to decide to endorse the proposals for the comprehensive political solution of the Palestinian question. That body continues to maintain an approach to the problem based on the provisions of a resolution which, although of course important and interesting, is inadequate in itself because the central element of the problem, the Palestinian question, is taken up only partially.

315. In this respect, as in previous years, my country would like to renew here its appeal to the permanent members of the Security Council. In so far as the Council desires to make an effective contribution to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, that body, because of the responsibilities incumbent upon it under the Charter, must change its approach so as to take into account the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as defined by a number of relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. The peace process could thus be given a new impetus and directed towards the fundamental issue, namely, the just settlement of the Palestinian question and the restoration of peace for all the States of the region.

316. Among the prerequisites are withdrawal by Israel from the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, the discontinuance and dismantling of settlements in those territories, including Jerusalem, and observance of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.²

317. I cannot close without saying something about the particularly tragic situation of the brother people of Lebanon. As everyone is aware, that country is subjected to continual aggression which endangers its territorial integrity and sovereignty. The soldiers of peace of UNIFIL, to whom a tribute is due, are carrying out a mission made more difficult by the aggressions of Israel and confrontations occurring in that country. In reaffirming our consistent solidarity with the brother people of Lebanon, we should at the same time like to appeal to all the parties in Lebanon resolutely to turn to national reconciliation to safeguard the unity of their country.

318. The lack of a solution to the Middle East conflict merely serves to accentuate the tensions, the foreseeable consequence of which is escalation towards another armed conflict, which, given the present circumstances, could be a precursor of generalized warfare.

319. The United Nations would be failing in its duty if it did not take effective preventive measures to stop a slide towards a world conflict. Duty, justice and peace make it imperative for us to take such measures without delay.

320. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on delegations that wish to exercise the right of reply. I remind them that in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401 first statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes and should be made by representatives from their seats.

321. Mr. MUNTASSER (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): In her statement this morning [96th meeting] the United States representative referred to my country. She accused us of engaging in acts of terrorism and destruction beyond our borders. While categorically denying those groundless claims and allegations, I should like to review briefly the acts of sabotage and terrorism engineered by the United States itself beyond its borders. The books and articles by former high officials of the CIA of the United States concerning the conspiracies in which they participated, with a green light from the American Administration itself, are sufficient to verify what I say. It is enough to refer to the attempts of the CIA to assassinate President Allende in Chile and President Fidel Castro and to poison and assassinate the leader of the Libyan revolution, as mentioned in the American mass media and by officials in the Senate.

322. I do not want to deal with all the acts of terrorism and aggression committed at the instigation of the United States of America against the peoples of the world. It is sufficient to mention examples of its aggression against my country.

323. The United States violated our airspace and territorial waters in the Gulf of Sidra last August and has unleashed a virulent mass-media campaign engineered by the CIA, which represents Libya as having sent a so-called assassination team to kill President Reagan and other high officials of the American Administration. That campaign has not provided the least proof of the truth of that allegation. We have refuted those fabrications more than once and have challenged the American Administration to provide proof of the truth of its claims. We have also shown our readiness to have a committee of the United Nations or of the Security Council investigate such allegations.

324. The latest terrorist act engineered by the American Administration against my country is its attempt to force American citizens working in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and living in security and peace there to leave Libya, failing which they will be severely punished. This is an attempt to immobilize the oil industry in my country and to prejudice our national economy as a whole.

325. The question of Palestine can never be solved through the mediation of the United States or through its presence as a party to the Camp David accords, for the simple reason that the United States of America is a strategic ally of Israel. It has recently signed a special agreement to that effect. Can the United States be a judge and a party at the same time? The United States of America provides assistance to the Zionist entity in excess of \$15 million a day, in addition to providing information and expertise and qualified, trained American citizens, who are allowed to serve in the Israeli armed forces. The Zionist entity could not persist in its inhuman acts of aggression against the Palestinian Arabs within and outside the occupied territory—torture, murder, the demolition of houses, the killing of children and women, innocent civilians—without the full material, political and moral support provided by the United States of America.

326. The latest proof of the support the United States gives the Zionist enemy is its condoning of the Zionist decision to annex the Arab Golan Heights. This is a violation of all international norms and principles and has been denounced by my country and all other peace-loving countries.

327. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic): Like all my Arab colleagues, I was tempted over and over again to interrupt the Israeli representative on Friday [95th meeting]. His statement insulted not only Arab history and civilization, past and present, but also the intelligence of the members of the Assembly. If I restrained myself and did not interrupt it was because of my realization that the more he spoke the more he contradicted himself, and the more he prattled the more the Assembly was exposed at first hand to the workings of the Zionist mind.

328. Last week we heard Mr. Blum review the Middle East situation, which demonstrated not only the ignorance of an alien to the region but also a unique brand of arrogance built into the Zionist colonialist mind. Mr. Blum passed sweeping moral judgements on Arab Governments and Arab civilization, past, present and future. He reminded me of a child looking through his kaleidoscope,

forming his perceptions according to the little broken pieces inside the toy made in an Israeli factory, a toy distributed free to all newcomers to the region, such as Mr. Blum, who are then instructed to see all things Arab through those prisms.

329. His diatribe against the Arab people illustrated the famous notion of the late Jean-Paul Sartre, which is that oppression means above all the oppressor's hatred of the oppressed. That hatred was amply demonstrated in Mr. Blum's speech, demonstrating again Mr. Sartre's portrait of the dehumanized colonizer assuming "the opaque rigidity and imperiousness of stone". Mr. Blum, who represents a colonial system implanted in the heart of the Arab nation, safe so long as he is protected by United States guns, cannot but be aware of the illegitimacy of his status, yet it is this same embarrassing status which he has to defend—that of a usurper. Therefore, he has to resort to both casuistry and sophistry in order to legitimize his crime against the Palestinians, whose ghosts haunt every Israeli. In whose house, Mr. Blum, do you live? On whose land? How many Palestinians have to toil in order to pay your salary? As Albert Memmi would have told you, Mr. Blum, the more freely you breathe, the more the Arabs choke.

330. Yes, we do have problems in our region, both internal and external, as we believe all other developing nations have. But surely you know that the Zionist entity is at the root of all our major problems. Was it not implanted in this strategic region in order to start fires and feed them?

331. The Israeli representative's lecture analysing the Arab world—he put it in the form of the East to the West, the North to the South—demonstrated the vision of a usurper colonialist, who must have learned his terminology and based his theories on a recent article in the right-wing journal *The New Republic* by our colleague Mrs. Kirkpatrick, who, in her anxiety to prove the non-existence of an Arab nation, decided to divide the Arab régimes into authoritarian and totalitarian. Mr. Blum learned his lesson from his mentor and repeated it. Might we suggest that he go back to his source of inspiration and have his professor define which category Israel's military occupation and expansion and annexation fall into? Is it totalitarian, is it authoritarian, or is it a democratic, benign occupation?

332. Finally, the representative of the Zionist entity contradicted himself when he recognized in his speech on the situation in the Middle East that this item was a mere continuation of the preceding item on the question of Palestine. Ironically, he thereby admitted, though unaware of doing so and though his intention was both confused and confusing, that the core of the problem is that of Palestine. By doing so he confirmed exactly what he intended to deny, focusing on what he intended to blur—the indivisibility of the two items, of the Palestinian question and the situation in the Middle East.

333. But we shall not rest until the real criminals in the Middle East tragedy are brought to justice, foremost among whom are the terrorists Begin and Sharon, who should immediately be put on trial for their war crimes and crimes against humanity.

334. Mr. AL-ALI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): In his statement last Friday on the item on the Middle East [*ibid.*] the Zionist representative spoke of my country as if it were a dark jungle in which ferocious prehistoric

animals have been fighting since time immemorial and are still fighting up to the present day. That representative failed to perceive that his web of lies, distortion of facts and false accusations are not believable by the audience in this chamber, or by other people. History has a strong and indelible memory, and established facts are stronger and have more permanence than his trivialities. Ancient and modern history are replete with attempts on the part of people like him, whose speciality is lying and falsification, but all those attempts failed. The facts remain and reality asserts itself.

335. Iraq, which was called Mesopotamia in the past, established on the banks of its two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, one of the greatest civilizations, which forged the early beginnings of the civilization of contemporary man: Ur, Eridu, Babylon, Akkad, Ashur, Sumer and others, led by great men like Sennacherib, Sargon, Hammurabi, Ashurbanipal and Nebuchadnezzar.

336. That representative, who claims to be civilized, has failed to read about the physician-philosopher Avicenna, or about Al-Kendi, Al-Razi, Gaber Ben Hayan, or Ibn Khaldun, and others. Many of those famous men excelled in science, medicine, philosophy, astronomy and mathematics. Has he read anything about the flourishing of the Iraqi civilization during the Abbasid era? Did he learn anything about the library of Baghdad, which at the time was the greatest library in the world?

337. If this describes ancient Iraq, we wish to tell the Zionist representative that Iraq today is experiencing accelerated development and growth in all fields. Thousands of visitors to my country, from the highest officials to journalists and the representatives of foreign companies working there, see for themselves how Iraq races ahead at present in the battle for development.

338. François Doriaud, the Middle East editor of the Reuters news agency, stated in a report from Baghdad that Iraq spends billions of dollars on economic development projects, despite the war being waged against Iran in the last 15 months. He confirmed that commercial endeavours and reconstruction demonstrate a prosperity greater than at any time before. He referred in this context to the fact that 72 States participated in the Baghdad international fair this year, in addition to 2,200 foreign firms. He went on to say that no country in the third world is expanding economically as fast as Iraq, despite the costs of the war waged against Iran. That correspondent described the city of Baghdad as it prepares to host the summit conference of the non-aligned movement scheduled for September next year as an immense construction workshop, where the number of cranes exceeds the number of palm trees.

339. Everybody should know the meaning of the words "Saddam al Takriti" used by the Zionist and Iranian representatives. Takrit is a town dear to the heart of Iraq and is linked to the ancient and modern history of Iraq. We are proud, as Iraqis and Arabs, that the town of Takrit gave birth to Saladin, the great leader who liberated Palestine from Western colonialism, and to Saddam Hussein, who liberated Iraq from imperialism and dependence and put it on the road to complete independence in order to rejoin the ranks of the non-aligned.

340. I wish to ask about Begin, the Prime Minister, and Shamir, his Foreign Minister, as well as the President of his State. Where did they come from to usurp the land of Palestine? Do we have a transformation of values in the

world, so that it is a shame for a man to belong to his territory and the territory of his forefathers, while it is a source of pride that a land should be governed by alien, foreign usurpers who had come to a country through perfidy, treachery and aggression, as the Zionist gangs did in Palestine?

341. The Zionist representative's skill in falsification has led him to refer to Kurdish citizens, pretending not to know that the dissension that took place in northern Iraq was engineered by American-Iranian design using their well-known agent, Mustapha Barzani. Barzani died a few years ago in one of the hangouts of the CIA and his body was sent on one of Khomeini's aircraft to be buried in Teheran. The Iraqi national régime, thanks to its deep conviction and by unifying all the national forces of the Kurdish people, was able to realize the Kurdish aspirations and to proclaim self-rule for the Kurdish area in 1971. On this basis, legislative and executive councils were established, and a number of Kurdish ministers participate in them.

342. The Zionist representative's attacks and manoeuvres will not convince anyone. He is trying to divert the General Assembly's attention from the item under discussion, while all the countries of the world know well the practices of his Fascist, racist régime—the acts of murder, dispersion and terrorism against the people of Palestine and the barbaric acts of aggression perpetrated against the Arab States—in flouting the resolutions of the United Nations and the calls of the international community which so often have condemned and deplored such acts and aggressive practices.

343. My delegation was not surprised by the statement of the Zionist representative in defending its ally, the Iranian régime, after documents and the international media, including the Zionist press, disclosed the facts and details about providing the Khomeini régime with Israeli military hardware and the Iranian officials' admission of that collaboration. The Zionist leadership welcomed the war of Iran against Iraq. General Aharon Yariir, former director of Israeli intelligence and director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University, proclaimed that Iran, thanks to its influence and power, played an important role in consolidating the presence of Israel, because of their mutual interests and aims.

344. Mr. SABZALIAN (Iran): Words cannot even begin to describe the hypocrisy of the representative of Saddam Hussein. Nothing better than the various statements of the Iraqi representative of Saddam can describe his double standard and sheer hypocrisy. It is incredible that he could speak loudly and at length about the undeniable aggression of the Zionists against the Palestinians and their bombardment of southern Lebanon and not mention even one single word about Iraq's invasion and daily bombardment of civilian targets inside the Islamic Republic of Iran.

345. Tonight all that the representative of Iraq said was more lies about our so-called connection with the Zionist régime of occupied Palestine. Interestingly, the foundation of all his baseless allegations was the American and British news media, which long ago lost their credibility and authenticity in the Western world and third-world countries. I shall not dignify those baseless lies. Unlike the Iraqi representative, who gave quotations from Western news sources, I shall use our own sources. I repeat the statement made by the representative of the PLO in Teheran, who refuted these baseless allegations and con-

sidered this fabrication as nothing but another part of the continuous conspiracies of imperialism against the Islamic revolution of Iran.

346. Saddam has now plundered billions of dollars from Iraq's war-torn, devastated economy through his war of aggression. Now all the direct and indirect military, political and financial assistance given to him by his conspiratorial partners in the region has miserably failed, and his almost defeated army can no longer match our Islamically inspired fighters, especially in the wake of the last two weeks' crushing defeat of Saddam's mercenaries in the liberated area of Bostan and the Gilang Gharb area. Now he is helplessly resorting to more bombardment of innocent and defenceless civilians of my country. According to the latest reports, Iraqi fighter planes bombarded the residential areas of Dizful, in Khuzistan province, at 3.15 p.m. on Thursday, 10 December—Human Rights Day. The bombing caused the martyrdom of more than 20 people, wounded more than 100 others and destroyed about 100 houses. French-made Mirage and Russian-made MIG fighter-bombers on Wednesday, only one day before Human Rights Day, bombed Ilam in western Iran, which resulted in the martyrdom of 21 innocent civilians, including a six-year-old child and six women, and the wounding of 50 others. At 12.05 p.m. on 11 December, one day after Human Rights Day, an air and rocket attack by Saddam's mercenaries on the civilian section of the city of Ahwaz martyred nine civilians, among them several children, and wounded 65 innocent, defenceless civilians.

347. We should like to make it clear that the Moslem people of Iran hold Saddam Hussein and his mercenary collaborators responsible for the crimes that they have committed and are committing daily against the Iranian people and reiterate in the most sincere way our determination to resist the forces of barbarity in Iraq until ultimate victory. Saddam may try to cover up his barbarous crimes with massive propaganda for a short time, but he cannot prevent history from recording his ever-increasing criminal acts.

348. Documents have been found on Iraqi prisoners of war indicating that orders have been given to Iraqi soldiers to execute on sight any Iranian Revolutionary Guards taken prisoner at the front. We know whom we have lost as prisoners at the front, and we shall await their return to the Islamic Republic of Iran sooner or later. Then we shall hold Saddam al Takriti responsible for every single one of our prisoners who does not return.

349. The degree of despotism and fascism of Saddam is not aimed against my country alone but is also aimed at the slightest opposition inside Iraq. It is so prevalent that Saddam has repeatedly declared, "Whoever shows any interest in ruling Iraq should expect a land without a people". This is, of course, a clear reference to his intention of eliminating every Iraqi citizen in order to secure his own throne. Ironically, the defunct dictator Shah of Iran, before his overthrow, was making statements almost identical to those of Saddam. The events of the last three years in Iraq bear witness to this fact. Besides executing innumerable ordinary citizens on the slightest suspicion, he even resorted to executing his own loyal Ba'athist colleagues as soon as they showed signs of disagreement with his own dictates.

350. An atmosphere of extreme fear and suspicion dominates the whole structure of the dreadful Ba'ath Party in Iraq. Today it is a well-known fact in Iraq that no one can

find two members of the Iraqi Ba'ath Party who trust one another. Furthermore, an awesome campaign of secret assassinations among competing Ba'ath Party members is occurring continuously throughout the world. This traditional complete lack of trust among the members of the Ba'ath Party reached a new height in July 1979 when, according to many news sources, Saddam personally shot to death six ministers of his own régime and his henchmen executed more than 100 members of the top-ranked Ba'ath Party Bureau and Committees. This complete lack of confidence among the ruling élite of Saddam and the near defeat of his demoralized army on the war fronts and the total rejection of the apostate Saddam by the Muslim people of Iraq because of his savage war against the brother Muslim nation of Iran have created circumstances of such insecurity and vulnerability in Baghdad that Saddam al Takriti has been compelled to extend his bloody hands abroad and beg for support from anybody, literally anybody, who can save him from the inferno that he himself created. Even *The New York Times*, a paper which has consistently given its implicit support to Saddam's régime in its animosity towards the Islamic Republic of Iran, confirmed this on 26 November, noting that Iraq was prepared to initiate "unconditional co-operation" with any Iranian opposition faction in an attempt to bring down the Islamic régime of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. We ask Saddam's representatives whether they can find, among the despots and dictators in the whole history of oppression, a tyrant so undignified and bankrupt that he begs so openly and unconditionally for a handout just for the sake of continuing his shameful existence.

351. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Iraq, who wishes to exercise the right of reply.

352. Mr. AL-ALI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Thank you, Mr. President, for giving me the opportunity to respond. The Iranian representative has spoken of absurd matters, and I do not believe that the representatives here doubt that such speeches, too, have become absurd. This interference in the internal affairs of Iraq is irrelevant because the whole world knows about the situation in Iraq. It is regrettable that the representative of Iran has repeated the same absurd pretexts and arguments stated by the representative of the Zionist entity. Thus I do not intend to answer the arguments he has stooped so low as to offer.

353. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of Iran has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply a second time. I call on him.

354. Mr. SABZALIAN (Iran): It is precisely due to the dependent nature of Saddam's régime that it has either to rely on outside forces for survival or to create a mechanism for the fabrication of lies and baseless allegations directed against my people to gain some badly needed credibility. We know for a fact that the main reason behind these ridiculous innovations of the bloody Ba'athist Saddam is that he wants only to divert the attention of world public opinion from the continuing illegal invasion of the Islamic Republic of Iran, against all international law and norms of behaviour, by the mercenaries of Saddam with the direct approval of world imperialism and international zionism. A vivid example of this genius of the blood Ba'ath is the repeated allegation made by Saddam's representative, including in today's session of the General Assembly, that the Islamic Republic of Iran is allegedly racist in nature. But the Ba'athist henchmen

could not come up with even one single shred of proof for this lie. However, on 4 December, we quoted directly from Saddam Hussein al Takriti, who said in his so-called Parliament in November 1980 that "The Persians are not Moslems because the Koran is in Arabic. The Prophet was an Arab, and Islam belongs to the Arabs". [See 85th meeting, para. 296.] When we quoted this statement to the General Assembly, the representative of Saddam al Takriti came up with this noble claim, that Iran is racist because the Islamic Republic of Iran "has stipulated in its constitution that the Iranian head of State must belong to the Persian ethnic group". [Ibid., para. 300.]

355. Here we are not going to deal with this issue simply because of that baseless allegation made by Saddam's representative, since we know, and they know very well, that it was picked from the fruitful farm of their fabrications and was put forward for one reason and one reason only: so that the main issue, that is, the aggression carried out by Saddam's army against my country in clear violation of all international laws and agreements and the Charter of the United Nations, should be covered up. But we will try to use this opportunity to show representatives here and the whole of world public opinion the degree of bankruptcy and the low level of credibility surrounding the desperate régime of Saddam.

356. Article 115 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran states that:

"The President shall be elected from among religious and political personalities possessing the following qualifications: a natural born Iranian of Iranian parentage possessing Iranian nationality, initiator and organizer of good name, trustworthy and pious, believing in

the tenets of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the official creed of the country."

As I have just indicated in that quotation and contrary to the obvious lie and distortion of the truth by Saddam's representative, there is not even a single word in our Constitution to the effect that our President has to be a Persian. I regret to have to embarrass the representative of Saddam further by reminding representatives that, ironically, both our President and Prime Minister are of Turkish Iran.

357. Mr. Saddam, it is too late to remedy your sad situation. By this kind of silly game you only make your illegal invasion of our land more conspicuous. Mr. Saddam, you and your régime are guilty and you have to pay for your crimes, and you will.

The meeting rose at 9.20 p.m.

NOTES

¹ The delegation of Panama subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

² United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.

³ Expounded in a radio interview broadcast by Riyadh Domestic Service on 7 August 1981. For a transcription of the interview, see Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report*, FBIS-MEA-81-153, of 10 August 1981, vol. V, No. 153, p. C 3.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1981*, document S/14779, annex.