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President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany).

AGENDA ITEM 26

The situation in the Middle East: report of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the first speaker in the debate, I should like to propose that the list of speakers on this item be closed this afternoon at 5 o'clock. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts that proposal.

It was so decided.

2. Mr. BLUM (Israel): The item before us is called "The situation in the Middle East". In accordance with prescribed ritual, attempts will be made to turn it into another orchestrated attack on Israel. To a large extent the hollow allegations made against my country in the course of what passed last week for the General Assembly's deliberations on the question of Palestine will be regurgitated once again.

3. But in this debate the Assembly should not go along with attempts to make it adopt a blinkered view of what is going on in the Middle East as a whole by focusing exclusively on just one segment of the region. The Middle East includes the war in the Persian Gulf, the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, and the armed stand-off between Syria and Jordan, to mention only three of the conflicts in the region which are uppermost in people's minds today. These trouble-spots, with grave implications for international peace, should certainly give rise to concern on the part of the Assembly and must have a prominent place in any serious discussion of the situation in the Middle East.

4. I do not wish to question for a moment the importance of such items on the Assembly's agenda as those concerning the Comorian island of Mayotte [item 25] or the Malagasy islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India [item 58]. However, so long as the Assembly reserves a special place on its agenda for such questions while turning a blind eye to the numerous conflicts in the Middle East threatening international peace and security, the Assembly will justly be accused of having an eclectic

field of vision and of continuing to practice its notorious double standard on matters affecting the Middle East.

5. Talking about islands, for example, what has happened to the Greater Tunb, the Lesser Tunb and Abu Musa, which are claimed by both the United Arab Emirates and Iran? Each of those three islands sticks out like a sore thumb in the middle of an international waterway through which large parts of the world's oil supply are transported. They have been the subject of a long-standing dispute and, in view of recent events surrounding them, they certainly deserve mention in the course of any debate on the situation in the Middle East.

6. There is no single definition of the Middle East. Nevertheless, if words in this body have the same meaning as they have in the real world, most of us would agree that the Middle East is a region straddling two continents, stretching from North Africa to the Indian Ocean. It comprises more than 20 countries. It contains overland routes and sea-lanes which have been at the centre of international politics and trade throughout history. And, perhaps even more important in this industrial day and age, the domes and fissures below its surface contain two thirds of the world's known oil reserves.

7. At the same time it is an area in which conflicts are chronic and endemic. It is a volatile area where most of the countries and régimes suffer from instability. Each of the manifold conflicts in the region has a genesis of its own and a dynamic of its own. But because of the centrality of the Middle East on the international stage, many of those conflicts impinge on countries beyond the region, particularly in Africa, and in certain cases have serious implications for global peace and security as well as for the economies of most States represented here.

8. As I pointed out in my statement here last Tuesday [77th meeting], the sources of instability in the Middle East fall, broadly speaking, into three categories: first, internal upheavals inside countries of the region; secondly, conflicts between countries of the region; and, thirdly, subversion and aggression from countries outside the Middle East. To those three categories one should add another source of instability of more recent vintage—namely, the misuse of staggering oil wealth by certain countries, in a manner which threatens the security and well-being of other countries both inside the region and beyond it.

9. Last week I cited just three examples of these phenomena. I could in fact have reeled off as many as three dozen conflicts of one kind or another which are plaguing the Middle East at this very moment. Algeria and Morocco are at odds with one another. Libya has troubled relations with almost all of its neighbours, from Tunisia on the west to the Sudan on

the east and the south. The two Yemens have been at each other's throat over the past few years. The Gulf States are far from being the best of neighbours. And Iraq has long-standing designs on Kuwait. None of these conflicts gets a mention on the Assembly's agenda. Each one, however, more than merits a place as a separate item in its own right.

10. It is not too late for the General Assembly to live up to its responsibilities and to address some of the international issues arising out of the situation in the Middle East.

11. One item which is long overdue for discussion by this body is the internal and external policies and practices of the Syrian Arab Republic, a country which brings together the various causes of conflict in the Middle East. The severe international problems created by Syria derive to a great extent from its internal situation.

12. Let us therefore begin with its domestic instability and upheaval. From the end of the Second World War until the present régime came into power in 1970, there were a dozen *coups d'état* in Syria, most of them bloody. The present régime is a minority one, made up mostly of members of the Alawite sect. It rests on bayonets. I can think of no better authority on this subject than the former Syrian ambassador to this Organization. At the press conference which he gave in this very building on the day he resigned, in December of last year, he described in horrific detail the repression, the torture and the violence employed by the Assad régime against its opponents at home. He also described the military crack-downs and the public executions which, together with the violation of civil and human rights in Syria, are designed to muzzle any opposition to the régime.

13. Those brutal methods have been far from successful. In the last year there has been violence throughout Syria. Scores of political figures have been assassinated. Hundreds have been killed in riots in Aleppo, Homs, Hama and Latakia.

14. The Assembly addresses itself to the human rights situation in a number of countries in various regions of the world. The time has surely come for it to speak up and establish a special committee to investigate Syrian practices affecting the human rights of its population.

15. The internal troubles in a Middle Eastern country such as Syria often have direct effects on its external behaviour and frequently induce the Government concerned to engage in foreign adventures in the hope of diverting attention away from its troubles at home. To illustrate this point, one need only look at Syria's relations with its Arab neighbours—Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq. I could almost stop there, for need one say more?

16. There are, however, aspects of Syria's aggression against its Arab neighbours that tend to be forgotten as one act of violence comes hard on the heels of the other. The most criminal and overt of these acts of aggression is Syria's rape of Lebanon. Ever since the end of the Second World War, Syria has had designs on Lebanon, which it sees as part of "Greater Syria". It has habitually regarded Lebanon as part of Syria, and for that reason has no diplomatic

relations with it. We will, no doubt, hear very shortly a Syrian representative trying to brush off this strange state of affairs by claiming, as the Syrians usually do, that his country has no need for diplomatic ties with Lebanon because of the fraternal relations prevailing between the two countries. Well, all I can say is some fraternal relations!

17. But why take my word for it? Only two weeks ago another stillborn Arab summit meeting took place. Its conception, its gestation and its birth pangs were all illustrative of the situation in the Middle East. At its conclusion, King Hussein of Jordan declared that Lebanon was "dominated and held captive" by foreign forces, clearly alluding to Syria. As reported by *The New York Times* of 28 November 1980, King Hussein also accused Syria and its cohorts of stabbing an Arab brother-State in the back.

18. The truth is that, during the civil war which began in 1974 in Lebanon, Syria exploited the opportunity to invade Lebanon on the pretext that it was assisting the Government of Lebanon to restore peace. Having ruthlessly massacred Palestinian Arabs at Tal Za'atar and elsewhere, Syria then turned on the Christians in Lebanon and in the process not only laid the country bare but also tore it apart. Syria's barbarities against the Lebanese did not end with the conclusion of the civil war in 1976. In 1978 the world was appalled and outraged as Syrian forces indiscriminately bombarded populated areas in Beirut. Syrian artillery relentlessly shelled the city for days, killing hundreds of innocent men, women and children and turning hundreds of thousands more into refugees. Syria continues to occupy the country with about one third of its army, amounting to some 30,000 soldiers—although some of them may have been redeployed recently on the off-chance that yet another of Syria's neighbours may require its peace-keeping services.

19. Claiming that its presence in Lebanon is necessary to maintain security. Syria has extracted the concurrence of Arab League States for its occupation of the country. But everyone knows that Syria came to Lebanon to stay, and if the Syrians have their way the chances of that tormented country regaining its independence are not particularly bright.

20. In 1958 the Assembly discussed a foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Lebanon. In terms of size and duration, that intervention pales in comparison with the Syrian occupation of Lebanon in recent years. The extent of Syria's domination over Lebanon was demonstrated only last month when it prohibited Lebanon from attending that abortive Arab summit meeting held at Amman. But none the less the Assembly has not seen fit to address itself to these clear breaches of Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity. If the Assembly really wishes to address itself to the situation in the Middle East, there must be room to discuss this matter under an agenda item dealing directly with the situation in Lebanon as a whole.

21. The case of Syria also offers a prime example of subversion from outside the Middle East region. For many years now, Syria has been penetrated by the Soviet Union, which has used Syria as its proxy to destabilize the region in furtherance of its imperialistic

objectives. Only recently, on 8 October of this year, a Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between Syria and the Soviet Union was signed in Moscow. Treaties of this kind are a stock item, or rather a standard weapon, of Soviet diplomacy. In the last few years they have been used in the Middle East, with Iraq in 1972, Somalia in 1974 and Democratic Yemen in 1979.

22. They have also been used outside the region, as for example with Viet Nam, where that Soviet client was quickly emboldened to attack its neighbours. The signing of the Soviet-Syrian Treaty should be worrisome to Syria's Arab neighbours, especially in view of the 5,000 Soviet military "advisers" who have been in the country for quite some time, in addition to the vast arsenal of sophisticated weaponry which the Soviet Union has put at Syria's disposal.

23. In this connexion, one should also recall that it was the Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Co-operation between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, of 1978, which was used as the formal pretext for the fraternal Soviet invasion of that country. Also, in recent days another country bound by a treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union has been in the headlines. Now, in view of Soviet assurances that Poland can count on the fraternal solidarity and support of the Soviet Union, and of the Soviet military build-up on the Polish border accompanying those assurances one is bound to wonder what will be the fate of that country.

24. But to come back to Syria: since the Amman summit meeting we have also witnessed the massing of Syrian troops on the border with Jordan. Jordan promptly responded in kind, and there have been moments in this latest crisis when the two countries were within a hair's breadth of open hostilities.

25. I have touched upon Syria, but as I mentioned earlier it is far from being the only source of instability in our region. I alluded at the outset of my remarks to the cruel war between Iraq and Iran which has been going on for over two months and which has entailed a heavy toll of human life on both sides.

26. Ostensibly, Iraq launched that war because of a long-standing border dispute with Iran. But Iraq's aggression against Iran has revealed its true face. When it calculated that Iran had been so exhausted by internal convulsions that it could not strike back effectively, Iraq tore up the treaty which it had concluded with Iran only five years earlier. Moreover, since invading Iran, Iraq's appetite has increased and now it has extensive territorial designs on Iran.

27. The President of Iraq announced in the National Assembly in Baghdad on 4 November that

"... the longer a nation stays in a territory the more rights it gains... Khomeini must realize that war creates additional rights over and above the pre-war rights."

Incidentally, it must now be perfectly clear to everyone why Iraq has steadfastly refused to accept Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

28. Be that as it may, the Assembly surely cannot lose sight of the fact that the war between Iraq and Iran has had a destabilizing effect throughout the Middle East and is thus a grave threat to international

peace and security. It has had repercussions which have reverberated throughout the Persian Gulf and which have reached as far as Libya. The world public will not understand if, in discussing the situation in the Middle East, the Assembly does not address itself squarely to the war in the Persian Gulf. There can be no excuse for adopting a posture of hearing no evil and seeing no evil in that part of the Middle East.

29. Let me continue on the subject of Syria and Iraq, since they provide such splendid examples of yet another, essentially domestic, cause of instability in our region: it is the exclusivist attitude, indeed the racist attitude, towards minorities in the area which has plagued the Middle East since the end of the First World War.

30. This form of exclusivist thinking leaves no room for non-Arab and non-Moslem States in the region. It is for that reason that Arab régimes have consistently suppressed the national rights of all minorities in the area. Hence, for example, in the 1930s Iraq suppressed, with great brutality, calls for a measure of autonomy made by the Assyrians, an ancient Christian group. It was for the same reason that, in the 1950s, Syria worked systematically to break up and disperse the concentrations of the Christian minorities within its borders. For the same reason, in the 1960s and the 1970s, Iraq put down harshly and tried to stamp out any moves for autonomy by the Kurds, an ethnic minority within its midst. And this is an additional reason why Syria was so swift to exploit in 1974 the civil war in Lebanon, so that an end would be put, possibly once and for all, to what was the only multi-denominational State in the Arab League.

31. One could in fact expand, at very great length, on the catalogue of Arab intolerance towards religious and ethnic minorities in the area. I shall refrain from doing so. But what this suggests is a sad conclusion with regard to the Middle East as a whole. It is that peace will come to the region only when the Arab régimes in it change some of their fundamental attitudes and are prepared to give full recognition to the aspirations of all the religious and ethnic groups among them—which, it should be remembered, make up a very large part of the region's total population.

32. The dangers of the manifold conflicts in the Middle East are compounded by the unprecedented arms build-up in the area. The arms race was bad enough when it was fuelled primarily by one super-Power seeking to destabilize the region. However, in the last few years it has grown all the more dangerous, as the "petro-hegemonist" States in the Middle East have acquired such wealth of their own that they can buy whatever they want, and as much as they want, in the international arms market.

33. Iraq is the largest importer of arms in the entire third world. Kuwait spends more dollars *per capita* on arms than does any other country in the world. Libya and Democratic Yemen are stockpiling billions of dollars' worth of Soviet tanks, combat planes, artillery and other military hardware, far beyond their capability to use such equipment. Over the last year Syria's military expenditures increased by almost 55 per cent, so that they now constitute more than half of its annual budget.

34. If we take the battle-orders of Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Saudi Arabia alone, we find that in certain spheres, including manpower, air power, artillery and tanks, they are larger than those of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. Such quantities of arms give the whole region the character of a tinderbox, which could go up in flames if one reckless move were made.

35. This frightening spectacle grows all the worse in the light of the attempts being made, notably by Iraq and Libya, to go nuclear. Both of those countries are rich in oil resources and therefore cannot validly claim to have an urgent need for nuclear energy to power their economies. Both are poor in technological skills and thus cannot credibly invoke scientific research as the reason for their interest in nuclear facilities. Both are ruled by radical autocrats who have shown their total disdain for international law and order. If they were to acquire nuclear warheads, both would be capable of wreaking a nuclear catastrophe, whose fall-out, in the nature of things, cannot and would not be confined to the Middle East.

36. Let me remind members of the Assembly where things stand in this regard. Last summer, Iraq acquired considerable nuclear installations from several European countries. This transfer caused not only experts but also the world press to ask, reasonably enough, why one of the largest oil-exporting countries in the world should feel the need to spend billions in a frantic search for nuclear power.

37. Jonathan Kandell, writing in the *International Herald Tribune* on 27 June 1980, learned that, with the help of their oil clients, "the Iraqis have acquired in piecemeal fashion the nuclear material, technology and expertise necessary to produce and stockpile several bombs during the next five years".

38. Francis Perrin, who served as head of the French Atomic Energy Commission from 1951 to 1971, issued a warning in the Paris newspaper *France-Soir* on 5 August 1980 that Iraq was likely to revoke international controls on the enriched uranium employed in its reactors, "to be in the position to produce an atomic weapon, probably of plutonium." Mr. Perrin's worst fears were confirmed this autumn, when Iraq closed its nuclear facilities to the inspectors of IAEA, contrary to its international undertakings.

39. Libya is at an earlier stage in nuclear development. It has received assistance from the Soviet Union which, in a co-operation agreement concluded in 1975, agreed to help construct a research reactor and a power-producing reactor in Libya. However, the designs of Libya and its slightly unpredictable ruler, Colonel Qadhafi, are no less menacing than those of Iraq. Ever since coming to power, Qadhafi has been seeking a shortcut to acquire a ready-made nuclear military option. In recent years he has looked for this purpose to Pakistan, to whose nuclear development Libya has contributed large sums of money.

40. Despite Qadhafi's efforts to be discreet as he plays with nuclear fire, the veil of secrecy was lifted in a recent BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) television presentation called the "Islamic Bomb", which provided irrefutable documentary evidence of the co-operation between Libya and Pakistan in the nuclear field.

41. Any serious discussion of the situation in the Middle East must also take into account these very grave developments, especially in the light of the opposition expressed in the First Committee by the Arab League States to Israel's initiative calling for a multilateral conference to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East.

42. I observed earlier that a source of instability of more recent vintage in the Middle East is the recklessness of certain Arab countries which do not know what to do with their new-found oil riches.

43. As the President of the Republic of Costa Rica, Mr. Carazo Odio, stated before the General Assembly last Friday:

"We should not forget that the poor countries bear the brunt of rising petroleum prices and of recession... Recession exacerbates pressures upon the poor countries by reducing the prices of their products and the volume of their sales... Petroleum prices will continue to rise while markets for our impoverished countries, which are subject to the deflationary and protectionist measures of the rich countries, will continue to shrink.

"If poverty is not to prevail among our nations, it is therefore imperative that morality prevail in international economic and trade relations..." [83rd meeting, paras. 48 and 49.]

44. In an article entitled "African Economics and Oil Price Increases", published in London in *International Relations* in May this year, the Zambian scholar Siyanga Malumo, observed that "... African economics have suffered more since the beginning of the oil price jump in January 1974 than at any time since the beginning of colonization on the continent".

45. Not only are the Middle Eastern "petro-hegemonists" extorting excessive prices for their oil, thus further impoverishing developing countries, but they are also using the wealth gained thereby for aggressive purposes against other States, inside the region and beyond it.

46. A clear example of what I have in mind is the attempt by Libya to subvert Chad and to realize its expansionist aims in that country. Colonel Qadhafi has long coveted Chad's valuable mineral resources, including uranium. In 1976 he occupied and annexed a 60-mile-wide strip of Chad's territory. Qadhafi has not only been behind several of the political upheavals in that country, but has also exploited them to his own advantage. In May of this year he joined hands with one of the political factions in Chad and in recent days was reported to have stepped up Libyan intervention in the civil war there by moving as many as 3,000 Libyan troops to a base within 35 miles of the capital, N'djamena.

47. Libya's occupation of parts of Chad and its undisguised territorial ambitions on large parts of the rest of the country have caused concern in a number of African countries. Gambia has broken diplomatic relations with Libya, and the leaders of Senegal, Mali, the Sudan and Mauritania have expressed deep concern.

48. Given the Assembly's well-known sensitivity towards and preoccupation with occupied territories, it is surely incumbent on it to address itself squarely

to these 114,000 square kilometres of occupied African territory. After all, Libya's actions, like so much else that is going on in the Middle East, constitute a grave threat to international peace and security. It would be especially appropriate if Tunisia, which today hosts the headquarters of the new Arab League, were to stand up and speak out in the name of the other members of the Arab League, particularly given the fact that it has just declared a state of alert on its border with Libya.

49. In brief, there are many burning questions throughout the length and breadth of the Middle East deserving of the Assembly's urgent attention. We trust that the Assembly will rise to the occasion and address itself seriously to the situation in the Middle East in its full and proper sense.

50. Mr. GHOSH (India): West Asia, the cradle of one of the most ancient civilizations and once a land of peace and harmony, today is plagued with tensions and conflicts. Stability in the area is being constantly threatened by forces within and without, making it difficult for the countries in the region to pursue the path to prosperity. The events in the region have had far-reaching repercussions in the rest of the world and no country can remain insensitive to the problems of West Asia today. Over the years that have been spent in the United Nations discussing the situation in the Middle East, adverse developments have taken place and crisis situations have emerged essentially because the fundamental issue, the core of the conflict, has remained unresolved.

51. Central to the situation in West Asia is the question of Palestine. The Palestinian people, who have been denied their inalienable right to statehood, have been waging a courageous struggle for more than 30 years. Despite the fact that the rights of the Palestinian people have been universally accepted and the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] has been widely recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and the symbol of Palestinian sovereignty and unity, the stubbornness of a single State has so far successfully blocked a just and comprehensive solution. Attempts to delay the discussion and resolution of this question in accordance with United Nations resolutions have contributed further to the instability in the region.

52. Any discussion of the question of Palestine should aim at the total withdrawal by Israel from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since June 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, in order to facilitate the immediate establishment of the Palestinian State. The attainment of statehood by the Palestinian people will automatically lead to the creation of favourable conditions that will secure for all the countries in the region a guarantee that their peoples will live within recognized boundaries. Scenarios other than that, however ingenious and however well-motivated, cannot rid the region of its tensions and agony. We have had recent examples of efforts at partial solutions, which have resulted in divisions in the region and caused a considerable setback to the cause of Palestine.

53. The efforts of the United Nations to stop conflicts in West Asia and to alleviate the sufferings of the victims of war have indeed been commendable. The

activities of various United Nations bodies created to tackle specific problems and to prevent bloodshed have given content and meaning to the commitment of the world body to international peace and security. But the task that remains yet to be accomplished is even more gigantic. A just, durable and comprehensive solution has to be found under the auspices of the United Nations, which has already established the necessary framework by adopting a number of resolutions that seek to tackle the core of the problem. Year after year we have called for the early convening of a peace conference on the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation on an equal footing of all parties concerned, including the PLO. Such a conference, if held, would certainly open up new avenues to peace. Those who shy away from such a conference under one pretext or another undoubtedly prefer conflict to peace, confrontation to conciliation.

54. India's approach to the situation in West Asia has been dictated by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, principles that we have held dear since the time of our own struggle for independence, and the close and friendly bilateral relations that exist between India and the individual Arab countries. When we reaffirm our commitment to a comprehensive and just settlement of the conflict in West Asia, we do so in the company of the vast majority of nations represented here and in the conviction that the struggle for the establishment of an independent State of Palestine is essentially a part of the yet incomplete struggle of peoples all over the world.

55. Regardless of the changes brought about in West Asia by the tide of history, we have continued to enjoy cordial relations with all the Arab countries. The policy of non-alignment, to which India and most Arab nations stand committed, provides a valuable bond and our relations are based on equality and mutual benefit. Even in the face of the staggering problems of the world economy today, that relationship has enabled us to identify new avenues for co-operation. We believe that we have contributed our mite to the development of West Asia by placing our technical know-how and manpower resources at the disposal of the countries in the region.

56. The situation in West Asia today is a matter of grave concern to the entire world. Crises, new and old, continue to defy solution. But, being aware of the peace-loving nature of the Arab people and of the history of brotherhood and coexistence of religions that have prevailed in West Asia for centuries, we feel confident that there is no room for despair. Once the question of Palestine is settled on the basis of the principles adopted by the United Nations, other transitory conflicts will disappear and peace and tranquillity will dawn in the area. Peace in West Asia is of paramount importance to the world as a whole, therefore the States Members of the United Nations must strive to bring about conditions that will secure peace and harmony for the countries in the region.

57. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): The Middle East has never been quiet since the end of the Second World War and the problems of that troubled region are still far from being settled. The four great wars that were fought between the Arabs and Israel, as well as the tension permanently prevailing there, have made the world

community recognize that the ever-deepening Middle East crisis directly threatens world peace and international security. The grave situation in the Middle East is of universal concern. Its peaceful settlement is one of the most demanding tasks of world politics today, since it is a very important prerequisite for the attainment of the main objective of the United Nations, that is, the safeguarding of lasting peace and stability throughout the world.

58. That perception is reflected by the fact that different aspects of the Middle East problem have for many years been on the agenda of the deliberations in various United Nations organs and committees. That has been the case this year, too: the Security Council has on several occasions dealt with the Middle East conflict; an emergency special session of the General Assembly was convened in July; some of the Main Committees of the General Assembly have already touched upon the political, economic, social and humanitarian implications of the issue in the course of this thirty-fifth session; the plenary Assembly has just concluded its debate on the question of Palestine [item 24]; and now we are discussing the problem in its complexity here, in another attempt to contribute to an early elimination of this long-standing focal point of tension.

59. Every sincere effort to settle the Middle East crisis should start from the concrete definition of the deep causes of the problem. We are sure that the manoeuvre we have witnessed here will not mislead anybody. It is the view of the Hungarian delegation that no country has the right to blame others for what it has itself done. We are firmly convinced that the differences so unfortunately existing between some other countries of the region can in no way justify the policy pursued by Israel.

60. We should like to avail ourselves of this opportunity also to reiterate what has already been repeatedly stated on several occasions by the Government and representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic: the main cause of the Middle East crisis as a whole lies in the policy of aggression and expansion of Israel.

61. The illegal occupation of Arab lands by Israel, which is the concrete source of many fundamental problems, has remained a reality for more than 13 years since the 1967 hostilities. Successive Israeli Governments have never made any mystery of their refusal to accept the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force, and their statements and declarations have never remained merely simple declarations of intent. The establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories, the violation of the fundamental human rights of the indigenous population of those lands and their expulsion, have all been integral parts of an Israeli policy of annexation, aimed at destroying the identity of the Arab population of those territories and changing the geographical character, the demographic nature and the legal status of those lands, in the hope of perpetuating the consequences of the 1967 aggression and creating an irreversible situation.

62. The decision adopted by the Knesset to declare Jerusalem the indivisible eternal capital of Israel is the most striking example of annexation and coloniza-

tion of Arab territories, in flagrant violation of international law.

63. In the light of what I have mentioned in this regard, it is obvious to everyone that the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, is an inevitable pre-condition for any just and lasting settlement of the Middle East crisis.

64. The major victim of the Israeli aggression and policy of annexation is the Arab population of Palestine. During more than three decades, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians have been either displaced and uprooted or oppressed and tortured in their own homeland. Thus, their fate is at the heart of the Middle East crisis, constituting a fundamental aspect thereof. No lasting peace can be achieved in the Middle East without solving the problem of this long-suffering people. Recognition and full exercise of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people to return, to self-determination and national independence and sovereignty, including the right to establish an independent State of their own, is another pre-condition for any genuine over-all settlement of the Middle East crisis.

65. A further part of a comprehensive settlement should be guarantees of the secure and independent existence and development of all States of the region, including Israel. But assurance of secure frontiers and national security, so often referred to by Israel, cannot be separated from the fulfilment of the other pre-conditions. Over the years, the most obstinate obstacle to peace in the Middle East has been the endeavour of Israel to be secure and independent only at the expense of, and by denying similar rights to, the other parties involved in the conflict, and its endeavour to have and preserve a State in Palestine only at the cost of keeping the Palestinian Arabs stateless and only at the cost of subjugating its Arab neighbours. It must be clear to everyone that the main aspects of the Middle East crisis are interdependent and cannot be separated. Hence the settlement of the crisis should also be comprehensive and relevant negotiations should be held with the equal participation of all the parties involved.

66. In the spirit of this approach, it is obvious that no result can be achieved on the basis of the Camp David accords and the separate treaty between Egypt and Israel. These agreements are futile, since the ultimate aim of the parties to them is not the establishment of peace in that region, but rather a return to the time of military groupings by creating a new military alliance.

67. The negotiations in the so-called peace process are not aimed at complying with any of the fundamental requirements of a just and lasting settlement. The autonomy offered within this framework to the Palestinians does not apply to the territory in which they live, but only to the inhabitants of that territory. In this way, it serves only the rapid annexation of the occupied territories. The conduct of the so-called autonomy talks precludes the possibility of a genuine solution. Nobody can decide or has the right to decide the fate of the Palestinian people without the Palestinian people itself or against its will. A pre-requisite for the success of any negotiation on the question of

Palestine is the direct participation on an equal footing of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people.

68. It is obvious that Israel alone would not be able to pursue a policy that neglects world public opinion, violates international law and United Nations resolutions, and runs counter to the interest of the peoples of the Middle East and, indirectly, to that of the whole of mankind. It is ever-increasing American support that is the main source of the courage of the Israeli leadership.

69. The denial by the United States of the joint Soviet-American statement of 1 October 1977, which provided for the solution of the Middle East crisis within the framework of a comprehensive settlement, was an integral part of the new course of American foreign policy which started in the late 1970s. This course was aimed at fostering instability in all parts of the world, restructuring existing international politics in favour of the United States and undermining the process of détente. By paving the way to the Camp David accords and by further dividing the unity of the Arab world, the United States has embarked upon a policy of imposing imperialist "settlement" on the peoples of the Middle East. This policy is clearly demonstrated by the successive vetos by which the American delegation has blocked the adoption of any substantial draft resolution aimed at a genuine, comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict.

70. Under these circumstances, Israel's military strength has considerably increased and the acts of Israeli aggression have been intensified against neighbouring Arab countries, Lebanon among them. But might does not mean right. An immediate end must be put to the expansionist policy of Israel. The continuing danger to international peace and security posed by the ever-worsening Middle East crisis makes it imperative that all Member States of the United Nations should exert every effort to find a just and lasting solution to that crisis. We welcome any steps taken on the road towards this noble end. This is the reason why we consider the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, concluded on 8 October 1980 between the Soviet Union and Syria, to be a significant factor contributing to the stability of that region of the world.

71. To settle the Middle East conflict and to bring about a lasting peace is one of the most pressing problems of our time. Therefore the relevant resolutions of the United Nations must not remain dead letters any longer.

72. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): It is my sad duty at the outset to express my delegation's deep sorrow at the untimely passing of Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amirasinghe, one of the most outstanding former Presidents of the General Assembly. His unflinching dedication to the principles and causes of the United Nations has deservedly earned him a proud place in the annals of the United Nations. His monumental contributions to its hard-won accomplishments, the last being the presidency of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, can only be described as historical landmarks. I feel duty-bound to express my delegation's profound and heartfelt condolences on this grievous loss.

73. Only a week ago, I had the occasion to address the Assembly on the question of Palestine [76th meeting]. Today I shall speak on the situation in the Middle East, under item 26 of the agenda, and the item prescribes the subject matter to be discussed under it.

74. The two items are inextricably intertwined and would normally have been discussed under one item. The question of Palestine is being discussed separately in order to underline categorically and emphatically the fact that the usurped, inalienable rights of the Palestinian people have been central to literally every event, development, turmoil and war which have afflicted the Middle East since the appearance on the scene early in this century of the alien conspiracy, hatched by a handful of fanatical, retrogressive and unscrupulous Zionist manipulators, in order to usurp Palestine, the geographic and spiritual heartland of the Middle East and the ancestral homeland of the Palestinian people.

75. To carry out that fiendish plan, a grand design had to be implemented encompassing every country in the region and beyond; it was literally worldwide in scope. It involved destabilization, brainwashing, deceit, sabotage, terrorism, including international terrorism, vivisection, upheavals and even a calculated resort to fomenting anti-Semitism in order to convert to that Zionist delirium the unenthusiastic, the ambivalent and the outright opponents amongst the Jewish communities of the world. Empires were torn asunder and geographic entities created by God which had been in existence for thousands of years, such as natural Syria, had to be vivisected and cut up under the Sykes-Picot secret agreement in order to facilitate the usurpation of the Palestinian homeland.

76. As to the inexplicable conflicts which erupt in and between the States adjacent to usurped Palestine, their roots are rather well documented. I dealt with this matter in my statement last Monday, which was based on Israeli official sources, leaving no room for doubt as to who has been behind the suffering, the turmoil and the bloodshed which has afflicted the Middle East over the past few decades.

77. An area of consensus and tranquility for long centuries, the cradle of modern civilization itself, has been transformed into an area of dissension. And in practically every instance, setting aside the inevitable pains and stresses of social, cultural and economic transformations, to which no area in the world is immune, we find a vast litany of Israeli-Zionist machinations and juggling, which it would take too long to enumerate. Volumes of books have been written about those misdeeds. The havoc thus wrought not only has already almost devastated two Arab peoples in the region, namely, the people of Palestine and the people of Lebanon, but has also caused a schism, which I am confident that the 150 million Arabs, with a heightened and more incisive awareness of what is being plotted against their fate, will sooner rather than later surmount and overcome. Fundamentally, there is no such thing as inter-Arab conflicts. The Arab world is one people with a natural common origin, value systems, culture, language, cohesion and national aspirations. Whatever conflicts arise stem from varying reactions, responses and approaches as to how best to confront a present and growing Zionist

danger. I cannot over-emphasize this point. If there is no confluence of appraisal as yet, it will surely come through trial and error and eventual concerted judgement.

78. Let the Ambassador of Israel rest assured that the Arab world views the sustained and unabated Zionist aggression and arrogance with poise, determination and patience, for his authorities have irrevocably chosen the road of blatant challenge and confrontation. The greater the challenge, the greater will be the response. And years, even decades, are but fleeting moments in the historic encounters between justice and injustice, legality and usurpation. The time dimension is relative and does not change ultimate realities. That is the lesson of history.

79. The Ambassador of Israel does not even know the geopolitical contours of Mandated Palestine, which is hardly surprising, since he himself arrived only recently from a distant and far different region of the world. But one would have expected a man engaged in public and international affairs to have done a little homework in that field, with intellectual integrity.

80. Is it pathetic ignorance or deliberate and vicious distortion for the Israeli representative to allege that the Palestinian Arabs have long enjoyed self-determination in what he calls their own State—the Palestinian Arab State of Jordan? Are peoples like river beds, amenable to changes of location in cases of avalanche?

81. Rather than going into great detail, I shall solely lay bare to this Assembly the virulence, distortion and ignorance of an aggressive Zionist entity with regard to the land of Mandated Palestine, which, having been betrayed by the promise of the avowedly illegal Balfour Declaration, was very meticulously delineated in highly accurate maps by the League of Nations, subsequently by the British mandatory power and, finally, by the United Nations itself. Its boundaries extend from the Mediterranean and the Egyptian, Syrian and Lebanese borders right up to the river Jordan, and not one inch beyond. The maps of Jordan have been equally meticulously delineated by those same prestigious international bodies.

82. Jordan has belonged to its own indigenous people—basically the Nabateans and the Arabs—from ancient times up to this day to the same degree as Mandated Palestine had been the habitation of the Palestinian people from time immemorial, as I explained at length in my statement before the General Assembly only last week on the question of Palestine.

83. The fact that Jordan, as a sisterly country, has given temporary refuge to substantial numbers of Palestinians who were forcibly expelled from their homeland can by no logic or norm—at least within the value-system and norms of the United Nations—mean that a guest, no matter how close, would or should abuse the hospitality of his host any more than it would or should mean that those Palestinian victims, whether refugees or displaced persons, would forfeit their inalienable right to return to their homes and homeland in Palestine, properly so called. I think that by making his shameful suggestion the Israeli representative has merely laid bare that alien and aggressive entity's designs against both the people of Jordan and the people of Palestine.

84. The mandates under which the Israeli representative takes cover and which serve him as a thin disguise were imposed not only against Palestine and Jordan but also against Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. Indeed, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Algeria and the Gulf States were under varying forms of protectorates, colonialism and foreign domination, as were many esteemed Members of the United Nations. Does that mean that those countries are to be usurped or coveted as substitute homelands for the Palestinians? The Palestinian people would not forgo their homeland for promised paradise itself. Has not Mr. Blum heard of the glorious process of decolonization over the past quarter of a century? I am certain it was not to his liking because it exposed and isolated aggressive Israel as the pariah that it is in the march of humanity towards liberation and self-determination. And let me remind him that Britain itself, which had been the illegal donor of the Balfour promise, officially requested and obtained the approval of the League of Nations in 1922 to exclude Jordan, as a State and territory that had existed for 60 years, from the introduction and application of the obnoxious Balfour promise.

85. And what right, may I ask, have the Jews in either Palestine or Jordan?

86. The Israeli representative alleges that the Israelis have existed in Palestine over the past 3,000 years, misrepresenting the fact that no Jews, except a handful, have ever lived in Palestine over the said period, and particularly not in the last 2,000 years. They have not been in Palestine for 2,000 years. Is he not contracting the Zionist dogma about the Diaspora? And is it not a fact that all the European Jews, who are the most ardent Zionists are not even Semitic, but Khazars from Eastern Europe who embraced Judaism some 1,200 years ago, in the days of Charlemagne?

87. What roots have such people in the hallowed soil of Palestine, or what affinity have they to the ancient Hebrews of the Semitic race?

88. Arthur Koestler's book *The Thirteenth Tribe*¹ can perhaps conclusively convince the Israeli representative of this fact better than I can.

89. Yet another Israeli allegation is the preposterous suggestion that the Arab States have an interest in the perpetuation of the Palestinian people's agony. Does anybody in his senses believe for a moment that those who have suffered a Zionist onslaught, which has already cannibalized their strategic heartland and its people and has caused unspeakable agony and countless sacrifices, have any interest in the perpetuation of the Palestinian catastrophe?

90. The Israeli representative would be well advised to show more respect for the intelligence of an Assembly that comprises some of the foremost statesmen in the world before making such irresponsible utterances.

91. Last week I made a factual statement, quoting official Israeli sources, on the circumstances that surrounded the partition of Palestine, and concerning the return of the refugees, problems addressed in resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III). It is a fact admitted

¹ New York, Random House Inc., 1976.

by Zionist leaders and witnessed by our own people that, while they paid lip-service to resolution 181 (II), it was they who prevented its implementation on the ground. I need not repeat what I explained last week and in many previous statements.

92. Mr. Blum's explanation, therefore, that what he called Arab aggression in 1948 triggered off a *de facto* exchange of population is totally flawed. Because of numerous massacres of women, men and children the Palestinian refugees were forced to leave their homes. The story is too gruesome to repeat once more. The Jews of the Arab countries, on the other hand, were enticed, coerced, intimidated and even victimized by Zionist-fomented anti-Semitism, compelled by their co-religionists to leave their ancestral homelands in the Arab countries in which they had lived for centuries and centuries as respected and honourable citizens. And besides, the Arab countries have declared their readiness to welcome back their former citizens of the Judaic faith. Is Israel willing to reciprocate by implementing resolution 194 (III), on the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland? This is indeed the acid test of intentions, and not verbal calumny and sophistry.

93. The representative of the Zionist entity is evidently incapable of concealing his deep-seated hatred towards the Arab world, which constitutes an integral part of the developing world, for having broken loose from the notorious exploitation of its natural resources, long held in bondage and plundered by his own people's cabal, which controls, manipulates and exploits the rest of humanity by controlling the money and wealth of the world. People like Lord Rothschild every day, in iron-clad secrecy, decide and flash round the world how high the price of gold should be. That fact was disclosed not long ago by no less than the knowledgeable *Time* magazine. And there is Mr. Oppenheimer, of South Africa, who holds 15 million blacks in bondage in order to exploit and monopolize the diamonds, the uranium and the other precious resources which rightfully belong to the struggling African people of South Africa and Namibia. It is a well-known fact that the Zionists are the richest people in the world and control much of its destiny.

94. Indeed, in the United States itself, which has a national income of upwards of \$2,000 billion per annum, while millions of hard-working God-fearing Americans are unemployed, the Zionists own a lion's share of that great abundance. Official figures have shown that they have the highest per capita accumulation of all segments of American society, including the descendants of the immigrants of 300 or 400 years ago. The Ambassador of Israel this afternoon tried to exploit the petroleum situation and this is my reply to him: what is the value in real terms and purchasing power today of the \$30 brought in by a barrel of oil, the contents of which can produce almost 3,000 varieties of vital goods—durable vital goods—in addition to energy? It is the equivalent of \$1 of 30 to 40 years ago.

95. The suit I am wearing—and I am ashamed that it is worth so much—is worth \$500, two hundred times its equivalent in worsted English wool which, including hand tailoring, in the 1940s in Palestine would have cost three Palestinian pounds or pounds sterling. The same applies to the engines we buy, the food we eat

and the drinking water which the oil-producing countries must sometimes import—I am talking about water, which is more precious than petroleum to the oil-producing countries, and they pay more for it than other pay for oil. The Zionists must know that petroleum is a non-renewable resource that is being fast depleted, that the Arabs among all other oil producers are over-producing, deliberately, far in excess of their need and in exchange for what?—for rapidly eroding paper money.

96. And why single out the Arab oil producers for his venom, when most countries in the world—including the United States, the Soviet Union, Mexico, Venezuela, the United Kingdom, Norway and many others, on every continent—produce the same commodity; they charge as much or more for it and husband their production in accordance with their national needs. It is the Arabs—and the Arabs only—who are over-producing to serve the imperative needs of the international community.

97. The reason for the Israeli representative's virulent speech is simple. The Zionists want the Arab world to remain impoverished, exploited and at the mercy of Zionist finance and ambition.

98. The total revenues of the entire Arab world of 150 million souls—including petroleum revenues and those derived from farming, mining, sweat and toil—are less than or equal to the gross national product of a medium-sized European State. And yet, the Arab contribution to international economic aid by far exceeds the .03 of 1 per cent from the industrialized nations. Arab assistance has already reached 5 per cent, even though the relatively reasonable prices that have been fixed for petroleum have only been in existence for a mere four to five years. The Zionists want all the money to be assembled in their coffers and they want to continue their expansion at the expense of the Arab world. But colonialism and economic exploitation will no longer be tolerated by the third world, whose resources and toil end by benefiting the Zionist representative's oligopoly.

99. An Arab summit conference attended by 15 States was convened at Amman, Jordan, from 25 to 27 November. In view of the importance of that summit to questions relating to the Middle East, I believe it would be enlightening if I were to read excerpts from the Final Declaration of the 15 heads of State who participated *in extenso*. The communiqué states:

“Basing themselves upon their commitment to national responsibility, to the necessity of pursuing joint and earnest inter-Arab action in confronting the dangers and threats to which the Arab nation is exposed and believing that an effective and efficient confrontation can only come about on the basis of unanimity, the transcending of differences and the elimination of divisive factors in arriving at unity in the Arab ranks, the Arab leaders, meeting in Amman, worked together to study the present Arab situation and those political, military and economic developments which have taken place in the Arab world and in the international arena since the convening of the Tenth Arab Summit Conference in Tunis.” [See A/35/719-S/14289, annex.]

100. The conferees reviewed the Arab-Zionist conflict and its developments. They also adopted political,

military and economic decisions whose objective is the consolidation of Arab capabilities and the building up of their own self-reliant capabilities in all these fields. The Declaration continues:

“The Arab leaders reaffirmed their adherence to the resolutions of the summit conferences of Baghdad and Tunis”—namely, the Ninth and Tenth Arab Summit Conferences, held in 1978 and 1979—“and particularly to those dealing with the Palestinian question, considering the fact that it constituted the essence of the Arab struggle with the Israeli enemy. National responsibility with regard to this struggle made it incumbent upon all Arabs to act and struggle in order to repulse the Zionist danger which threatened the existence of the Arab nation.” [*Ibid.*]

101. The conferees stressed that the liberation of Arab Jerusalem is a national commitment and duty and declared their rejection of all the measures which Israel has perpetrated there. They also requested all the States of the world to adopt unequivocal and clear-cut measures in combating those Israeli practices. They also decided to sever all forms of relationship with any State which recognizes Jerusalem as the capital of Israel or transfers its embassy there.

102. The Arab leaders stressed their determination to continue support to the PLO in its capacity as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, with a view to restoring all the rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State on its national soil. The conferees also stressed the consolidation of the independence of the PLO and its free will. The conferees paid a tribute to the steadfastness of the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian lands and its heroic sacrifices and valiant resistance in its persistent confrontation with the Israeli occupation, which gives to the whole world continuing proof of its steadfast determination to obtain its right.

103. The Conference emphasized the right of the Palestinian Arab people, represented by the PLO, to return to its homeland and to determine its own future and to establish its independent State on its national soil, indicating that the PLO is the only party which possesses the right to exercise the responsibility of tackling the future of the Palestinian people.

104. The Arab Summit Conference stressed that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) is incompatible with Arab rights and does not constitute a sound basis for resolving the Middle East crises and particularly the question of Palestine. I have stated on several previous occasions that resolution 242 (1967) was intended specifically to deal with the consequences of the 1967 conflict and not to deal with the question of Palestine, which has been on our agenda for the past 32 years. I might also add in this connexion that the Israeli occupiers over the past 13 years have already torpedoed that resolution on the ground by massive colonization and annexation. What is the fate of Jerusalem? It has already been annexed. What is the fate of the heartland of the West Bank? It has been colonized all the way from Bethlehem in the south to Ramallah in the north, in addition to the colonization of every part of the occupied territories. The entire Jordan Valley, the only irrigated area in the West

Bank, has been taken over to the extent of 90 to 95 per cent. The water resources have been virtually taken over by the Israeli occupiers. And we still talk about resolution 242 (1967). Are we living in a real world or in a dream world?

105. The Arab leaders at the Summit Conference reiterated their rejection of the Camp David accords, which trapped the Egyptian leaders in the web of the conspiracy against the Arab nation and its fateful cause. The objective of those accords has been to destroy the unity of the Arabs and their solidarity, to separate the Egyptian régime from the Arab ranks, to lead it to negotiate with the Israeli enemy and to sign a separate peace treaty with it, in defiance of the will of the Egyptian people, oblivious of their national role and their deep-rooted and genuine Arab identity.

106. The leaders reiterated their determination to confront and defeat those accords and to remove their consequences, in accordance with the resolution of the Baghdad and Tunis Summit Conferences.

107. The leaders at the Amman Summit Conference took the opportunity to send a message of brotherly solidarity to their brethren, the Arab people of Egypt, who constitute an important part of our Arab nation and whose struggle is inseparable from the struggle of all the Arab peoples, expressing the hope that the Egyptian people would be able to overcome the circumstances which have separated them from their brethren, in order to resume their brotherly, constructive participation in the building of the Arab nation.

108. The Summit Conference discussed with great attention the current conflict between brotherly Iraq and Iran. Emanating from the principles of Arab solidarity and with a view to preserving the brotherly relations between the Arab and Islamic States and the mobilization of their resources in support of the struggle which the Arab nation is waging against the Zionist enemy, the Conference called upon the two parties to declare an immediate cease-fire and to resolve the conflict by peaceful means.

109. The Conference supported Iraq's legitimate right to its lands and waters, in accordance with the international agreements concluded between the two States. The Conference welcomed Iraq's positive response to the appeals made by the Islamic Conference, the United Nations and the non-aligned States for a cease-fire and for the use of good offices for resolving the dispute through negotiations. The Conference appealed to Iran to respond favourably to that position.

110. The Conference also appealed to the two sides to commit themselves on a reciprocal basis to the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, to respect rights and sovereignty and to establish close good-neighbourly relations between themselves. Those principles should be the basis of relationships between the Arab countries and Iran.

111. The Conference expressed its total condemnation of the continuing Israeli aggression against sisterly Lebanon. That aggression constitutes a challenge to the dignity of the international community. I explained last week—and I shall not repeat it today—how Israel had planned the disintegration and the vivisection

tion of independent and sovereign Lebanon as far back as 1954. Those facts are recorded in the diary of the late Moshe Sharett, a former Foreign Minister and Prime Minister of Israel. The Conference also declared its complete solidarity with the sisterly people of Lebanon and appealed to all parties in Lebanon to respect the legitimacy of the State, with a view to safeguarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

112. The Conference reaffirmed what was stated in the Final Declaration of the Tenth Arab Summit Conference, held at Tunis from 20 to 22 November, 1979, on the reconstruction of Lebanon.² It is my earnest hope that that can be launched as soon as possible. I know that the valiant Lebanese people have already started their reconstruction effort in areas where they are not subjected to daily bombardment by Israeli Phantoms and F-15s and cluster bombs.

113. The Arab Summit Conference in Amman reviewed Arab relations with the other States of the world. It asserted the necessity of solidifying the links and relationships among the Islamic States, the consolidation of the role of the non-aligned movement and co-operation with its members and with the Latin American States. It also asserted the need to fortify solidarity with the Organization of African Unity and for the consolidation of Arab-African relation, to the mutual benefit of African and Arab interests. The Conference also asserted its support for the just struggle of the peoples of the African continent against *apartheid* and foreign intervention.

114. The Conference also asserted its determination to continue the Arab-European dialogue in a manner which would serve the common interests of both sides and bring about increased understanding of the just Arab demands, particularly those pertaining to the question of Palestine.

115. The Conference also asserted the need to strive to ensure continuance of the support and help of the States of the socialist camp concerning Arab rights and for the consolidation of co-operation with that community in such a manner as to serve their common interests and lead to the augmentation and development of the support of those States for Arab rights, with a view to strengthening Arab steadfastness.

116. The Conference likewise decided to continue its efforts within the United Nations and the specialized agencies, and at conferences held under its aegis, to co-ordinate a common Arab position, as decided by the League of Arab States.

117. The Conference stressed the importance of continued consultations with the Holy See, and other important Christian institutions, to ensure their continued solidarity as regards the restoration of full Arab sovereignty over Jerusalem.

118. The Arab Summit Conference condemned the persistence of the Government of the United States in supporting Israel and assisting it politically, militarily and economically, which support has enabled Israel to consolidate its occupation, deny the Palestinian people their legitimate rights and ignore the international resolutions against the continuance of aggressive practices, expansion and colonization.

119. The Conference also condemned the hostile policy of the Government of the United States towards the PLO, the denial of its right to represent the Palestinian Arab people and the stigmatization of it as a terrorist organization.

120. The Arab leaders expressed their grave concern over the continuing differences in the Arab front, at a moment when all resources should be mobilized in concert to confront the dangers which face the Arab nation. They called for a settlement of these passing differences in a spirit of genuine Arab awareness and faith in their unity of objective and fate. This should be achieved within the provisions of the Arab Solidarity Pact, adopted by the Third Arab Summit Conference in Casablanca in 1965.

121. The Arab Summit Conference in Amman adopted the strategy for joint Arab economic development up to the year 2000 which aims at achieving the functional objectives of Arab unity, freedom and complementarity. A solid economic base was deemed essential to national security, encompassing the whole spectrum of the Arab world. It is the considered opinion of my delegation that the resolutions of the Eleventh Arab Summit Conference, held at Amman, adopted by the 15 participant States, are historic and show unmistakably that the rights of the Palestinian people and the awareness of a deadly Zionist danger to the existence and prosperity of the Arab world are the dominant and overriding concerns of the Governments, régimes and peoples of the Middle East. All other issues are peripheral and passing, conspicuous as they may appear momentarily. The question of Palestine was, is and will continue to be the core of the situation in the Middle East.

122. Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic): Like all peace-loving peoples and States, the German Democratic Republic is deeply concerned about the dangerous aggravation of the situation in the Middle East. It has become clear to the entire world that the policy of concluding separate deals and of excluding the PLO from negotiations dealing with issues that affect the destiny of the Arab people of Palestine poses a dangerous risk for peace in that region and in the world at large.

123. As a result of that policy the problems relating to the Middle East issue have become more acute, the piles of weapons have risen still higher and the number of victims of Israel's acts of war has increased further. Therefore, a speedy, just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East issue is of tremendous significance, and there must be no further procrastination.

124. The discussions held during the general debate at the thirty-fifth session and in connexion with the question of Palestine [item 24] have demonstrated again that the majority of the States Members United Nations are convinced that a just, comprehensive and durable settlement of the Middle East conflict will be possible only provided that first, Israel withdraws its troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; secondly, the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to national self-determination and to establish an independent State of their own, are implemented; and, thirdly, the right to a secure and independent existence of all States in that region is guaranteed.

² A/34/763, annex.

125. It is only under those conditions that the situation which has emerged can be eased and durable peace in the Middle East can be established.

126. The attempts at bringing about a one-sided settlement outside the framework of the United Nations and in violation of United Nations decisions are directed against the interests of the Arab peoples. They represent gross disregard of the opinion held by the overwhelming majority of Member States and are apt to create new tinder in the Middle East region. In the interest of their hegemonistic strivings for predominance, the imperialist circles are increasing their military presence in that region. The policy of occupation pursued by Israel in the illegally-occupied Palestinian territories is being intensified. The aggressive acts perpetrated by Israel against the Lebanese people are being escalated. The proclamation of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and the heralding of the annexation of the Golan Heights represent a new challenge to the international community.

Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda (Zaire), Vice-President, took the Chair.

127. In the face of that situation, which poses a direct threat to international peace, the following questions must be raised. How much further is the programme conceived at Camp David for the purpose of permanently worsening the situation to be carried? How can that be harmonized with the so-called peace process proclaimed by certain circles here in this hall?

128. Against the background of actual events and in the face of the suffering and sorrow inflicted upon the Palestinian people by the Israeli régime such statements appear to be—as indeed they really are—camouflage and demagoguery.

129. The fact that the imperialist States cling to a policy which is negating the realities in the Middle East shows the course they also intend to follow in the future, namely, to act in defiance of the interests of the Arab peoples and to disregard the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Instead of according to the Arab people of Palestine, led by their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, their right to national self-determination and to establish an independent State of their own, as called for in numerous United Nations resolutions, attempts are being made to bring into play a so-called administrative autonomy for the population in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

130. The very ones who, every once in a while, set themselves up as judges in human rights matters interfere in a flagrant manner in the internal affairs of an entire people and try to determine that people's destiny, leaving aside its legitimate representative, the PLO. The real intentions behind the so-called autonomy talks aim at perpetuating the Israeli occupation, for that is regarded as a guarantee of the security of imperialist interests in the Middle East.

131. Now that more than 200 resolutions adopted within the framework of the United Nations have had no effect whatsoever on Israel's attitude, it should be quite clear that Israel will continue to perpetrate aggressive acts against the Arab peoples as long as it is sure of receiving military and economic assistance from imperialist circles in the United States and certain

other countries. Therefore, we wish to stress once again the necessity of taking effective measures against the aggressor, Israel, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and as recently called for in General Assembly resolution ES-7/2.

132. The German Democratic Republic fully understands the positions of the Arab States and the people of Palestine, which resolutely oppose the policy of separate deals and resist any attempt to undermine their determination. The firm solidarity of all Arab and non-aligned countries will in the future also be the best guarantee that any new manoeuvres of the imperialist circles will be withstood.

133. My country's policy concerning the settlement of problems in the Middle East is definite and clear. It has repeatedly been explained and it fully corresponds with the positions held by the other socialist countries, as was stated at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held in Warsaw on 14 and 15 May 1980. It was declared there that no actions impeding the attainment of a political settlement in the Middle East should be taken. No State shall be entitled to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries and peoples of that region, and no State may lay claim to the natural resources of the peoples of that region or try to encroach upon those resources. With great concern, therefore, we have followed recent imperialist threats posed by the manoeuvres that the so-called Rapid Deployment Force has carried out in the very focal point of tension in that region. Those manoeuvres can of course be hardly understood by anyone as advancing the so-called peace process.

134. It is in the interest of the peoples of that region and of international security that a positive change there be brought about. The German Democratic Republic believes that the time is ripe for the international community of States to resist Israel's annexationist and expansionist policy most strongly. It is also time for the policy of making separate deals to be discontinued and for endeavours towards the settlement of the Middle East issue to be brought back to the road of joint efforts by all parties concerned, including the only legitimate representative of the people of Palestine, the PLO.

135. The German Democratic Republic, like the other socialist States, will support any step towards achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace settlement in the Middle East.

136. At the meeting of the heads of party and Government of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held in Moscow on 5 December 1980, it was once again reiterated that the socialist countries would continue their efforts to improve the international climate, strengthen peace, maintain a policy of détente, develop international co-operation and seek a solution to all conflicts by way of negotiations.

137. Mr. AL-SAFFAR (Bahrain) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: The General Assembly has just concluded the general debate on the question of Palestine. Today, this Assembly is, for the thirteenth consecutive year, again taking up consideration of the situation in the Middle East.

138. The international community is aware that as long as the Organization is unable to find a just and comprehensive solution of this problem, one that clearly would include the complete withdrawal of the Israeli occupying troops from all the occupied territories and, primarily, from the Holy City of Jerusalem, and as long as Israel does not recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including its right to return to home and property, its right to self-determination and its right to create an independent State on its own territory, the situation in the Middle East will undoubtedly lead the region and the world into a destructive war, the results of which will be disastrous not only to the peoples of the region but also to the world at large.

139. Israel's obstinacy and intransigence as well as the continuation of its oppressive expansionist policy in the occupied Arab territories, its disregard of the Charter and the principles of the United Nations and of the instruments of international law, including the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949³ and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [*resolution 217 A (III)*], have a negative impact and continue to obstruct a just solution of the Middle East problem.

140. Israel has deliberately pursued a policy of threats and terrorism against all those who criticize its policy or who attempt to implement the United Nations position with regard to the Palestinian people and their cause. To that end, Israel uses every means of blackmail, through the media that it controls in many States. This is done in order to still any voices that might speak out for justice in support of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. The whole ABSCAM affair is just a variety act performed by Israeli agents on the stage of United States policy.

141. Israel's leaders profess that their country aspires to live in peace with neighbouring Arab States, but Israel's drastic measures and actions in those territories certainly contradict such statements. The establishment of Israeli settlements and changes in the legal, demographic, cultural and religious—both Islamic and Christian—status and the annexation of parts of those territories, such as the most recent declaration that Jerusalem is the eternal capital of Israel, are insurmountable obstacles to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

142. Israel is pursuing a policy aimed at the emigration of the Arab inhabitants of the territories it has occupied since 1967, including the West Bank. Israel, furthermore, is engaged in plundering their wealth and natural resources and controlling their economic activities. Israel is also pursuing a policy aimed at imposing hardships and monopolizing underground water supplies in order to drive out the indigenous Arab inhabitants of these territories and replace them with others coming from outside. This policy on the part of the Israeli occupying authorities has created a climate of tension in the occupied Arab territories which has incited the Arab inhabitants to resist these acts of repression in order to defend their legitimate rights, recognized in all international instruments. This

situation has therefore led to vengeance on the part of the Zionist authorities, which have taken cruel measures against certain legitimate Palestinian leaders and have unjustifiably expelled others.

143. The brutalities perpetrated by Israel in the occupied Arab territories, which have not abated at all, and the opposition of the Arabs, in particular on the West Bank, are therefore not surprising. The Palestinian people and other Arab peoples are well aware of the rights of which they have been deprived and they will not accept any settlement that does not entail recognition of those legitimate rights. Israel is unwilling to coexist in peace with the neighbouring Arab peoples. If it had any good intentions whatsoever, Israel would not have adopted its policy of immigration, nor its policy of establishing settlements and arming those settlements.

144. Israel's continued invasions of southern Lebanon constitute another demonstration of its expansionist intentions in the Arab region. The illegal actions of Israel in the Syrian Golan Heights, as in the case of Jerusalem and its annexation are a further demonstration of its intentions to act against the Syrian people and its right of sovereignty. They are also flagrant violations of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, especially the fourth Geneva Convention.

145. Therefore it is clear to all States that Israel is not willing to co-operate in the quest for a peaceful solution of the Middle East problem, since it continues to implement its policy of expansion through the annexation of the Arab territories occupied since 1967 and by imposing its complete domination over those territories. However, it seems that the Israeli leaders disregard the fact that a people struggling to recover its national rights, particularly its right to self-determination, is not a people that is easy to defeat. The continuing events in the occupied Arab territories are also clear proof of the weakness of international policy in the Middle East which has permitted Israel to continue to violate the will of the international community.

146. We must mention here United States policy towards the Arab-Israeli conflict, a policy that has made it possible for Israel to continue its occupation of Arab territories and to refuse to allow any solution aimed at a just settlement of the Middle East problem.

147. The Arab States have together demonstrated their approach to a solution of the Middle East problem. This was referred to in the Final Declaration of the Tenth Arab Summit Conference held in Tunis, in which the following is stated:

“The Conference... confirms that the Arab nation is struggling to achieve an equitable peace based on the precepts of right and justice and the principle of the recovery of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and the liberation of all occupied Palestinian and Arab lands.”⁴

148. Last week, during the debate on the question of Palestine, we expressed our views and explained why we reject isolated agreements, especially the Camp David agreements, which some claim are a

³ Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949. United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.

⁴ A/34/763, annex.

basis for a solution of the Middle East conflict. The Palestinian people, together with all other Arab peoples, has rejected those agreements because they do not take into account the principal party concerned in the conflict, the Palestinian Arab people. That is why the Camp David agreements do not represent an adequate basis for a just, lasting and comprehensive solution of the Middle East problem.

149. General Assembly resolution 34/70 reaffirms that the establishment of a just, comprehensive and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict must be based on full respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations as well as for its resolutions concerning the situation in the Middle East and the question of Palestine.

150. The convening of a peace conference on the Middle East with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3375 (XXX), under the auspices of the United Nations, taking into account all the aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict and in particular the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, and the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, is a question that must be given study.

151. The devious proposals put forward by some States for settlement of the Middle East problem do not in any way serve the cause of peace in our Arab region but rather encourage Israeli stubbornness and make it possible for Israel to continue its occupation of Arab territories and its flouting of the rights of the Palestinian people.

152. Mr. Sheikh Razzaque ALI (Bangladesh): The heart of the Middle East problem is remarkable in its simplicity. A people deprived of its natural birthright, forcibly dispossessed and uprooted from its lands, is now demanding the correction of a monumental injustice. In essence it is a struggle of a people deprived of its right to self-determination and the attainment of its legitimate natural rights. The tragedy of this situation has been obscured and diffused by treating the problem not as a political one but as an essentially humanitarian one. For 25 years the United Nations itself persisted in that fictional approach, ignoring the rights of the Palestinians, their existence as an entity and their status as a people, and settling upon them the indignity of the status of hapless refugees, scattered over various countries and dependent on international charity.

153. The Middle East situation continues to challenge the international community as a major test of the credibility and viability of the United Nations in the fulfilment of its fundamental responsibility for preserving peace and security in the world. In the resulting turmoil, the search for peace has remained as ephemeral as a mirage in that part of the world. No other problem has provoked so much thought, unleashed so much indignation or so polarized the emotions of nations and individuals alike. However, beyond the contradictions, the bitter emotions and ironies, beyond the bloodshed and sufferings, there has finally emerged a determination on the part of those most affected to seek an end to the turmoil, to seek peace—not a

temporary truce, but a permanent peace. It is our duty to seize this opportunity and progressively build upon it so as to promote a lasting and durable peace.

154. But peace, to endure, must be peace based on justice and justice demands the undoing of all acts contrary to international law, to norms and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and to the exercise of fundamental human rights.

155. It was not until 1974 that the General Assembly, after a quarter of a century of diffused and piecemeal deliberations on the problem, finally dealt with the question in its totality, encompassing all its aspects, historical, political and juridical. Through its resolution 3236 (XXIX), adopted by an overwhelming majority, the General Assembly unambiguously spelt out the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty and to return to its homes and property from which it had been forcibly uprooted. The resolution also endorsed the right of the Palestinian people to present its own case and to participate in any peace negotiations through its own legitimate representative, the PLO, which has already received such specific recognition as full membership in the non-aligned movement, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the League of Arab States and, through General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX), the status of permanent observer at the United Nations.

156. Today there cannot be any doubt that the people of Palestine is a definite political entity. To ignore its presence is to discount a reality recognized by the overwhelming majority of States and indeed all mankind. Thus, the fundamental element of a durable and permanent Middle East peace revolves around the assurance of the rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine to self-determination and national independence and the recognition of the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes, from which they have been forcibly uprooted. It follows, therefore, that the Palestinian people is and must remain a principal party to any Middle East peace settlement.

157. The second imperative for a permanent peace revolves around the occupied territories. Israel's continued justification of the occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip has arbitrarily converted an exception into a rule of conduct. It negates the letter and the spirit of the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907⁵ respecting the laws and customs of war and the Geneva Convention of 1949, not to mention numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The policy of the establishment of settlements and the belated attempts to justify legal claims to the occupied territories through ancient historical precedent are clear indications that Israel is bent on a policy of expansionism through annexation. Any recognition of the Israeli claims would constitute a dangerous precedent which would nullify the fundamental Charter injunction against the acquisition of territory by force.

158. The third element of any comprehensive programme for peace is the status of the Holy City of Jerusalem. This, as is well known, touches the suscep-

⁵ Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1915).

tibilities of not only the Arab nations but the entire Moslem community of 800 million people and, beyond that, of hundreds of millions of Christians. The Holy City symbolizes the roots of three of the world's greatest religions, embracing the spiritual and intellectual contribution of more than two thirds of mankind. It remains a permanent edifice to the coexistence, unity and tolerance of timeless generations of believers. Attempts by Israel to legalize its forcible annexation of the Holy City through the enactment of the so-called basic law violates the basic principles of international law and the principle of the non-acquisition of territory by force. The international community rejected the Israeli move through the adoption of Security Council resolution 478 (1980). The Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization, stated: "the question of Jerusalem is of primary importance and cannot be solved through any unilateral action" [see A/35/I, sect. IV]. The preservation of the Holy Places from desecration and despoilment and their accessibility, without hindrance, to pilgrims from all over the world constitute fundamental elements in the evolution of any peace process.

159. The position of Bangladesh on the Middle East problem is clear and unequivocal. As President Ziaur Rahman of Bangladesh has said;

"It is a blot on the conscience of the civilized world that Israel continues to violate with impunity the various resolutions adopted at the United Nations and in other international forums calling for the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinians, including their right to have a State of their own. As a member of the Jerusalem Committee and also of the Co-ordination Committee on Jerusalem at the United Nations, Bangladesh's stand regarding complete solidarity with its Arab and Palestinian brethren is well known. Bangladesh believes that peace through justice alone can endure. In the Middle East, such a peace is yet to be won. The components of any settlement that could guarantee a just and lasting peace in the Middle East must embrace the following essentials: an acceptance of the fact by all parties that the question of Palestine lies at the heart of the Middle East problem; that no solution can be envisaged without the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland as well as to self-determination, independence and territorial sovereignty; that the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with all other parties, is indispensable in all efforts towards a solution; that the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force imposes an obligation on Israel, under international law, to withdraw completely and quickly from all the territories it occupied since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem."

160. The choice now rests squarely with Israel whether to move urgently along a realistic path to a durable and just peace through timely and forthright action. In the event of failure by Israel to take appropriate measures in this respect, the international community should consider taking action under Chapter VII of the Charter.

161. Mr. BUEIRO (Brazil): Four months have elapsed since the General Assembly met in an emergency special session to consider the question of Palestine and adopted resolution ES-7/2. Just like countless other United Nations decisions on this problem, that resolution remains a dead letter. In fact, Israel shows no sign of withdrawing from any of the Palestinian and other territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem, despite the 15 November deadline.

162. There is no denying that the core of the crisis underlying the situation in the Middle East is the still-unresolved question of Palestine. As long as there is no adequate solution, the present unjust situation in the region will continue to be fraught with the potentially explosive elements of mistrust, tension and conflict. Unless there is a fair and bold attempt to deal appropriately with the issues involved, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, the situation might very well escalate into a conflagration of large proportions, with unforeseen consequences. It is therefore imperative for all Member States to give their support to the applicable United Nations resolutions to ensure the settlement of the problems hindering the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

163. In connexion with the establishment of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East, the Foreign Minister of Brazil, at the opening of the general debate of the present session of the General Assembly, stated that:

"... it is indispensable for the consensus to prevail so as to ensure... the complete withdrawal of occupying forces from all Arab territories; the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return,... to self-determination, to independence and to sovereignty in Palestine, in accordance with the Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions; the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] in peace negotiations; and the recognition of the right of all States in the region to exist within recognized boundaries." [4th meeting, para. 29.]

164. Of course, a final settlement will necessarily have to include many other points. But those above are the elements that are essential in order to inspire any solution designed to bring lasting peace and justice to the region. Indeed, it is inadmissible to quibble about the principle of international law that territories acquired by the force of arms should be evacuated by the occupying Power. It is equally inadmissible and even anachronistic to deny the Palestinian people their inalienable right to self-determination and to statehood in Palestine; not only anachronistic, but even paradoxical, since the United Nations in 1947 recognized the right of the Palestinian people to an independent State, as resolution 181 (II) of the General Assembly unmistakably demonstrates. In this context, no further clarification or qualifications are required: independence and sovereignty mean independence and sovereignty, not some vague form of administrative autonomy. The need for the participation of the PLO in peace negotiations stems not only from the fact that the PLO has been widely recognized as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, but from the overriding historical evidence that no political settlement can be imposed upon a people against

the will of its accepted leaders without inevitable tension and eventual conflict.

165. The problems and difficulties impeding the establishment of a global and peaceful settlement have been made even more serious by a number of initiatives taken by the Israeli occupying Power. First, the consolidation of the settlements policy on the West Bank has changed the demographic and physical character of the area, in violation of Security Council resolutions 446 (1979), 452 (1979) and 465 (1980) and in contravention of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949. Secondly, the annexation of East Jerusalem and the unilateral declaration to the effect that the Holy City is the capital of Israel, do not offer encouragement for the solution of problems which were already very serious. Thirdly, the reported intention to annex the Golan Heights, illegally occupied since 1967, would be an act of defiance that undermines the creation of an atmosphere of goodwill and conciliation. Fourthly, the repressive measures applied by Israel to West Bank Palestinian personalities, such as the detention and deportation of the Mayors of Hebron and Halhul in violation of the 1949 Geneva Convention, can hardly be regarded as positive harbingers of a willingness on the part of the Israelis to coexist peacefully with their Palestinian neighbours. Finally, the military attacks launched against the territory of Lebanon must cease, for its sovereignty and territorial integrity must be safeguarded.

166. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): More than any other international problem, it is the Middle East conflict which has constantly imperilled world peace and security. Today, the international situation is marked by a pervasive atmosphere of gloom because of the heightened tension resulting from scant respect for international law and morality. The deteriorating situation in the Middle East is of especially grave concern to the international community, as the continued belligerence and expansionism of Israel has increasingly darkened the prospects for peace and stability in the entire world.

167. In his annual report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General has also underscored this grim reality by devoting a full chapter to the Middle East problem and emphasizing that the situation in the Middle East, "continues to dominate the affairs of the international community and remains central to the political and economic stability of the world" [see A/35/I, sect. IV].

168. The Secretary-General's assessment of the current trend of events in the region fully reflects the mounting concern of the international community, which has incessantly called for a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem in order to bring about a lasting peace in that strategic region of the world. To overlook this imperative is to reject peace. The continuing denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the illegal occupation by Israel of the Arab and Palestinian territories constitute the core of the Middle East conflict. Total withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people are therefore the essential prerequisites for a lasting and just settlement of the Middle East conflict.

169. For more than three decades now the Palestinian people has been suffering the pain of exile and oppression. An entire generation has grown up experiencing the unabated agony resulting from Zionist aggression and usurpation of the Palestinian homeland. The history of the Palestinian tragedy and of the four conflicts in the Middle East is well known and need not be recounted here. We cannot, however, ignore the fact that it was the United Nations which was instrumental in the partitioning of Palestine, thus depriving the inhabitants of that ancient land of their national heritage and driving them into refugee camps. The United Nations, as a trustee of the rights of the Palestinian people, owes it to them to restore their inalienable human and national rights.

170. The situation in the Middle East calls for determined action on the part of the international community. The United Nations surely cannot permit itself to acquiesce in expansionism and must now act decisively to end Israel's prolonged occupation of Arab and Palestinian territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem. It is an inescapable duty of this world body to compel Israel to terminate its aggression against the Palestinian people, whose agony is particularly profoundly felt throughout the Islamic world.

171. The Islamic world is firmly committed to the just struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination and to the sacred cause of the liberation of Al Quds al Sharif, which represents a unique and universal spiritual heritage.

172. Let me reiterate here that the Holy City of Jerusalem cannot become part of the spoils of war. It must return to Arab sovereignty, which alone can be its impartial and loving custodian.

173. Successive Islamic Conferences have adopted resolutions and declarations reiterating their solidarity with the Palestinian cause and demanding the complete withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the full restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to create an independent and sovereign State of its own in Palestine. Unless these just demands are met in full, the prospects of a genuine and lasting peace in the Middle East will elude us and the world situation will remain afflicted by a climate of increasing turmoil and tension.

174. It must also be clearly understood that no partial approach to resolving the Middle East conflict can bring peace to that region. This would be particularly true if attempts were to be made to seek peace on terms which do not fully take into account the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. It was precisely for this reason that the Islamic Conference, as well as the meetings of the non-aligned countries, have categorically rejected the Camp David agreements.

175. Over the years, the United Nations has adopted various resolutions demanding the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, the annulment of illegal measures taken by Israel to change the historic, demographic and Arab character of these territories and the restitution of the inalienable national and human rights of the Palestinian

people. These resolutions have repeatedly affirmed the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force and specifically recognized the right of the people of Palestine to return to their homes and to be compensated for their losses. These resolutions have also time and again censured the policies and practices of terrorism carried out by Israel in the occupied territories in order to annex them permanently into "greater Israel" and to consolidate its colonial stranglehold over the Palestinian people.

176. Israel has, however, contemptuously rejected these United Nations resolutions. In total defiance of the verdict of the international community, Israel has escalated its terrorism and its illegal policies of annexation and expansionism. There have been provocative acts of harassment against the Arab and Palestinian people in the occupied territories, expulsion and incarceration of the Palestinian leaders and even assassination attempts against them, and desecration of the holy shrines of Islam. The Israeli authorities, obsessed by the Zionist scheme to Judaize Al Quds Al Sharif have also engaged in a systematic obliteration of the historic personality of the Holy City, in flagrant violation of General Assembly resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V), as well as various Security Council resolutions, particularly resolutions 465 (1980), 476 (1980) and 478 (1980). The latest reports of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories [see A/35/425] and the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979)⁶ provide irrefutable evidence of the intransigence and contempt with which the Israeli authorities have been treating the decisions of this world Organization.

177. The Israeli authorities are further compounding their aggression by pursuing a relentless policy of persecuting Palestinians. Even while the Assembly is debating the Middle East situation, Israeli soldiers are engaged in suppressing the Palestinian people on the West Bank who have risen in protest against the unlawful deportation of their leaders, the Mayors of Al-Khalil and Halhul.

178. Israel's wanton acts of oppression against the Palestinian People are not confined to the occupied territories. It has been carrying out murderous attacks on the Palestinian camps in southern Lebanon. The intensified armed incursions by Israeli forces into Lebanon, on the pretext of the so-called "self-defence" requirement, have seriously undermined the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of that State and the repeated acts of violence and harassment against the members of UNIFIL have created a complex situation interrelated with the wider problem of the Middle East.

179. It is encouraging to see that the inalienable national and political rights of the Palestinian people are gaining increasing recognition throughout the world. There is now a universal consensus that strategies which are one-sided or which contemplate partial remedies cannot bring lasting peace to the Middle East. Instead, these would generate further mistrust,

causing polarization, and would aggravate the already tense situation. It is also acknowledged that no other party except the PLO, which is the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, has the right to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinian people. For any realistic and sincere peace initiative, the full participation of the PLO remains indispensable. In his report, the Secretary-General has also underscored this aspect by emphasizing that a continuous and determined effort must be made to achieve a comprehensive settlement through negotiations involving all the parties concerned, including the PLO.

180. The deepening concern over the crisis in the Middle East was reflected in the successive meetings of the Security Council this year and also in the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly which adopted resolutions calling upon Israel to end its aggression against the Palestinian people and its illegal occupation of the Arab and Palestinian lands.

181. A just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict has assumed added urgency in the wake of the intensification of the situation in and around the Middle East as a result of pressures and counter-pressures of super-Power rivalry. If the present trend is not reversed, the future of the whole of mankind may be endangered. A firm, action-oriented approach is therefore required to put an end to the intolerable situation resulting from the persistent Israeli defiance of the verdict of the international community on the question of Palestine, which is at the heart of the Middle East conflict. In view of Israel's continuing non-compliance with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, the Security Council must now proceed with the application of effective measures against Israel under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. A delay in taking such action will not only prolong the sufferings of the Palestinian people, but will lead to grave consequences of incalculable magnitude.

182. Finally, the world community cannot afford to let an intransigent State continue the present deadlock and defy a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict. The United Nations, which represents the collective aspirations of the international community for peace and progress, must respond to the challenge of the Middle East situation. We share the Secretary-General's belief, as expressed in the concluding part of his report on the situation in the Middle East [A/35/563], of 24 October 1980, that the United Nations can do much to facilitate a settlement and that it will play an increasingly important role in this vital endeavour.

183. Mr. MRANI ZENTAR (Morocco) [*interpretation from French*]: Although the problem of Palestine, which underlies the whole of the crisis in the Middle East, has been examined by the United Nations since the late 1940s, in other words almost since the inception of the Organization, we have not made any concrete and decisive steps towards a lasting solution, in spite of an impressive and unprecedented number of related and increasingly forceful resolutions.

184. Does this mean that all of the diplomatic action in favour of the cause of the martyred Palestinian people

⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth year, Supplement for October, November and December 1980*, document S/14268.

has been in vain and that it has failed to achieve its goals?

185. The injustice done to the people of Palestine, the occupation of their national territory and that of neighbouring Arab territories, the denial of their political and most elementary human rights, the fact that they have been forced into a methodically-organized exile in order to clear the way for the official and armed colonization that has overtly and shamelessly penetrated into their very homes, such are the acts of aggression of which this people has been victim but of which the international community is now well and fully aware.

186. The Middle East crisis—or, more precisely, the Middle East crises, which follow each other at an accelerating pace and pose an ever-increasing threat to the peace and security of the whole of the international community, are directly rooted in the unsavoury armed citadel that has been set up and maintained in the region by the intolerant Israeli authorities, pre-occupied with insatiable expansionist dreams that generate justified revolts.

187. Everything that occurs in the Middle East takes on added significance as a direct result of the conflict of which Israel is the origin, for Israeli policy has simultaneously deprived the Palestinian people of all of their rights by confiscating their territory and herding the population into refugee camps, by enlarging its questionable borders illegally to take in further territories and, finally, by taking over what millions of human beings, Moslems and Christians, regard as their most precious heritage, the Holy Places where the sacred mysteries of their faiths have been performed.

188. Israel, which remains the constant aggressor of the rights of the Palestinian people by virtue of its presence on the national territory of Palestine, is aggravating that situation, which violates the basic principles of international law, by implementing an outrageous policy of repression with regard to the local populations that strikes at the property, the rights and the faith of the Palestinian people.

189. Even Palestinian property rights have been a priority goal in Israel's acts of dispossession because in that region, with its age-old Arab tradition, ties to the land form the basis of all other civil and political bonds.

190. Thus, a vast project to alter the Arab-Islamic structures of the Palestinian community has been implacably carried out for three decades, along with acts to change the identity of the principally-Islamic sites and holy places, in an illusory search for a grandeur that may well have vanished. It is a project whose immediate and certain result is the mutilation, when it is not the pure and simple destruction, of historical remains that are objects of veneration for hundreds of millions of the faithful on five continents.

191. The Palestinian Arab citizens who have remained in the territory against all odds continue to endure the mass of harassing and repressive measures at the peril of their basic security and often even of their lives. Following the still-unpunished attacks against elected mayors such as Mr. Shaka'a, we have now witnessed the actions taken against Mr. Qawasma, mayor of the town of Al-Khalil and Mr. Milhem of the

town of Halhul, who have finally been sent into forced exile once again, in spite of two explicit resolutions adopted in their regard this very year by the Security Council.

192. The territory of the Lebanese Republic has been repeatedly violated for years by the Israeli army which is attempting to secure new positions in that region designed to strengthen its control over the occupied Arab territories that are in the process of being settled or undergoing definitive annexation. As a result, the Lebanese people are entitled to all our sympathy and solidarity in their valiant struggle for the defence of their national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

193. Israel is not content merely to defy United Nations resolutions; it is relentlessly continuing to step up its activities by altering, transforming and mutilating the status and characteristics of the occupied territories, and in particular of the Holy City of Jerusalem.

194. Israel is establishing dozens of settlements in the occupied Arab territories, in violation of the principles of international law. Israeli obduracy in this area is a denial of all the principles which constitute the foundation upon which the international community is based, and it is for that reason that our community rejects all the unilateral measures that have been taken in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the law of nations.

195. The Palestinian people, whose cause lies at the very heart of the Middle East problem being examined today, has the inalienable right to return to its homeland; it has the inalienable right to self-determination without any interference, to sovereignty and national independence, as well as to the establishment of an independent State in its homeland; and the PLO, its sole representative, must participate fully in all negotiations related to its destiny.

196. The Organization of the Islamic Conference, of which His Majesty King Hassan II, Chairman of the Al Quds Committee, is a firm champion, has contributed greatly to the present awareness of the legitimacy of the Palestinian people's struggle and that of Arab countries that have fallen victim to Israeli aggression.

197. The Organization of the Islamic Conference has thus shown itself to be a positive, irreplaceable element, capable of playing a fundamental role in the defence of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in the search for the peaceful settlement of international conflicts and in the assumption of responsibility for the political and moral interests of peoples that are victims of aggression out of all proportion to their means.

198. With respect to the Middle East, the Al Quds Committee, at its second session held at Marrakesh on 11 and 12 March 1980, adopted a recommendation reaffirming the solidarity of the Islamic States and peoples with the Palestinian cause and the Al Quds cause. The Islamic Conference considers them to be the paramount issues facing the Islamic world and recommends that all efforts be co-ordinated with a view to defending the Palestinian cause and expelling the Israeli aggressor from Palestinian territory and from

other occupied Arab territories, including Al Quds. It considers this task to be a sacred goal.

199. There can be no solution to the problem of the Middle East unless it is a comprehensive one—in other words, one which would do justice to the people of Palestine, who must exercise their right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent, sovereign State on their national territory—and unless all occupied Arab territories, including, above all, the Holy City of Jerusalem, are freed.

200. The seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly set the date of 15 November last for Israeli withdrawal from all territories occupied as a result of the Israeli war of aggression. Once again it seems that the challenge flung by Israel at the international community will have to be endured.

201. The United Nations and, in particular, the Security Council must draw the obvious conclusions from such an attitude and assume their responsibilities under the pertinent provisions of the Charter. That is the only way of breaking the vicious, oft-repeated sequence of unpunished violence and brutality, followed by arrogant defiance, jeopardizing international peace and security in a particularly sensitive part of the world.

202. Mr. BALETA (Albania) [*interpretation from French*]: During the debate on the question of the Middle East that took place in the Assembly at the beginning of December 1979, the delegation of Albania, in expressing its Government's views,⁷ stressed that various facts indicated that the enemies of the Arab peoples and of all peoples of the Middle East were undertaking very dangerous activities in that area, provoking trouble and threatening to unleash even more serious events.

203. A year has elapsed and we must note that the fears then expressed by a great number of peace-loving countries have proved justified. The situation has deteriorated since then; threats against the freedom and independence of the peoples of the region have multiplied and become more serious; and complications that have arisen during this period and their disastrous consequences, which did not seem very likely 12 months ago, are now a bitter reality.

204. During this past year the Israeli Zionists have behaved more arrogantly and stubbornly than ever in their aggressive, expansionist and annexationist activities in the occupied Arab territories, against the Palestinian people and Lebanon. Once again they have shown their total disdain for the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, and for world opinion, by officially declaring the city of Jerusalem as the eternal capital of Israel.

205. They have acted with extreme aggressiveness, without the slightest concern for the most elementary standards of law, to draw the greatest possible advantage from the Camp David agreements and to capitalize on the complicated conditions that have been created in the Middle East by the aggressive activities of the two imperialist super-Powers.

206. The American imperialists have intensified their aggressive acts against the Palestinian and other

Arab peoples. In particular, they have committed acts of interference, provocation and coercion, and have even attempted direct armed intervention, in an effort to quash the Iranian revolution. The Soviet social-imperialists, who in their propaganda unceasingly claim to be the best friends of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, have once again dealt cruel blows to the cause of those peoples by their actions—particularly by their invasion and military occupation of Afghanistan.

207. The two imperialist super-Powers—the United States and the Soviet Union—have enlarged the scope of their aggressive activities and plots in the Middle East. They have both deployed vast numbers of warships in the region, and particularly in the Persian Gulf, claiming vital interests to defend as justification of their presence and military activities in the area. The advance of Soviet armed divisions towards the oilfields of the Middle East after the occupation of Afghanistan, the growth and strengthening of the American military presence on the territory of a number of countries, the United States plans to send a rapid deployment force to the Middle East, and that country's attempts to establish with its allies a joint military force to operate in the Persian Gulf, have increased the threat of war in the area.

208. The most serious and unfortunate event, of course, has been the unleashing of the fratricidal armed conflict in the Persian Gulf area which has been raging now for more than two and a half months, resulting in a senseless loss of life and untold damage, creating the risk of wider implications and imperialist intervention.

209. These factors and events have rendered the tense situation that has persisted for decades in the Middle East even more serious and dangerous at the beginning of the 1980s and made prospects for genuine peace and stability in the region even more slim and remote. The Arab peoples, especially the Palestinian people, are thus faced with new obstacles to the achievement of their just aspirations and inalienable national rights on the territories seized by force of arms, in spite of their heroic struggle and the international solidarity enjoyed by that struggle. However, this is not the first time they have experienced this kind of difficulty and they know how to confront it.

210. The two imperialist super-Powers are the principal parties responsible for the very dangerous course events in the Middle East have taken recently. The two super-Powers are daily increasing their efforts to attain their neo-colonialist, expansionist and hegemonic goals by having recourse more frequently and on a widening scale to direct military intervention or intervention through third parties in a good number of countries, which is patterned after the crafty methods of the neo-colonialists.

211. For political, economic and geostrategic reasons, the colonizers and the invaders have always coveted the Middle East. Now that a widespread and grave economic crisis is raging in the capitalist and revisionist worlds, the imperialist Powers and the capitalist monopolies are thirsting for oil and looking more and more towards the Middle East oilfields. It is in the context of the struggle for oil and with the intention of controlling the oil-producing regions that

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 86th meeting, paras. 31-56.

the rivalry between the two imperialist super-Powers in the Middle East and the Gulf has become more desperate and their bargaining more complicated.

212. Since its artificial creation by imperialism and international zionism, Israel has served the interests of the imperialist Powers in the Middle East. In particular, it has been, and continues to be, an instrument of American imperialism against the Arab peoples, promoting tension and difficulties and creating pretexts for continuous imperialist interference in that part of the world. The social-imperialist Soviet Union, just like the United States, is also interested in the continuation of the aggressive policy and the destabilizing role of Israel in the Middle East. That is why the Israeli Zionists are receiving enormous overt assistance of many kinds in the political, economic, diplomatic and military fields from American imperialism, on the one hand, and support in human resources and encouragement from the Soviet Union, which is in fact working against the cause of the Arab countries, on the other. The two imperialist super-Powers have helped Israel tremendously by sabotaging the struggle of the Arab peoples for the recovery of their territories, by maintaining a situation of neither war nor peace for as long as that served their purposes and by increasing tension whenever it was in their interests to do so.

213. This year the two imperialist super-Powers have exerted their efforts towards creating new focal points of tension in the Middle East, sowing the seeds of discord and division and provoking open conflicts between the countries of the region. Thus, the imperialist super-Powers, the Israeli Zionists and the Arab reactionaries are now engaged in a tragic game in which the fate of peace and stability in the Middle East is at stake. The main goal being pursued by the two imperialist super-Powers is to force the peoples of the region to give up their struggle against hegemonism and foreign domination. They seek to stifle any revolutionary movement or example and to prevent the peoples from embarking on the path of free and democratic development and progress. To those hostile activities have recently been added the anti-Arab actions of the Chinese social-imperialists, who have their own hegemonistic aims but who for the time being are attempting to camouflage them by pretending that they are opposed to Israel's aggressive policy. Thus they are in fact practising a policy favourable to Israel because they are unreservedly supporting the policy of American imperialism in the Middle East.

214. All the facts show how dangerous for the Arab and Moslem peoples of the Middle East are the rivalry and the plots of the imperialist super-Powers and how that redounds to the benefit of the Israeli Zionists.

215. The heroic resistance of the Palestinian people and the struggle of that people and other Arab peoples against the imperialist-Zionist aggression have always been the main obstacle to the achievement of the aggressive aims of the imperialist super-Powers against the Arab countries and the Middle East.

216. Another event of great importance for the whole region was the victory of the Iranian revolution, which overthrew the Shah's régime. That régime was the agent and the policeman of American imperialism throughout the region and supported and assisted Israel against the Arab peoples. The triumph of the

revolution and the overthrow of the Shah's régime in Iran resulted in a major change in the alignment of forces and contributed to the creation of a much more favourable situation for the strengthening of the anti-Zionist front in the Middle East. Iran has become a powerful ally of the struggle of the Palestinian people and the Arab peoples against imperialist-Zionist aggression.

217. Concerned over that change and fearing that the Iranian example would spread, the American imperialists have done everything to reverse the situation in Iran. However, they have met with complete failure due to the courage of the Iranian people, which has also stood up to the hostile attitude and pressure of the social imperialists and which is now steadfastly fighting to defend its revolution and its country from foreign invasion.

218. The armed conflict, which was prepared and unleashed at the instigation of the two imperialist super-Powers—especially the United States—has already done severe harm to the cause and the struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialist-zionism and the liberation of the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories. Of course, Israel is rubbing its hands in glee while its enemies are killing each other and is naturally overjoyed at seeing the problem of Palestine and the Middle East relegated to second place.

219. Israel is not letting and will certainly not let the opportunity pass to take advantage of the split in the anti-Zionist front in order to give new impetus to its arrogance and its aggressiveness. The Israeli Zionists and their American imperialist patrons will intervene freely, thinking that much time will be needed to repair the damage and rebuild the anti-Zionist front in the Middle East.

220. The imperialist super-Powers and the Israeli Zionists, as well as other enemies of the Arab peoples, have always spearheaded their hostile activities towards those peoples against their unity in the fight. To undermine and destroy that unity, they have constantly hatched plots and intrigues, creating tension and difficult situations and provoking bloody incidents like those of which the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples have been the victim.

221. The leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has pointed out in this regard that:

“The Arab peoples are constantly exposed to Zionist-imperialist aggression and to the ferocious and extremely dangerous plots of the two super-Powers and the other imperialist Powers. At present, efforts of all kinds are being made to divide them even more deeply and to pit them one against the other, for it is only thus that the imperialists can best achieve their hegemonistic goals throughout the Middle East and guarantee the frontiers of what international zionism calls ‘Greater Israel’; it is only thus that the oil of the countries of the Middle East can continue to be plundered by the major American, Soviet and other monopolies.”

222. The struggle against imperialist-Zionist aggression for the liberation of the territories occupied by Israel and the recovery of the rights of the Palestinian people is the great common cause of all the Arab peoples. The individual problems and concerns of those

peoples will not be placed above their great common duty. In the past few years the achievement of this task has been greatly impeded because of the setbacks in Arab unity following the conclusion of the Camp David agreements, which are above all a plot directed against the rights of the Palestinian people. Since those agreements were signed, numerous attempts have been made to impose the view that they offer the only valid and realistic basis for a settlement of the problem of the Middle East and of Palestine. The signatories have also made great efforts to draw other Arab States into their trap. After recent events, we are better placed to appreciate the true extent of the advantages that the Israeli-Zionists and the American imperialists have been able to obtain so far from the Camp David plot.

223. Among other things, the United States has succeeded in ensuring for itself privileged new political and military positions in the Middle East and is continuing to seek to retrieve its losses following the overthrow of the Shah of Iran.

224. The anti-Zionist front, which was severely affected by the Camp David agreements, has continued to weaken as a result of the other aggressive actions and the latest plots perpetrated by the two imperialist super-Powers and their agents in the Middle East. One can clearly perceive that at this time there is no unity among the Arab and Moslem peoples and countries of the Middle East; this is due to the manoeuvres of the two imperialist super-Powers. In the circumstances, it would be a serious historical error for the Arab peoples and States to permit, willy-nilly, the imperialist super-Powers to draw them into a dangerous game or to play the role that the super-Powers wish to assign to them. The divisions and the rancour between those peoples only benefit imperialism, social-imperialism, zionism and various other enemies. The imperialist Powers know how to combine their efforts to defend their selfish interests to the detriment of the peoples of the Middle East. Hence it is in the interests of the Arab and Moslem peoples of that region to work together and in unison to face up to their common enemies—imperialism, social-imperialism and zionism. One task is imperative: they must show their support for the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian and Afghan peoples as well as for the anti-imperialist revolution of the Iranian people.

225. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people will continue firmly to support, as in the past, the just cause of the Palestinian people and other fraternal Arab peoples in their struggle against Zionist-imperialist aggression for the liberation of their territories, occupied as the result of Israeli armed aggression. The settlement of the Middle East problem requires, as a primary and indispensable condition, the solution of the question of Palestine. In order to resolve that problem, it is necessary to put an end to Zionist-imperialist aggression, to compel the Israeli Zionists to withdraw completely from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, to re-establish fully and without delay all the national rights of the Palestinian people and, finally, to bar the way to any imperialist intervention in the Middle East.

226. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from French*]: I shall now call on representatives who wish to exercise

their right of reply. May I remind members that in accordance with decision 34/401, statements made in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their places.

227. Mr. KESSELY (Chad) [*interpretation from French*]: The representative of Israel used our country in his attempt to justify his country's occupation of Arab territories. Naturally, we cannot tolerate such an insult, particularly coming from the representative of a country for which international law has no value.

228. Mr. Blum in fact said that Qadhafi had helped one of Chad's political factions and sent more than 3,000 troops to Chad and that a certain number of African countries were concerned over this question, and so on. I should like to inform him that President Qaddafi is one of the African heads of State who fully support an African solution to the Chad conflict and thus the survival the Lagos accords and the application of the resolutions on the subject of Chad adopted at the last OAU summit meeting. Consequently, any action that he might undertake in Chad at present could only fall within the framework of assistance to the Transitional Nation Union Government, with the sole aim of combating the rebel faction.

229. That having been said, let Mr. Blum be advised that there are no Libyan troops in Chad. But if the need for such a presence were to arise, we would reserve our right to request it. As to the concern of certain African States that the representative of Israel mentioned, we invite him to ask those States the real reasons for their concern. Thus, he will be able to see that Chad has nothing to do with it.

230. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from French*]: The representative of the League of Arab States has asked to make a statement which would be in the nature of a reply. I therefore call on him in accordance with General Assembly resolution 477 (V).

231. Mr. MAKSOUD (League of Arab States): We have heard the representative of Israel in his habitual manner introduce diversionary tactics to deflect this General Assembly from focusing on the item on the agenda. I say that is a habitual action because it is inherent in the very exploitation of the debate by Israel to suit its own purposes.

232. Let me ask, did the differences among African States bar the people of Zimbabwe from achieving their independence? Do territorial disputes justify, for example, the exclusion of Namibia from attaining its right of self-determination and independence? Are the transient conflicts and disputes among States in any particular region—boundary differences—to be raised to the level of Israeli aggression in Palestine and in the occupied territories?

233. There are controversies and polemics over many of those disputes. They are usually between independent States and they are argued out by the States involved. Sometimes, they resort to limited armed conflict and sometimes to negotiations, but ultimately the negotiating process is always used. However, as a result of Israel's proclivity towards aggression and expansion and its perpetual violations of the human, legal and national rights of the Palestinian people, there exists today an unprecedented international

consensus bordering on unanimity, as manifested in the various resolutions of the General Assembly.

234. I shall not attempt to rebut the numerous distortions and fallacies of the Israeli representative, in order to avoid the trap which Israel seeks to set to deflect the Assembly from focusing on the issue of this item. Suffice it to say that the testimony of Mr. Goldschmidt and Mr. Fischer, Chairman of the Board of Governors and Assistant Director General, respectively, of IAEA, that Iraq is one of the principal adherents to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] and to the directives and supervision of that Agency is far more credible than the prejudiced utterances of the Israeli representative, whose sole aim in the United Nations is to consecrate the unaccountability of the Zionist State and to make it a perpetual expression of Israel's contempt for and its insulting attacks on the Organization, its Charter and its resolutions.

235. Syrian troops are in Lebanon as a consequence of an Arab League decision and are part of the Arab League deterrent force. The continued presence of those troops or their withdrawal is a matter pertaining to the internal affairs of the sovereign State of Lebanon and to the legitimate and central Government of Lebanon, whose authority in southern Lebanon has been repeatedly transgressed and challenged by Israel's aggression and its continued direct military presence or indirected through its agents.

236. The fact that the Israeli representative resorts to medieval language in referring to pluralistic religious societies as a prelude to a breakdown is but a reflection of the Zionist ideology, which perceives in the Arab thrust towards national and humanistic integration in the region a real threat to its usurpation of

representation of the Jews and a serious challenge to the racist Zionist State, because of the ethnic and structural fissures inherent in it. By these diversionary tactics Israel is seeking to gloss over and lessen the importance of its various actions in the eyes of the world: its proliferation of settlements, its expulsions of duly-elected mayors, as happened a few days ago, its annexation of Jerusalem, its attempt finally to annex the Golan Heights, its usurpation of southern Lebanon and its violation of the latter's integrity and sovereignty. All these are attempts by the Zionist ideology and the Zionist State to create a situation of falsehood and tension so that it may play havoc with the destiny of the region and the destiny of world peace in that region.

237. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from French*]: I now give the floor to the representative of Mauritania to exercise his right of reply.

238. Mr. OULD HAMODY (Mauritania) [*interpretation from French*]: The representative of the Zionist authorities a little while ago mentioned what he referred to as the concerns of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. In this regard my delegation would like to point out here that if my country expressed its concern it is with regard to those who are violating or assist others in violating the Lagos agreements on the internal situation in Chad. Those same clandestine forces, which we condemn, are striving to undermine the authority of the Transitional National Union Government of Chad. At all events the statements and diversionary tactics of the representative of the Zionist authorities will not cause us to forget Israel's aggression or its occupation—real in this case—of others' lands or its denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.