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Ninth emergency special session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 4 February 1982, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. KITTANI (Iraq)
later: Mr. AMEGA (Togo)

- The situation in the occupied Arab territories /5/ (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 5 (continued)

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

Mr. HAARENDORP (Suriname): Sir, at the outset the delegation of the Republic of Suriname wishes to convey to you our best wishes for 1982 and to express its satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the proceedings of the ninth emergency special session of the General Assembly. The exemplary manner in which you conducted the proceedings of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly assures us that you will guide us to a successful conclusion in our work at this emergency special session.

The delegation of Suriname also gladly takes this opportunity once more to convey the sincere congratulations of the Government of Suriname to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, on his appointment to his high office. We wish to assure him, a distinguished son of Latin America, of our full support as he performs his difficult task of leading our Organization in its quest for global peace and security.

Once again the international community has been compelled to convene an emergency special session of the General Assembly to consider and take action with regard to events, threatening the peace, that have unfolded in the much troubled region of the Middle East, and once again that necessity arises from the intransigence and belligerency of the State of Israel.

The decision of the Israeli Parliament of 14 December 1981 to enact a law imposing that country's national jurisdiction and administration on the occupied territory of the Golan Heights has further aggravated the tense situation in the Middle East, which has preoccupied our Organization for decades. While professing to wish to live in peace with its neighbours, Israel continues to take actions which make the search for a stable peace in the region ever more difficult.

This act of the State of Israel, which is tantamount to annexation of the Golan Heights, is in clear violation of the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations, which explicitly prohibits the acquisition of territory by force. Moreover, the decision of Israel contravenes existing international legal instruments such as the

(Mr. Naarendorp, Suriname)

Hague Convention of 1907 and the Fourth Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilians Persons in Time of War.

It came as no surprise, therefore, that that gross violation of the rules of international behaviour was met with the indignation of the international community, which culminated in the unanimous adoption of Security Council resolution 497 (1981) declaring null and void that decision of the State of Israel.

The Government of Suriname fully subscribes to that resolution and considers the occupied Golan Heights an indivisible part of the territory of the Syrian Arab Republic.

In its vain attempts to justify its illegal act, Israel has cited several reasons for the annexation of the Golan Heights. The contention that that act constitutes not annexation but a normalization of the situation in the Golan must be rejected.

My delegation holds the view that normalization in the Golan Heights can be achieved only through the return of the territory to its rightful owner, the Syrian Arab Republic, as called for in Security Council resolution 242 (1967). In this connexion we cannot fail to note that the annexation of the Golan Heights therefore constitutes a flagrant violation of resolution 242 (1967). It is ironical that the very perpetrators of this violation of that resolution have over the years vigorously defended that resolution as the sole basis of a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East.

Another argument of Israel's in defence of its annexation of the Golan - that the measure is justified by its security requirements - must equally be rejected.

The now familiar attempts of Israel to establish the notion that its security can be served only through the violation of the territory of its neighbours or even acquisition of them by force must be thwarted if the international system that guarantees the existence of all States, and in particular small and militarily weaker States, is to be upheld.

In this discussion of the situation in the occupied Arab territories my Government wishes to reiterate its conviction that peace in that area of

(Mr. Naarendorp, Suriname)

the world will continue to elude us because of Israel's persistent and unconditional denial of the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people, which lies at the heart of the problem.

My delegation wishes to express its dismay at the failure of the Security Council to live up to the special responsibility entrusted to it by the Charter to take appropriate actions to deal with this serious breach of international law and the defiance of its own resolution 497 (1981), which was adopted unanimously.

It does not augur well for the future of this Organization, or indeed for mankind, if certain States are allowed to defy all the rules of international law with impunity.

My delegation welcomes this emergency session as a timely opportunity for the family of nations to remove this menace to international peace and to take appropriate action towards that goal, which my delegation stands ready to support.

Mr. KASINA (Kenya): I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar on his election to the office of Secretary-General of the United Nations. Heading such a global institution is an extremely onerous task. On behalf of my delegation I should like to wish him every success in carrying out the complex responsibilities involved. His professional background and practical experience make him eminently suitable for that task, and we have no doubt in our minds that he will perform his duties with the same dedication that he has displayed in his previous career.

Similarly I should also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for having served the United Nations with distinction for the last 10 years.

The emergency special session of the General Assembly has been called to examine a problem that is not exactly new to our Organization. However, the continued aggressive policies of the Israeli Government towards its neighbours in the Middle East continue to create extremely serious conflict, which is not confined to the Middle East, but is of great concern to the world community. The annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights by the Israeli authorities last year is but one more of the many acts of territorial expansion and encroachment on Arab land.

On learning of the Israeli action of annexing the Syrian Golan Heights, the President of the Republic of Kenya, the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, Mr. Daniel arap Moi, issued the following statement:

"I have learned with great consternation of the Israeli Government's decision to annex the Golan Heights occupied since the 1967 Middle East war.

(Mr. Kasina, Kenya)

"I wish to state clearly that the decision to annex the Golan Heights is totally unacceptable. Such a decision only serves to frustrate the search for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem and further complicates the efforts of the international community to achieve lasting and comprehensive peace in the region.

"The act of annexing Syrian territory violates international law and must stand condemned by all peace-loving nations.

"Africa's position on the Middle East is clear and unequivocal. Africa supports all the efforts of the United Nations, both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly and the resolutions of the Non-Aligned Movement on the question of the Middle East.

"Israel must respect the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of all States in the area."

As a result of the latest act by Israel^f of annexing the Golan Heights the matter was brought before the Security Council. This explosive issue was seriously debated by the Council. At the end of the debate the Council unanimously adopted its resolution 497 (1981), which categorically declared that Israel should rescind its decision to annex the Golan Heights. The Council in the same resolution declared the annexation null and void and without international legal effect. It further decided that in the event of non-compliance by Israel, the Security Council would meet to consider taking appropriate measures against Israel in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Most of us entertained the hope that after reaching a consensus on that matter the Council would move quickly to execute its own decision and thus preserve international peace and security.

Israel's response to the call by the Security Council surprised very few. It treated that call as it has treated so many other resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council over the last 15 years. Israel's response, contained in the report of the Secretary-General to the Council in document S/14821 of 31 December 1981, clearly showed Israel's arrogance and the contempt in which it holds the decision of this Organization. Israel's refusal to comply with the decision of the Security Council is a serious obstacle to peace efforts in this area.

(Mr. Kasina, Kenya)

We are meeting in emergency special session because the Security Council was unable to take action on the earlier draft resolution (S/14832/Rev.1) when the Israeli Government arrogantly refused to comply with Security Council resolution 497 (1981). The failure of the Security Council to take appropriate measures against Israel no doubt gave great comfort and encouragement to a country that has defied so many resolutions of this Organization. Many of us feel extremely concerned that the efforts of the Security Council have again failed because one permanent member did not support the call by the world community for appropriate measures against the Israeli aggressor.

The annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights is only a part of the over-all Israeli policy in the Middle East. Nearly two years ago and under the same international condemnation it faces today, Israel went ahead and annexed East Jerusalem.

The over-all policy of Israel in the occupied Arab territories since 1967 has been to seek to control and eventually annex all those territories. Over the years since 1967 Israel has pursued the policy of Jewish settlement in the occupied territories. The policy of settlement is followed by annexation on the pretext that because of the Jewish settlements in those areas the areas themselves should be considered part and parcel of Israel.

(Mr. Kasina, Kenya)

The Israeli policy of Jewish settlement and annexation seeks the extinction and destruction of the entity of the Palestinian people. Israel must understand that no lasting peace can be made in the area until the legitimate interests of the Palestinians are fully accommodated. The root cause of the Middle East problem is the question of the occupied Palestinian territories. Israel will sooner or later recognize that it cannot base its claim to existence on the denial and destruction of another people's right to self-determination.

Israel's quest for what it calls secured borders will prove futile as long as it relies on militaristic adventures against its neighbours, such as Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Iraq. There can never be any justification in international law for any State to argue that its defence depends on the occupation of a territory belonging to another State. While it is an internationally accepted principle that a State has the inherent duty to defend itself, this is to be done within its recognized borders.

Kenya has stated on many occasions that peace in this area can only prevail if the following conditions are fulfilled. First, Israel must withdraw from all the Arab land occupied since 1967. International law strongly opposes the acquisition of land by the use of force. It is indeed regrettable that Israel continues its long occupation despite the numerous resolutions of this Organization asking it to withdraw from those territories.

Secondly, the rights of the Palestinians as a people, including their rights to self-determination and nationhood, must be recognized. It is our view that as long as the Palestinians are denied their right to self-determination, the problem in the area will remain unresolved.

We believe the United Nations has a historical responsibility to discharge its inherent duty on matters that seriously concern international peace and security. The Israeli action is so grave that the international community cannot fail to consider it and to take appropriate action. Indeed, it would

(Mr. Kasina, Kenya)

set a serious precedent if the world Organization failed to stand up to the challenge posed by Israel. If we fail to do so, the Middle East will continue to be a region of conflict and suffering. We urge this emergency special session to take appropriate measures as provided for in the Charter of the United Nations. Those measures should reflect the outrage and concern of the overwhelming majority of Member States over Israel's continued acts of aggression, the latest of which is the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights.

Mr. COUMBASSA (Guinea) (interpretation from French): On 2 October 1981, the Government of my country, the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, in the person of its official spokesman, its Minister for Foreign Affairs, addressed to you, Sir, in appropriate terms, its warm congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. It also expressed to you the feelings of friendship and co-operation that exist between your country, the Republic of Iraq, and ours, the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea.

I should like, Mr. President, to reiterate those sentiments on behalf of our delegation. Our delegation is convinced that under the presidency of a distinguished diplomat such as yourself, the ninth emergency special session devoted to considering "The situation in the occupied Arab territories" will reach constructive decisions, paving the way for the restoration of justice and peace to the Middle East.

We should also like to take this opportunity to extend our delegation's sincere and warm congratulations to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar on his unanimous election as Secretary-General of the United Nations. On behalf of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, we should like to assure him of our full support in the performance of his lofty and delicate task.

(Mr. Coumbassa, Guinea)

The general debate of the ninth emergency special session of the General Assembly on "The situation in the occupied Arab territories" is taking place at a particularly critical time in view of the aggravation of tension in the Middle East.

The conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbours has preoccupied the international community for nearly 35 years. We will refrain from recapitulating the background. It is worthwhile, however, to recall that this conflict arose as a result of the creation in 1948 of the State of Israel. That event prompted the international community to believe that one injustice had been set right by another: the expulsion of the Palestinian Arabs from their country in order to establish the Jews there.

The legitimate reaction of the Arab people against the injustice, humiliation and genocide of which the Palestinian Arabs have since been the victims came quickly. The Arab States, supported by the great majority of the international community, mobilized in order to denounce zionism and demand the return of the Palestinian Arabs to their homeland, so that they might live there in complete security and dignity.

In June 1967 and October 1973, following catastrophic wars imposed on the Arabs, Israel occupied the territories of certain Arab States, where it practised colonial domination and racial oppression, in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and all the norms of international law.

In 1980, the State of Israel unilaterally declared Jerusalem, the Holy City of three major monotheistic religions, the capital of the Jewish State. On 14 December 1981, as if further to defy the international community, that same State of Israel proclaimed its decision purely and simply to annex the Syrian Golan Heights.

That decision marks a new stage in the escalation of Israel's aggressive expansionism against its neighbours in that part of the world, which is now more torn by strife than ever before.

From November 1967 to December 1981, no resolution demanding Israel's complete withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, whether adopted by the Security Council or the General Assembly, was implemented by Israel. The State of Israel, supported by its protectors, has instead become more intransigent and more arrogant than ever. That is why it has refused to comply with Security Council resolution 497 (1981) and General Assembly resolution 36/226 B of 1981, which declare Israel's decision to annex the Syrian Golan Heights to be null and void.

Notwithstanding the nearly unanimous condemnation of its aggressive posture and its expansionist policies, the State of Israel continues to enjoy the support and protection of those who are considered to be "the guardians of the world's conscience with regard to international peace and security", having regard to their special responsibilities within our Organization. The veto cast by a permanent member of the Security Council against the adoption of the draft resolution contained in document S/14832/Rev.1 only served to encourage Israel in its position of arrogance and defiance of the international community.

Why do the very persons who proclaim the great humanitarian principles refuse to apply them in the Middle East in order to re-establish justice, peace and harmony among the peoples of the region?

Why do Israel and its protectors continue deliberately to block the efforts of the international community for a comprehensive settlement of the thorny problem of the Middle East through a just and lasting solution in the greater interests of all the peoples of the region?

It is distressing that, defying with full impunity the decisions of the General Assembly and Security Council alike, Israel should wish once again to present us with a fait accompli with its decision of 14 December 1981 to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration in the Syrian territory of the Golan Heights.

Are we to accept the acquisition by force of the territory of one Member State by another Member State?

For our part, we are convinced that the seriousness of the situation in the Middle East requires that the present emergency special session of the General Assembly adopt just and constructive decisions in order to forestall any further breach of international peace and security in the region.

Faithful to its policy of defending just causes in the service of peace, our delegation reaffirms its solidarity with the struggle of the Arab peoples for the complete recovery of all their lands under occupation since 1967.

Our delegation is prepared to associate itself at the end of this debate with all measures and decisions likely to help restore and safeguard peace and justice in the Middle East.

Mr. IRUMBA (Uganda): It is a pleasure, Sir, for my delegation to see you presiding over this emergency special session. Your diplomatic skill, your sense of fairness and your wisdom have already been amply demonstrated during the now suspended thirty-sixth regular session of the General Assembly. The efficiency with which you guided that session gives us confidence that our work will be crowned with success.

I should like also to congratulate Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar on his election to the high office of Secretary-General of our Organization. We trust that his broad vision and his diplomatic experience will stand him in good stead in his new responsibilities. I pledge Uganda's co-operation in his endeavours.

The facts of the issue before the Assembly are clear and are not in dispute. On 14 December 1981 the Israeli Knesset passed the so-called Golan Heights Law which purported to extend Israel's laws, jurisdiction and administration to the occupied Syrian Golan Heights.

The illegality of Israel's action has already been established. The action contravenes the United Nations Charter, which prohibits the acquisition of territory by force. It violates the Fourth Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 1949 and the Hague Convention of 1907, which, inter alia, prohibits the occupying Power from pursuing any actions that may permanently affect the legal status of an occupied territory. Furthermore, the action falls squarely within the definition of aggression as contained in General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974.

Indeed, the Security Council had no doubt about the illegality of the Israeli action. In its resolution 497 (1981), unanimously adopted, the Council determined that the Israeli action was null and void and without international legal effect, and demanded its rescission. Moreover, the Council recognized that certain

consequences necessarily flow from an illegal action. It was, therefore, decided that in the event of non-compliance by Israel, the Council would meet urgently to consider taking appropriate measures in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

In utter contempt of the Security Council and the international community, Israel did not comply with the resolution. The world was dismayed, though not surprised, by Israel's refusal to heed the injunctions of the Security Council. One would have hoped that the Council, in view of the explicit commitment it had made in its resolution 497 (1981), would live up to the challenge posed by Israel to its authority. The draft resolution issued as document S/14832/Rev.1 contained the minimum of measures that were expected to be taken in the face of Israel's continued aggression and defiance. The Council, however, was paralysed and prevented from shouldering its responsibilities by the negative vote of a permanent member. That was most unfortunate. It undermined the credibility of the Security Council. It raised doubts in the minds of many Member States as to the ability or willingness of the Council to discharge its obligations under the Charter.

(Mr. Irumba, Uganda)

It is a rebuff to those peace-loving countries which seek redress from our Organization.

This emergency special session is taking place precisely because the Security Council has failed to take appropriate measures commensurate with the gravity of the offence. In the view of my delegation, our work is therefore to formulate those appropriate measures. In this respect, the Assembly should take into account Israel's policies and actions in the region, namely, its aggressive policies against its neighbours, its policy of annexation and settlement aimed at territorial aggrandizement and its persistent violations of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions.

For the last 14 years Israel has pursued a policy of creeping annexation. This is being done by expropriations and the establishment of settlements in the occupied Arab lands. Systematic terror and collective punishments have been employed as a device to force Arab and Palestinian civilians out of the occupied territories. Israeli leaders have made no secret of their ambition to use the settlements as a means of extending the boundaries of Israel, which remain undefined to this day. Indeed, Premier Begin was quoted in the Jerusalem Post of 22 April 1980 as saying that "settlement in the occupied areas is the soul of Zionism". The annexation of the Golan Heights should therefore be viewed in this context. The plan of the Israeli authorities to build a canal through occupied territories should serve as notice to the international community of Israel's intention to annex those territories in the near future. All those measures and policies in the occupied territories run counter to the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 and the general norms of international law. They have been condemned in various resolutions of this Assembly.

Israel's aggressive acts are not confined to the occupied territories. The neighbouring States have also been victims of Zionist designs.

The destruction in Beirut and the loss of hundreds of lives and of property caused by Israel's bombings last year are too vivid to be forgotten. In the same year we also witnessed the unprovoked attack by Israel on the Iraqi nuclear research station. These outrageous acts were censured by the Security Council.

We have often emphasized that the behaviour of Israel is similar to that of racist South Africa. In both cases, relations with their neighbours are characterized by threats to peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression. The two have

(Mr. Irumba, Uganda)

indeed collaborated in their oppressive policies and in subverting international law. Only recently the Israeli Defence Minister visited South African forces on the border with Angola. In total disregard of the arms embargo called for in Security Council resolution 418 (1977), the Israeli Defence Minister recommended that South Africa should acquire more modern weapons. These are weapons to be used in strengthening the occupation in Namibia and for aggression against the front-line States.

Like South Africa, Israel, instead of complying with international law, international norms and United Nations resolutions, resorts to challenging the legitimacy of United Nations decisions and vilifying our institutions. This emergency special session has already been treated to a tirade of this kind by the Israeli representative.

Despite the unanimous opinion of the international community about the illegality of Israeli annexation of the Golan Heights, it is clear that Israel does not intend to comply with Security Council resolution 497 (1981). In its reply to the Security Council, Israel advanced the untenable arguments that Syria regarded itself to be in a state of war with Israel and that it was necessary to normalize the situation in the occupied Golan Heights. The situation can be normalized only by restoring the territory to Syria, not by annexing it.

Then the Israeli representative issued a phony invitation to Syria and other Arab States to enter into peace negotiations and claimed that the "Golan Heights Law in no way precludes... the prospect of such negotiations" (A/ES-9/PV.2, p. 36). In the view of my delegation, the annexation of the Golan Heights is clearly intended to block a peaceful settlement. It is a clear indication of the hollowness of Israel's professions of peace. It exposes the belligerent and bellicose nature of the Israeli authorities.

Israel's protestations regarding peaceful negotiations remind me of terrorists who seize a building, take the families in it as hostages and then proceed to invite the proprietor of the building to negotiate the transfer of the title.

The conduct of Israel constitutes a threat to international peace and security, a breach of the peace and an act of aggression. The Assembly should act decisively and impose appropriate sanctions under the Charter. It is incumbent on the United Nations to send a clear message to Israel that its illegal conduct will not be countenanced.

(Mr. Irumba, Uganda)

I take this opportunity to reiterate our position on the Middle East question. Uganda holds the view that a lasting peace in the Middle East is possible only if the following principles are recognized: exercise of the right of self-determination by the Palestinian people in their homeland without any external interference; the right of the Palestinians to national independence and sovereignty in a state of their own; the right of the displaced and dispossessed Palestinians to return to their homes, coupled with a guarantee of prompt and adequate compensation for those who may choose not to return, and the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories.

Since the centrepiece of this settlement is the restoration of the Palestinians' rights, it follows that the Palestinian people, through the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), their sole authentic representative, must participate in any peace endeavours aimed at achieving a just and lasting peace in the region. To pretend that a lasting peace can be achieved in the Middle East without the PLO is to bury one's head deep in the sand.

In conclusion I wish to reiterate Uganda's solidarity with the Government and people of Syria and to pledge our support in their struggle.

Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, joining the overwhelming majority of delegations participating in the deliberations at this session, feels that the debate on the situation in the occupied Arab territories is of paramount importance.

These debates are a result of Israel's refusal to rescind its decision of 14 December 1981 which constitutes a de facto annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights. As a consequence of the veto cast by the United States, the Security Council was unable to implement resolution 497 (1981). Given the fact that one country, a permanent member of the Security Council on which the Charter has conferred special responsibilities for the maintenance of world peace, has supported the conduct of the aggressor so openly makes it very clear that a fresh examination of the situation in the occupied Arab territories as a matter of priority and with the participation of all States, is more than warranted.

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

During the debates in the Security Council the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria strongly condemned Israel's aggressive and expansionist policy, of which the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights is the most recent expression. At the same time, we once again reaffirmed our whole-hearted solidarity with the Syrian Arab Republic and with the just struggle of the Arab peoples to eliminate the consequences of aggression.

It is a well-known fact that the annexation of the Golan Heights is not an isolated phenomenon. It is in fact a link in a whole series of acts perpetrated against the occupied Arab territories and against others beyond them; these are acts which in accordance with contemporary international law, and also in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX), adopted in 1974, are defined as acts of aggression. But that is not merely a second offence, although a highly dangerous one. What we are in fact facing is an escalation in the use of force and the threat of the use of force, the dimensions of which might set off a chain of events with unforeseeable consequences for peace in the region and for world peace. And so no manipulation of historical facts can veil the truth, which is that the entire political responsibility for the permanently tense situation in the region lies with Israel and its overseas protectors.

Repression of the civilian population in the occupied Arab territories, mass displacements of persons, police brutality to Palestinians, constant acts of terrorism against neighbouring Arab States and the de facto or de jure annexation of parts of their territories, all prove that the use and threat of the use of force have become the political creed of Israeli ruling circles, which are far from concealing their highly ambitious expansionist plans. Adventurism and war-mindedness appear to have benumbed the political sense of the leaders of the State of Israel so that they have lost touch with reality. Consequently, they cherish the mistaken illusion, so often contradicted by history, that it is possible for some to ensure their own security at the expense of the security of all the others.

Clearly, Israel could not carry on its disastrous policy of aggression without the massive and systematic support it receives from the United States, which, following its own political philosophy, perceives force as the basis of

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

its relations with other States and aspires to world supremacy in international relations. 'In this case, as in the past, Washington is banking on Israeli expansionism to achieve United States control and direct domination of the region of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf.

To achieve that design, they have adopted the old and well-tried policy of "divide and rule". One reflection of this was their abandonment of concerted international efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict and their embarking upon a policy of separate deals, which allows the aggressor to impose its will with deliberation.

The experience that has been acquired to date with respect to the application of the Camp David policy shows quite clearly the true results of such a course. There is no doubt that this tactic is aimed at the gradual realization of Israel's expansionist plans in the area. Another concrete example of this anti-Arab policy, the purpose of which is to safeguard the interests of world imperialism, is what has been called the American-Israeli strategic co-operation agreement which encouraged Israel to pursue its annexation of the occupied Arab territories.

The position adopted by the United States in the Security Council, including its veto, which prevented the Council from adopting urgent and energetic measures to secure the implementation of Security Council resolution 497 (1981), indeed proved that that agreement had already been put into effect and that it was anti-Arab in its orientation.

The formula of negotiations without preconditions on which the aggressor is insisting constitutes a precondition in itself, namely, that the Arab people should forfeit their legitimate interests and that the consequences of the Israeli aggression against them should be recognized de facto. That is just another attempt to camouflage the Israelis' refusal to engage in genuine negotiations. The international community categorically rejects such a demand, which is aimed at covering up the ambitious expansionist plans of Israel and its protectors.

In the view of my delegation, the present discussion in the General Assembly must culminate in the adoption of a resolution in conformity with the United Nations Charter containing an unequivocal and energetic condemnation of the aggressor's

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

illegal acts, a resolution demanding that the decision to annex the Golan Heights should be rescinded and calling on Israel's overseas protectors to cease providing that country with massive support of all kinds -- because it is precisely that support which is at the root of the aggressor's intransigence.

The complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to establish its own independent State, guaranteeing the sovereignty and security of all the States of the region -- these are the indispensable conditions for the achievement of a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East problem.

We believe that only a path leading to a lasting solution of the existing problems, with the participation of all the interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, can bring peace and stability to that explosive region and strengthen international peace and security.

Mr. SYADZALI (Indonesia): Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity to express my delegation's pleasure in seeing you preside over our deliberations again, this time in an emergency special session on a problem of the situation in the occupied Arab territories that has been aggravated by Israel's annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights. We are fully confident that under your wise and able leadership, our deliberations will lead to substantive and meaningful contributions to the solution of the problem confronting us.

The whole world was shocked and angered when, on 14 December 1981, Israel decided to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the occupied Syrian territories of the Golan Heights. My Government's reaction was direct and immediate. On 17 December 1981, it issued a statement condemning the annexation, because that act constitutes a violation of international law and Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which called for the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967. That provocative act has heightened the tension in the Middle East and further endangered international peace and security. After brief but serious deliberations, the Security Council on 17 December 1981, unanimously adopted resolution 497 (1981) declaring the Israeli action "null and void and without international legal effect". It also demanded Israel to rescind its action forthwith. Furthermore, the Secretary-General was requested to report to the Security Council on the implementation of the resolution within two weeks and, in the event of non-compliance by Israel, the Security Council would meet again not later than 5 January 1982, to consider taking appropriate measures against Israel in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. At the same time, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a similar resolution, resolution 36/226 B, by an overwhelming majority on 17 December 1981.

As it turned out, Israel did not even wait for the two-week period to respond, and rejected outright Security Council resolution 497 (1981). Later, on 29 December 1981, Israel addressed a letter to the Secretary-General and tried to justify its action and arrogantly refused to comply with the Security Council and the General Assembly resolutions.

So, once again the Security Council was seized of the same problem. The overwhelming majority of the members of the Security Council, supported

(Mr. Syadzali, Indonesia)

by the international community, exerted strenuous efforts to live up to the unanimously adopted Security Council resolution 497 (1981), which called for the consideration of taking appropriate measures in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

My delegation, together with many other delegations which spoke before the Council, condemned the illegal annexation of the Golan Heights by Israel. There is no doubt that that annexation is not only against international law, but also a violation of the United Nations Charter and the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949. That action is totally unjustifiable and serves only to exacerbate the already tense situation in the Middle East and renders the search for peace in the area even more difficult. It compounds the injustices already inflicted upon the Arab people.

We therefore urged the Security Council to demonstrate to the world its determination to achieve a just solution to this problem by compelling Israel forthwith to implement the just and reasonable resolution 497 (1981) of the Security Council. We believe that the United Nations was then, as it is now, confronted with a clear case of a Member State that has systematically violated the Charter of the United Nations and its relevant resolutions and has blatantly and arrogantly rejected the will of the international community, more recently by its refusal to rescind its actions with regard to the annexation of the Golan Heights.

It was against that background that my delegation considered it legitimate for the Security Council to take appropriate action under Chapter VII of the Charter, particularly under Article 41, in line with the demands of the non-aligned movement in its communiqué of 15 December 1981, and General Assembly resolution 36/226 B of 17 December 1981.

At the 2329th meeting of the Security Council, draft resolution S/14832/Rev.1 was proposed for adoption by the Security Council. In its operative paragraph, among others, it asked Member States to "consider applying concrete and effective measures" and "to refrain from providing any assistance or aid to and co-operation with Israel". That was indeed a very mild draft resolution as it contained no provisions for sanctions but only a suggestion to Member States to take voluntary action.

(Mr. Syadzali, Indonesia)

We are very disappointed, however, that even that moderate draft resolution was not acceptable to one permanent member of the Security Council, thus making it impossible for the Council to discharge its primary responsibility to maintain international peace and security and to follow up on its own unanimously adopted resolution 497 (1981). The Security Council, unfortunately was therefore paralysed, thus once again demonstrating its ineffectiveness.

It is the view of my delegation that, unless this Organization acts firmly and decisively on this matter, it would certainly encourage Israel to take similar unilateral measures in other parts of the occupied Arab territories.

My Government, in its formal statement on 23 January 1982, regretted the veto by a permanent member of the Security Council on this matter, and feared that that veto would further complicate the efforts to seek a peaceful solution to the Middle East question. My delegation believes that there was no other peaceful way for Syria to redress the injustices committed against its territorial integrity and the attendant ramifications but to ask for this emergency special session. My country is fully in support of and in solidarity with Syria in its search for a just solution to this particular problem, namely, the annexation of the Golan Heights by Israel. My delegation would therefore support any actions or measures which the General Assembly may consider appropriate to redress the situation in the Golan Heights.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): It is indeed a sad reflection of the progress being made in our search for a secure world that at the start of this new year the very first item on the agenda of the international community should be the situation created by Israel's annexation of the occupied Syrian Golan Heights and its refusal to comply with a unanimous decision of the Security Council calling upon it to rescind its decision.

The international community is now faced with a situation which, on the one hand, is fraught with fearsome consequences for the Middle East region and, indeed, for international peace and security in general; on the other hand, it is a case where one Member State is acting in deliberate and open defiance of the Charter of the United Nations, of decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and of the authority of the latter.

Unfortunately, this authority was dealt an even more severe blow when the Council on 28 January last was prevented from discharging its responsibility under the Charter in the face of Israel's open and blatant act of aggression and its defiance of the will of the international Organization.

My delegation therefore considered it a duty to give its support to the draft resolution submitted to the Security Council calling for the convening of this emergency special session of the Assembly. We believed, and we still do, that it was consistent with the gravity of the situation precipitated by Israel's action in respect of the Syrian Golan Heights that the members of the international community should have an opportunity to express their concern in this world forum about the endangering of the chances for peace in the Middle East region and about the fundamental issues involved, namely, respect for the Charter and for decisions of the Security Council, respect for State sovereignty and territorial integrity and the ability of the Security Council to act promptly and effectively in cases where States, and particularly small States, are threatened with external aggression or are victims of such aggression. These are some of the wider issues at stake here which, in the view of my delegation, merit the detailed and serious examination of the General Assembly.

For some, this emergency special session may be seen as an exercise in futility. But for others - those States in the Middle East region, for example, which must live with the daily threat of Israeli expansionism and aggression, and

(Mr. Sinclair, Guyana)

small States in general, which have a vital interest in the rule of law and in peaceful relations among States and which look to the Security Council to play its rightful role in the maintenance of international peace and security - it cannot be an exercise in futility to raise our collective voices in anguish or in protest against actions which clearly endanger such peace and security. We cannot resign ourselves to cynicism, nor can we accept that peace and security must be held hostage to naked power and to lawlessness. For our States, collective security is a collective responsibility requiring patient persistence. The current debate represents a contribution by the international community to advancing the search for such collective security.

It is a contribution which the Assembly is called upon to make at this time precisely because the Security Council, which has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, was prevented, by the veto of a permanent member, from exercising that responsibility. The succession of speakers who have come to this rostrum to participate in this debate gives evidence of the outrage felt by the international community at Israel's aggressive and lawless behaviour and at what in effect appears to have been the indulgence of the Security Council and the abdication of its responsibility in the face of such behaviour.

It is all but universally recognized and accepted that Israel's withdrawal from occupied territories is a necessary element in the search for a comprehensive settlement to the Middle East problem leading to a secure and lasting peace in the region. That is why the Government of Guyana has always condemned Israel's continued occupation of the territory of its neighbours. It was for these reasons too that we condemned and regarded as null and void Israel's recent annexation of the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. My delegation considers that Israel's defiance of a unanimous Security Council decision calling on it to rescind its decision on annexation is an act with serious implications for peace in the Middle East and for the authority of the United Nations on the whole. We believe that the international community must respond vigorously and unequivocally to this challenge, using the methods provided for in our Charter for dealing with such lawlessness. My delegation reiterates its support for

(Mr. Sinclair, Guyana)

the imposition of a suitable régime of sanctions against Israel, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in order to force Israel's compliance with the relevant Security Council decisions.

For its part the Guyana delegation reiterates its position of support for Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). These resolutions, we feel, contain essential elements which, if faithfully complied with by Israel, could mark a significant advance in the Middle East peace process.

We believe that the chances for peace in the Middle East region would be considerably improved if those who now support Israeli intransigence and help to reinforce the Israelis' vision of a nation under siege would use their undisputed influence to create and maintain a new and different vision - that of an inevitable future in the Middle East, with Palestinians side by side with other Arabs. There are many building-blocks required for the construction of that future: understanding, patience, perseverance and mutual trust. Annexing the territory of one's neighbours is decidedly not one of them. Annexation of territory works against the objective of promoting peace and security in the area, for it destroys the chances of peace and leads to greater insecurity, particularly on the part of those carrying out such annexation. At any rate, annexation of territory is an act of aggression as defined in General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX). Our Charter contains clear stipulations for dealing with such aggression by States. The international community cannot condone it or appear, by inaction, to condone it.

Mr. SARRE (Senegal) (interpretation from French): I have already had the opportunity to congratulate the new Secretary-General of the United Nations and to assure him of the constant support of my Government in the performance of his lofty and noble functions. I have also paid a tribute to his distinguished predecessor for his work in the service of peace.*

On 14 December last, in violation of the most elementary rules of international law, the Israeli Government decided to extend to the Golan Heights the instruments, laws and regulations in force in Israel. In so doing, Israel has contributed to the aggravation of a situation which is at the very least disturbing.

Not long ago it was the eastern part of the City of Jerusalem which was annexed, now it is the Golan Heights and soon, if we are not careful, other occupied territories could meet the same fate.

Senegal, which has always supported the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories as one of the essential elements of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem, firmly condemned and rejected this new act which can never be justified.

* Mr. Amega (Togo), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Sarre, Senegal)

That decision is not only illegal; it is also dangerous. It is illegal because it is contrary to the provisions of the Charter which ban the use of force against the territorial integrity of States and the relevant decisions of the Security Council, in particular resolution 242 (1967), which, though incomplete in its approach to the over-all problem of the Middle East, states that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible and calls upon Israel to withdraw from occupied territory.

The purpose of that resolution is to guarantee respect for borders and to ensure the security of the States of the region. It has thus been rendered meaningless.

The decision is dangerous because it challenges one of the fundamental principles on which all efforts to bring about a lasting solution to the Middle East problem have thus far been based. Israel now seems determined by all means available to oppose a peaceful settlement of the question, except perhaps a settlement that would accord with conditions that it itself has imposed by force.

That attitude can only serve to promote tension in the area, with the predictable result of an escalation towards another armed conflict, which might in the present circumstances lead to a confrontation on a much wider scale.

In view of the circumstances, the Security Council acted responsibly by deciding on 17 December last that the Israeli decision was null and void and demanding that Israel rescind the decision, which was contrary to all norms of international law. For its part, the General Assembly took the same stand on the question.

But once again, as in the past, Israel has in effect vetoed a unanimous decision of the Council. Its response was clear and unequivocal: it has not, and it will not, rescind its decision. To justify that refusal, the Israeli authorities have advanced two series of arguments.

The first is that Syria considers that it has been in a state of war with Israel since 1948 and that, if the Syrian Government were allowed to pursue its present policies in accordance with the statements of its leaders, there

(Mr. Sarre, Senegal)

would be no peace for generations. In other words, in the eyes of the Israeli leaders, the lack of a peace agreement fully justifies the annexation of a territory by force in violation of all the accepted principles of international law.

What would happen to international law and order if, every time a Government or a statesman made a declaration contrary to the views or interests of Israel, Israel was entitled to violate the territorial integrity or sovereignty of the State responsible for the declaration? The answer to that question is clear. There are rules of conduct and norms of coexistence that no State is entitled to shirk. The Israeli decision will only compound already difficult circumstances and further delay any chance of opening negotiations, which Israel says it favours. Moreover, the Israeli Government maintains that it could not wait until Syria declared itself ready to work for peace. In the absence of peace or negotiations, it says, it was necessary to "normalize" the situation. That could not remain unanswered.

The chances for peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Middle East are at stake. The survival of the smaller countries such as ours is at stake too, and we do not want the force of law to be replaced by the principle that "might makes right".

No matter what solution is found to the specific problem of Israel's annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, the substance of the problem - the question of Palestine - will remain. The gravity of the problem before the Assembly only makes it more necessary that we take new steps to bring about a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question, and that settlement must take into account the legitimate interests of all the parties.

Of course, that cannot alter the fact that it is incumbent upon the international community as a whole fully to discharge its responsibilities in the face of the dangers arising from Israel's attitude on the Golan affair. Failure to do so would mean that we might very well reach the point of no return, with all the consequences that that would entail for that strife-torn region.

Mr. SALLAM (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): Sir, since this is the first time I have spoken since your election to the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly, allow me at the outset to congratulate you on behalf of the Government and delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic on the confidence placed in you by the international community in appointing you President of the General Assembly. I am confident that this emergency special session, which has been convened in extremely complex circumstances, will be crowned with success thanks to your customary leadership and wisdom, your statesmanship and your great competence.

My delegation also takes great pleasure in extending warm congratulations to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar on the confidence placed in him by the entire international community in electing him Secretary-General of the United Nations. Mr. Perez de Cuellar is eminently qualified to represent the wishes and aspirations of developing peoples and to work towards bringing about a new world in which love, harmony, equality and mutual trust will prevail.

My delegation wishes to express its great respect for Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the former Secretary-General, and its appreciation of his strenuous efforts to strengthen this Organization in order to make it an effective instrument for the solution of international problems and for the support of just causes.

For more than 30 years the United Nations General Assembly has, in both regular and emergency special sessions, dealt with the problem of the Middle East and the Palestine issue, but the international community has been unable to achieve any comprehensive and just solution to those problems which, on the contrary, have deteriorated more than any others and grown in complexity.

(Mr. Sallam, Yemen)

This is due basically to the intransigence and obstinacy of the rulers of Israel who lack good faith, flexibility and wisdom. Ever since its establishment by a resolution of this Assembly, Israel has sought to impose its influence on the whole of Palestine and then on territories in neighbouring Arab countries which are peace-loving Members of the United Nations.

My delegation, like other delegations from peace-loving States, is convinced that the arrogance, intransigence and vanity of the rulers of Israel, some of whom have been psychologically affected, it seems, by their experience in concentration camps in the 1940s, have prevented the achievement of any solution to the problems of the Middle East by peaceful means, and it also seems that those concentration camps have affected their Semitic character and their ethics and imbued them with viciousness and vengefulness. But is it fair to take revenge on a peaceful people like the people of Palestine, a people which opened its doors and its arms to receive the Jews from all over the world to live with them in peace at a time when they were unable to find refuge or shelter?

The proclamation by Israel of the deplorable law annexing the occupied Syrian Golan Heights to Israel is but a further link in the chain of expansionist acts of aggression pursued by the rulers of Israel ever since they were brought from outside the Middle East region and implanted in that blessed region, blessed by God who chose from among its sons prophets who preached truth and justice and condemned evil deeds. This Zionist entity, which is alien to the region, has been growing and developing at the expense of the good people of Palestine and subsequently at the expense of the territories of the neighbouring Arab peoples. Through this lawless expansion this entity has deprived the area of its peace and harmony.

(Mr. Sallam, Yemen)

The Arab world has frequently tried to extend the hand of peace to the land of peace, but the hand, which was held out in good faith with a view to establishing the bases for a comprehensive and just peace in the area, was always rejected and met with no response because the Zionists believe only in violence and in expansion by means of force. Peace, in their view, is unacceptable as long as they enjoy military superiority over their peaceful Arab neighbours. The annals of the United Nations, with all its institutions, organizations and organs, abound in brutal, inhuman actions committed and still being committed by the Zionist rulers against the peaceful Arab civilian population in Palestine and the neighbouring Arab regions, beginning with the importing of alien immigrants into Palestine and continuing with the massacres of Deir Yassin, the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956, the treacherous war of June 1967, the continual aggression against southern Lebanon, the implantation of Zionist settlements in the occupied Arab territories, the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, which was built for peaceful purposes, the plans of the Zionist entity for building a canal which would harm the population of the area, the inhuman aggression against the Lebanese city of Beirut, the annexation of Jerusalem by the Israeli entity and, last but not least, the proclamation of its deplorable law annexing the occupied Syrian Arab territories in the Golan to the entity.

Perhaps the rulers of Israel will surprise us in the near future by annexing the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip to Israel.

The continued attempts of the rulers of Israel to force the Palestinian people and the neighbouring Arab people to accept them and to let them live in peace with the Arabs in the land of peace will not be successful unless there is a genuine wish, on the part of the rulers of Israel to achieve a comprehensive peace based on justice, on the recognition of the inalienable national rights

(Mr. Sallam, Yemen)

of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and to the establishment of its independent State on its own land, on the recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and on the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories. Therefore this United Nations General Assembly, which is now meeting in emergency special session in accordance with a resolution of the Security Council, which was unable to take the necessary and firm action against Israel as a result of the negative vote by the United States, has to assume great responsibilities in order to deter the aggressor, to put an end to its aggression and to overcome its continued arrogance, intransigence and vanity. This will only be achieved if the entire international community is unanimous in its condemnation and by the imposition of deterrent and firm sanctions which will deprive Israel of all military, financial and economic assistance and include the breaking off of all cultural, economic, consular and diplomatic relations with it until it returns to its senses and learns to love peace.

Mr. SOGLO (Benin) (interpretation from French): My delegation cannot fail to express its pleasure at seeing you, Mr. President, directing the work of this ninth emergency special session of the General Assembly, convened in order to consider the monstrous challenge which Israel has once again levelled at the world. Your qualities as an experienced diplomat and the competence and skill with which you conducted the work of the thirty-sixth session give us every reason to believe that the current session will be able to find the right response to this new Israeli challenge.

I should also like to reiterate my delegation's congratulations to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar on his election to the lofty post of Secretary-General of our Organization. We are convinced that thanks to his wide experience and his thorough knowledge of the workings of our Organization he will be able to find specific, just and equitable solutions to the many problems facing the world in which we live.

(Mr. Soglo, Benin)

One fact which in the eyes of my delegation has not been sufficiently emphasized in the course of the present debate is that we owe this emergency special session of the General Assembly to the initiative of States Members of the Non-Aligned Movement. It has come about through the initiative of small and defenceless countries which have placed their hopes in our Organization, in the ideals it embodies as the guardian of their most legitimate and inalienable rights.

Those rights, those hopes - however legitimate and natural they may be - are too often mocked by the cynicism and egotism of those who have elevated into dogma their policy of the exploitation of man by man and the satisfaction of their sordid interests for the profit of one class or one race.

Is there any need to recall that, in accordance with paragraph 3 of the preamble of the Charter, our Organization undertook, inter alia, the commitment:

"To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained."

Unfortunately, we are compelled to note that it has too often failed in its task, and that is principally the case in regard to the Security Council, which has the privilege and the responsibility of adopting urgent, concrete and appropriate measures in the event of threats to international peace and security.

In fact, in calling for a meeting of the Security Council to consider the new challenge that Israel has just flung at the international community by annexing the Golan Heights, the Syrian Arab delegation was expressing the faith of a large number of small States Members of the Organization which believe that the Security Council can come to the assistance of States that are threatened or that are victims of aggression.

Thus, after the Security Council in its resolution 497 (1981) of 17 December last had declared null and void the decision by Israel to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration in the Golan Heights, after it had given

(Mr. Soglo, Benin)

Israel an opportunity and the time to rescind its decision while reserving the right, in the event of Israel's refusal to comply with that resolution to meet again in order to take appropriate measures against Israel, there was great disappointment among all those who expected a consistent and responsible Council to face up to its obligations. But on 19 January, they had once again to take note of the American veto. The United States, in defiance of the majority opinion, once again rejected a watered-down draft resolution which, although it did not give total satisfaction to the victim, nevertheless reflected the will of Member States to take all necessary measures, including the sanctions laid down in Chapter VII of the Charter, to bring Israel to reason.

Now that the Security Council has failed to do its duty, the General Assembly must not run away from its responsibilities.

It is thus perfectly natural that it should be seized of this question in accordance with its prerogatives under the terms of the provisions of Articles 12 and 14 of the Charter. In fact, Article 14 of the Charter stipulates that:

"Subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the purposes and principles of the United Nations."

In other words, this general debate, to which all Member States have been invited and which reflects the feelings of indignation and censure of the entire world in the face of this new crime of Israel's, must not aim only at isolating the aggressor and its supporters. On the contrary, it should enable us to envisage all the measures which are necessary to make Israel reverse its decision and to discourage once and for all acts of this kind which jeopardize international peace and security.

(Mr. Soglo, Benin)

Seeing how the Security Council was paralysed by certain of its permanent members, we cannot but deplore a situation which, because it has happened only too often, has ended by damaging the credibility of that important body, and therefore the Organization as a whole.

Consequently, while condemning Israel's action in our discussions, we must propose adequate and just measures which will improve the image of our Organization by giving renewed faith and hope to those who have many reasons for no longer believing in it.

On 17 December last, my delegation associated itself with those that had supported resolution 36/226 B, in which the General Assembly categorically rejected the arbitrary action of Tel Aviv. But I should like to recall the unwavering position of the People's Republic of Benin on the situation prevailing in the Middle East and to read out the declaration of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin dated 28 December 1981:

"Following the Israeli Government's annexation of the Golan Heights, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin, having analysed all aspects of this important question, considers that the new situation created in the Middle East by the illegal annexation of a portion of the territory of Syria is serious and disturbing. Faced with this explosive situation, which is fraught with grave threats for the peace and security of the region and of the whole world, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin energetically condemns the annexation of the Golan Heights by Israel and reaffirms its total solidarity with the Syrian and Palestinian peoples and its unswerving support for their legitimate aspirations. The People's Republic of Benin firmly opposes any annexation of territory belonging to another State by force and feels that the annexation of the Golan Heights by Israel constitutes yet another obstacle to a comprehensive and definitive settlement in the Middle East."

(Mr. Soglo, Benin)

Coming after its decision in 1980 to make the Holy City of Jerusalem the eternal capital of the Zionist State, after its attack on the nuclear research centre of Tammouz and its bombing of Beirut on 17 July 1981, the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights is proof of the paranoid nature of the Israeli régime and its resolutely aggressive and expansionist instincts.

Born of aggression, Israel can only see its existence in terms of aggression. Need I recall that the first emergency special session of this Organization, held in February 1947 - that is to say, barely two years after its founding - was convened precisely for the purpose of trying to find a solution to the escalation of violence launched by the Zionist movement.

Alone but for the aberrant régime of Pretoria, with which it shares a revolting racist policy based on the denial of the most elementary human rights and on barbarous acts of aggression against neighbouring States, the Zionist régime and the apartheid régime have joined in an unholy alliance to deny the peoples of Africa and the Middle East, in their usurped ancestral lands, their most inalienable rights - to self-determination, to a national homeland, to national sovereignty, to dignity and peace.

Israel's annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, coming 14 years after the adoption by the Security Council of its resolution 242 (1967), which provided the framework for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East, constitutes yet another challenge to our Organization. It is contrary to the fundamental rules of international law. It violates the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Charter; it shows contempt for the resolutions adopted by various international bodies, particularly the Geneva Convention of 1949; it flouts the universally accepted principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. It is an act of aggression as defined in General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX). It is a provocation, which threatens international peace and security. It is an act of war.

(Mr. Soglo, Benin)

This is a situation with which we must urgently cope, or we shall run the risk of leaving the Syrian party with only one alternative: recourse to the provisions of Article 51 of our Charter, which accords every Member State which is the victim of armed aggression the right to self-defence. That would mean another war, with consequences that would be disastrous for all the peoples of the region and unpredictable for the rest of mankind.

As the Permanent Representative of the Syrian Arab Republic rightly reminded us when he spoke on 6 January in the Security Council, the Anschluss of Austria and the invasion of Czechoslovakia and Ethiopia by the Nazi hordes led to the general conflagration of the Second World War.

Our Organization should no longer allow Israel to continue mocking it with impunity by its unacceptable and constant defiance. Our Organization can no longer allow Israel to continue thwarting all the peace efforts of the international community aimed at finding a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the problem of the Middle East.

Reaffirming once again here what it has steadfastly proclaimed since the Israeli aggression of 1947 our Organization must: demand the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem; reaffirm its conviction that the question of Palestine is at the heart of the Middle East conflict and that true peace cannot be established in the region without the full exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination, independence and a national homeland; reaffirm that a just and comprehensive settlement cannot be achieved without the participation on an equal footing of all the parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization representing the Palestinian people; and reject all partial agreements and separate treaties which violate the acknowledged rights of the Palestinian people.

Our Organization should also deplore the abuse by the United States Government of its right of veto, which not only paralysed the Security Council and thus prevented it from shouldering its great responsibilities, but which also encouraged Israel in its base designs by assuring it that its crimes will remain unpunished.

But also and above all we should, making up for the failure of the Security Council, restore confidence and hope to all those who are entitled to expect that, when circumstances require, our Organization will take responsible, effective, and just action.

(Mr. Soglo, Benin)

Exercising its authority under the Uniting for Peace resolution, our Assembly must enact against Israel the appropriate enforcement measures, which alone can put an end to its aggressive expansionism and which will allow the State and people of Syria to regain their full sovereignty over their confiscated territory.

Prêt pour la révolution - la lutte continue.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): Before we hear the next speaker in the debate, I will call on the representative of Cuba to introduce the draft resolution circulated as document A/ES-9/L.1.

Mr. VIERA LINARES (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): This afternoon, Cuba, on behalf of the sponsors and in its capacity as current President of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, had the honour of submitting to the Secretariat the draft resolution that we propose for adoption by this Assembly as a result of its consideration of Israel's illegal annexation of the Syrian territory of the Golan Heights.

That draft resolution has been circulated as document A/ES-9/L.1. We have closely followed the debate on this item, and we have noted that the overwhelming majority of the participants agree in their total rejection and condemnation of the illegal annexation. It is unfortunate that the Security Council was prevented from imposing the sanctions, called for by the act of aggression, owing to the veto by one of its permanent members. We have also noted that there exists a collective determination to prevent acceptance of Israel's expansionist action.

This debate has revealed that the Members represented here consider that Israel has acted in open defiance of the decisions of the United Nations and that it has committed an act of aggression, to put an end to which the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter must be applied. By turning to the United Nations, Syria has demonstrated its willingness to act in accordance with the norms and principles of international law. It is therefore necessary to respond appropriately to Syria's request and see that justice is done. We believe that the only solution to this problem is a solution which upholds the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions adopted so often by the General

(Mr. Viera Linares, Cuba)

Assembly on the Middle East problem and the question of Palestine, namely, the total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories.

On this basis, the working group of the non-aligned countries on the Middle East and Palestine considered and agreed on the draft resolution which I now present to this Assembly and which has been sponsored by a large number of non-aligned and other States.

It is our hope that the Assembly will adopt this draft resolution, thereby contributing to a just and lasting peace and demonstrating that, no matter what pressures are brought to bear, the aggressors will receive no response from the international community other than repudiation and the most vigorous condemnation.

On behalf of the sponsors, I request that the draft resolution be put to the vote in this Assembly tomorrow.

Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): Since the ninth emergency special session of the General Assembly happens to be convened so soon after the beginning of the new year, I should like to extend to the President as well as to our new Secretary-General my delegation's best wishes on this occasion.

Thailand has always adhered strictly to the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, in accordance with the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the rules of international law. In this regard, therefore, Thailand wishes to register its grave concern at the recent developments and situation in the occupied Arab territories.

My delegation would like to reiterate Thailand's consistent position with regard to the occupied territories that Israel must withdraw from the Arab territories that it has occupied since the 1967 war and that Israel must refrain from all measures designed to perpetuate its presence in those territories.

In this regard, while conscious of the complex nature of the Middle East situation, Thailand is convinced that a just and lasting solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict can be found only in peaceful negotiations which recognize the two important principles incorporated in Security Council resolution 242 (1967), namely, first, withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from all Arab territories occupied since 1967 and, secondly, the legitimate right of all States to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

At the same time, the Palestine Liberation Organization, which the General Assembly has recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, must be allowed to participate in all peace processes. Central to the issue, of course, is the need to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and to ensure the full exercise of such rights, in particular the right to self-determination, without further delay, in conjunction with the legitimate rights of all States in the area.

I should like to recall that, on 17 December 1981, my delegation voted for resolution 36/226 B, which, inter alia

"Declares that Israel's decision to apply Israeli law to the occupied Syrian Golan Heights is null and void and has no legal validity whatsoever".

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

Moreover, Thailand supports Security Council resolution 497 (1981), of 17 December 1981, in which the Security Council decided that Israel's decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights is null and void and without international legal effect.

Therefore it is Thailand's firm position not to recognize Israel's action, which is tantamount to annexation of the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. Furthermore, Thailand considers any change in the demographic status of the occupied Arab territories, including East Jerusalem, as being contrary to the relevant United Nations resolutions and in contravention of the United Nations Charter and international law.

In the light of the foregoing, Thailand strongly urges Israel to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions, in particular to rescind its law with regard to the Golan Heights without any further prevarication or preconditions. As long as Israel continues to ignore overwhelming international opinion and persists in its illegal actions, the resulting crisis will undoubtedly have an adverse effect on the long-term interests of Israel itself, and this would in turn exacerbate the threat to world peace and security.

At the same time, it is incumbent on the international community to exert every effort to avert war and relentlessly to pursue a peaceful solution, especially in such an important region as the Middle East. Consequently, unless and until this peaceful approach has been totally rejected by all parties concerned, Thailand holds the view that no measures should be taken at this stage which will diminish further the prospects of a peaceful settlement.

Given the present grave situation with its dangerous implications for world peace and security, it would be foolish for any party to think that time is on its side. When the question of the integrity of State and national rights is at stake and when the basis for a just and lasting settlement has been further undermined by Israel's most recent actions, a more objective assessment is that time is running out. Whatever the outcome of this emergency special session, there will be no cause for rejoicing in any quarter. Unless the provisions of Security Council resolution 497 (1981) are implemented forthwith, the fruits will taste bitter for all concerned.

Mr. BALETA (Albania) (interpretation from French): The validity of the request and decision to convene this emergency special session of the General Assembly has been amply demonstrated in the statements of many representatives of democratic and progressive countries who have spoken from this rostrum. The delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania shares the view that the General Assembly is facing an imperative need to act decisively to oppose the annexationist ambitions of the Israeli-Zionists concerning the Golan Heights, a Syrian territory occupied by Israel through armed aggression. It is also time to make the Israeli-Zionist aggressors, as well as the American imperialists and other imperialist super-Powers, more fully aware that their aggressive designs and their intrigues against the legitimate rights and national interests of the Arab peoples are intolerable and must cease.

Each time that a debate begins in this forum on the situation in the Middle East, we are compelled to note that the situation has deteriorated still further and that the problems besetting the area have become even more complicated and alarming. That is perfectly clear at the present time after the decision taken by the Israeli-Zionists to annex the Golan Heights. This is an extremely serious act of aggression and an arrogant challenge not only to the entire Syrian people but to all Arab peoples and to freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples throughout the world. That act has been decisively and indignantly condemned because it constitutes a very dangerous new step in the escalation of Zionist-imperialist aggression in the Middle East and has increased tension still further in the area at a time when the international situation as a whole continues to deteriorate and hotbeds of war and tension persist in every continent.

There is no need, we feel, for a lengthy discourse to demonstrate the glaring absurdity of the pretexts and so-called arguments to which the Israeli-Zionists resort in an attempt to absolve themselves of the responsibility that they must bear for the seriousness of their annexation decision and the very dangerous consequences it may entail. Whatever the arguments used by the Israeli-Zionists and the manoeuvres used by their patrons, the imperialist Americans, to justify or to excuse the decision taken by the Tel Aviv Zionists, the act of annexation is and remains null and void.

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

That being so, the essential thing is to focus on factors which explain why the Israeli Zionists are so very arrogant, cynical and defiant in their attitude to the Arab peoples and States and progressive world opinion and why they become ever more aggressive and over overweening in their policy of expansion and annexation in the Middle East.

There is no doubt at all that the Israeli Zionists have seen fit to add another crime to their long list of offences against the Arab peoples and peace and stability in the Middle East because they are still backed by the United States imperialists. The enormous economic, political, diplomatic and particularly military assistance provided by United States imperialists has been and continues to be the main support and principal source of the might of the war machine and the aggressive and expansionist policy of the Israeli Zionists. All acts of aggression perpetrated by Israel against the Syrian, Palestinian and other Arab peoples, including the recent decision to annex the Golan Heights, have had the blessing, encouragement and support of the United States of America.

Since it was foisted on the world by the imperialists and international Zionists, Israel has benefited tremendously from their assistance and has, in its turn, well served the interests of the imperialist Powers, especially those of the United States, in the Middle East area, playing the role of policeman and bloody tool of imperialism aimed at the Arab countries and peoples. This clearly explains why the United States spares no effort - stops at nothing, in fact - to satisfy all the needs, ambitions and whims of the aggressive and expansionist policy of Israel.

The United States has become, so to say, the direct accomplice of Israel in all its misdeeds, whether they consist of terrorism in the occupied territories, barbarous acts perpetrated against the Palestinians, massacres and destruction in Lebanon, the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, and now the annexation of the Golan Heights. The United States imperialists pretended to be surprised and even displeased at the news of the annexation of the Golan Heights, but in actual fact they did not hesitate to flout the most elementary norms of law and the voice of world public opinion when they went to the assistance of their Zionist protégés and averted the condemnation that they so well deserved in the United Nations.

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

Israel's choice of timing for announcing its decision to annex the Golan Heights is not unrelated to the deterioration of the international situation in general and in the Middle East in particular. The Israeli Zionists acted with the perfidy characteristic of them in facing the world with a new fait accompli at a time when events in the world and in the Middle East had taken a dangerous turn owing to the aggressive designs and intrigues of the imperialist super-Powers, which every day are jeopardizing more and more the freedom and independence of peoples and peace and security throughout the world. The annexation of the Golan Heights has long been the goal of the Israeli Zionists, who are seeking to realize, stage by stage, their wild and fanciful dreams of a Greater Israel. They have acted now because they seem to believe that the difficulties the peoples of the Middle East are encountering in their struggle against many enemies will prevent them from dealing as they should with Zionist expansionism and annexation.

Israel has always welcomed the turbulence and trouble spots which the imperialist super-Powers, the USSR and the United States, have constantly created in the Middle East as they struggled to carve out zones of influence and to dominate that part of the world, which is so rich in energy resources and so important strategically. The Israeli Zionists have benefited enormously from the strategy and counter-revolutionary activities of the American imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists in the Middle East, consisting of annihilating the national liberation and revolutionary movements of the peoples of the area and subjecting sovereign countries to their hegemonistic policies.

As was stated by the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the Eighth Congress of our Party last November:

"American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism are competing with each other in their acts of aggression and their invasions of other countries. In several areas of the world the struggle between those two imperialist super-Powers - without excluding imperialist China and other capitalist Powers - has taken a new and broader dimension. Each of those Powers is trying to assure its military, political and economic

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

superiority over the other and trying to occupy new strategic positions. Although another world war has not yet broken out, dangerous local fires have been ignited which could develop into a major world imperialist conflagration. The Middle East, and recently Indo-China, once again have demonstrated this clearly. This rivalry, this policy of the super-Powers, still further aggravates the situation and brings a new element of tension into international relations which is fraught with consequences."

The Albanian people and Government have always strongly condemned - and still do - the continuation of the aggression of the imperialists and Zionists against the Arab peoples, the occupation of Arab and Palestinian territory by Israel, and the intervention of the imperialist super-Powers in the Middle East. We condemn also all attempts and the attempts of the Israeli Zionists to annex the Golan Heights, which are Syrian territory occupied by force of arms in a war of aggression.

The Albanian people and its Government support the just struggle of their brothers, the people of Syria, against Zionist aggression and Syria's inalienable right to that occupied territory, the Golan Heights. We are sure that, through their struggle, the Syrian, Palestinian and other Arab peoples will succeed in winning their rights and in liberating the territories now occupied by the Zionists.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I shall now call on representatives who have asked to be allowed to exercise their right of reply. I should like to remind them of the provisions of General Assembly decision 34/401.

Mr. ROMERO (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish): In one part of the statement he made yesterday, the representative of Nicaragua tried to draw a parallel between Israel and El Salvador. Our country, which follows a policy of respect for the countries of the Caribbean and Central America and has no dispute with its neighbours, cannot pass over such a malicious statement and condemns this form of verbal aggression by the Government of Nicaragua - although it realizes that the attitude of that Government is in keeping with its whole policy in the area, which is one of exporting aggression and subversion.

(Mr. Romero, El Salvador)

In this forum of the United Nations it should be realized that those who start hurling insults are trying to confuse others so as to bring them over to their side. Posing as victims, they throw up a smokescreen in order to conceal, among other things, the arms race in which their Government is engaged and on which it is squandering its scanty resources. The arms race in Nicaragua is without parallel in Central America and the same is true of its aggressive policies. They go together.

El Salvador has been compelled to use its right of reply to dispel any possible doubts about its determination to resist any attempt at intervention in its internal affairs from whatever source or country it may come, and to refute any claim that there is a similarity between it and other countries. Our international conduct is based on the principles of the United Nations Charter. We condemn the acquisition of territory by force, whether by annexation or in any other way, and for whatever reason. We likewise condemn with equal vehemence all interventionist and aggressive policies.

Mr. MONCADA (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): We should like to clarify, for the benefit of the representative of El Salvador, that Nicaragua's position has not changed with the passing of time. We referred to the conflict in which that country is involved. Our position is that we do not want the Salvadorian people to suffer any further from the bloodshed of which it is a victim. Our Government wishes to denounce the suffering of that people who are suffering at the hands of those who have seized power but who do not represent the Salvadorian people. Yet those who have seized power have a seat here which they do not deserve.

We maintain our position that we do not agree or believe that the elections which are to be held in El Salvador represent a real solution to the conflict in that country. We believe that because we must ask: for whom will the Salvadorian people vote if their best men are in the mountains. For whom will the Salvadorian people vote if the Salvadorian people themselves are in the mountains? For that reason, our position has been very clear on this matter and we think we reflect the wishes of the people of Nicaragua whom it is our privilege to represent. We are confident that the world at large agrees with us and shares our hopes that the bloodshed in El Salvador will stop once and for all.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I call once again on the representative of El Salvador and I wish to remind him that his second intervention must be limited to five minutes.

Mr. ANDINO (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish): It might perhaps be useful to explain or to remind members that the item before us is the situation in the occupied Arab territories and not the internal situation in a Central American country, which is the subject to which the representative of Nicaragua has referred.

Secondly, as regards the comments that he made concerning the internal situation in my country, we should like to reiterate categorically and firmly that we reject that new verbal intervention. We are tired of the use of this Assembly as a sounding board for the policies and views of Governments of clearly

(Mr. Andino, El Salvador)

totalitarian connexions. I repeat that the Government of my country and my delegation reject the statement made by the representative of Nicaragua.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to assure the representatives that have extended congratulations and words of friendship to the President of the General Assembly and to the Secretary-General that those congratulations and kind words will be faithfully transmitted to the parties concerned.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.