

UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



PROVISIONAL

A/ES-7/PV.9
28 July 1980

ENGLISH

Seventh emergency special session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 28 July 1980, at 10.30 a.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. SALIM	(United Republic of Tanzania)
later:	Mr. ILLUECA (Vice-President)	(Panama)

- Question of Palestine /5/ (continued)

EXEMPLAIRES D'ARCHIVES
FILE COPY

A retourner / Return to Distribution C.III

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the General Assembly.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room A-3550, 866 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 11 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 5 (continued)

QUESTION OF PALESTINE: DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/ES-7/L.1, A/ES-7/L.2)

Mr. HULINSKY (Czechoslovakia): Mr. President, at the outset, I should like to express my delegation's real satisfaction at seeing you presiding over this emergency special session of the General Assembly. We are convinced that under your experienced and able guidance our deliberations will be fruitful.

The Czechoslovak delegation considers the convening of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, on the question of Palestine, to be the manifestation of the prime significance ascribed to that question by the world public represented here. The conclusions of past sessions of the General Assembly, summarized in resolution 34/65, have not yet been implemented. The Security Council, which, pursuant to the said resolution, dealt with the question of Palestine in March and April 1980, was unable to agree to decisive steps towards a just solution of the situation, owing to the veto of that very Power without the political, military and economic support of which Israel would be unable to continue with its aggressive policy.

The conflict in the Middle East remains one of the most dangerous hotbeds of international tension, threatening peace and security in the world.

There is hardly anyone who could today seriously deny the fact that the crux of any political solution of the Middle East problem is the settlement of the Palestinian question and the exercise by the Palestinian people of the right to self-determination. The Arab people of Palestine have never reconciled themselves to life under foreign rule or to the position of refugees forced on them by the aggressive policy of Israel.

(Mr. Hulinsky, Czechoslovakia)

There is no just and durable peace in the Middle East region, nor can there be unless there is a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question; unless Israeli troops are withdrawn from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967; unless the Arab people of Palestine are able to exercise its national rights, including the right to create its own State; and unless the independent existence and security of all the States of that area are guaranteed. Such a settlement can be achieved only in accordance with resolutions of the United Nations and provided that all interested parties participate, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Can any politician who thinks realistically challenge the fact that the Arab people of Palestine is one of the principal parties in the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East, or that the Palestine Liberation Organization should participate on an equal footing with the other parties in all international efforts, discussions or conferences on the Middle East held under the aegis of the United Nations, in accordance with the earlier decisions of the United Nations?

Again and again the world has seen proof of the fact that attempts of any kind to settle accounts in the absence of the payee, such as the attempts of those who have initiated various kinds of separate deals to be concluded behind the back of the Arab peoples, are doomed to failure.

The hopelessness of the policy of separate negotiations is ever more clear with the failure of the so-called Camp David agreements. Those agreements, concluded without the participation and against the will of the Arab people of Palestine, wholly ignore the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent State and, under the cloak of so-called autonomy, endeavour further to preserve the Israeli occupation of the Arab countries.

In practice the present policy of Israel is quite convincing in that regard. In spite of repeated appeals contained in United Nations resolutions, Israel has continued with the implementation of its colonial intentions, including the recent attempt at formalizing the incorporation of Jerusalem within Israel's sovereignty. Israel is also suppressing the resistance of the population of the occupied territories, subjecting them to systematic political, economic,

(Mr. Hulinsky, Czechoslovakia)

moral and physical oppression, while not even shrinking from open and premeditated attacks against those who were forced to flee to neighbouring countries. The practical policy of Israel in the occupied territories, the intention to annex East Jerusalem and other regions, the situation in southern Lebanon -- in respect of which, as in other cases, Israel has ruthlessly ignored resolutions of the Security Council -- and the reinforcement of Israel's positions along the Syrian and Jordanian fronts clearly attest to the fact that separate agreements cannot solve the situation in the Middle East but, on the contrary, will further enhance the inflexibility and aggressive character of the Israeli policy and represent a course towards a further, dangerous increase of tension in that so highly sensitive region.

The sole legitimate representative of the heroic Palestinian people, the Palestine Liberation Organization, has resolutely opposed the sort of so-called solution to the Palestinian question that would disregard or infringe upon the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic supports the vital demands that have been made by the Arab people of Palestine. Czechoslovakia condemns the ongoing Israeli occupation of the Arab territories and the fact that the Arab people of Palestine is deprived of its rights, including its right to return to its homeland.

The creation of their own independent State in Palestine would fulfil the aspirations of the Palestinians, a third generation of whom are still without a homeland. Historical justice stands on the side of the Arab people of Palestine. Any attempt to ignore reality will only prolong suffering of the Palestinian people and bring closer the possibility of the outbreak of a new war in the Middle East.

Mr. SOUTHICHAK (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, it is encouraging to see you guiding the work of this emergency special session of the General Assembly. The competence and keen sense of justice which are characteristic of you and which you have always displayed constitute an earnest of the success of the present session, in which the international community has placed so much hope.

More than three decades have passed; yet the tragedy of the Palestinian people, which marks a bleak and heart-rending episode in modern history, has not yet come to an end. Throughout this painful and interminable period, the valiant people of Palestine, reduced to the status of refugees on their ancestral land, has known only oppression, destruction and untold suffering. That abnormal situation, rooted in Israel's persistent denial of the inalienable right of the Palestinians to self-determination, has become a source of permanent tension in the Middle East.

It is a well-known fact that Israel, despite undertaking to comply with the Charter, has never demonstrated a willingness to carry out any of the United Nations resolutions on the question of Palestine. Colonialist and imperialist manoeuvres which began at the very outset of the birth of the United Nations were aimed at ensuring that the question of Palestine would be passed over in silence by placing it on the outermost fringe of the important issues dealt with in the United Nations.

We note that Israel and its zealous allies have reacted furiously every time the General Assembly has adopted a resolution acknowledging the status of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole authentic and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Now once again, when the Security Council is requested to invite the representative of the PLO to participate in its debates, one of its permanent members continues to oppose it.

It goes without saying that Israel is even more outraged when the Assembly adopts resolutions recognizing or reaffirming the **inalienable** rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine. Another example of Israel's defiance of the international community is its deliberate refusal to recognize

(Mr. Southichak, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

the Committee established under resolution 3376 (XXX), of 10 November 1975, even though that Committee has the noble mandate of enabling the Palestinian people to exercise its alienable rights.

All these hostile attitudes confirm undeniably Israel's cynical intention of denying the existence of the Palestinian people. The support rendered by colonialist and imperialist Powers to the Israeli authorities makes the situation so difficult that even the highest organ of the United Nations is paralysed, despite the efforts of the overwhelming majority of its members. The tacit complicity of those Powers thus provides Israel with excellent opportunities to display its supreme arrogance towards the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, as well as towards the entire international community.

In actual fact, innumerable hostile acts have been committed by the occupation authorities against the Palestinian people and its territory. In the occupied territories the Israeli authorities have stepped up their acts of repression, oppression, expulsion, arrests and even the systematic liquidation of Palestinian men, women and children. These acts of terror and intimidation are also directed against the Arab population of the Holy City of Jerusalem and defenceless refugee camps. The Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories has been receiving an uninterrupted flow of evidence from Palestinians who have testified that they were subjected to cruel treatment and torture.

More recently still, elected officials have been unable to escape the brutal and illegal treatment outrageously meted out by the Israeli authorities. Moreover, the international community has witnessed with deep indignation and horror the criminal assassination attempts against the mayors of several Palestinian cities in the West Bank. Those acts of inhuman violence are not isolated cases but are part of a campaign of intimidation and terror which the Israeli authorities have been carrying on in the occupied territories for more than a decade in order to crush the resistance of the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Southichak, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

Pursuing their long-term policy of assimilation and colonization, the occupation authorities, disregarding the condemnation of world opinion, have adopted systematic, large-scale measures aimed at establishing settlements, which have been growing in number at an alarming rate. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, for its part, has repeatedly drawn the Security Council's attention to its concern at Israel's stubborn determination to pursue its annexationist policy, particularly in so far as it pertains to the plans for settlements on the West Bank.

As for the Palestinians, not only do they see their land expropriated and their property confiscated, they have been subjected to unjustified measures of expulsion in order to clear the ground for Israeli settlers. More recently, within the framework of its colonization policy, the Israeli Cabinet has taken a number of decisions designed to authorize the extension of the many settlement strongpoints, fully aware that such decisions would be categorically rejected by the international community. After having established settlements in all rural areas, the Government of Israel is now engaged in creating more and more settlements in nearly all the urban centres in order to encircle Palestine's Arab population by hostile Israeli settlers, whose sole concern is to drive the Arab inhabitants from their homes.

The policy pursued by Israel is intentional and is dictated by colonialist designs; it continues to be in harmony with the belligerent tirades of its leader concerning what he calls "the Israelis' right to settle anywhere in Palestine". The recent statement of the Prime Minister of Israel on the creation of 10 new settlements and the expansion of existing ones has again confirmed Israel's annexationist policy designed to face the international community with a fait accompli which would make withdrawal from the occupied territories impossible and, in the final analysis, lead to their total annexation.

(Mr. Southichak, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

Still more serious is the Israeli Government's intensification of its colonial policy of occupation and annexation by the deliberate imposition of its national jurisdiction upon the city of Jerusalem. As the Head of the Israeli delegation stated unequivocally at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly:

"The city of Jerusalem is the one and only eternal capital of Israel." (A/33/PV.26, p. 43-45)

This decision to arrogate to itself the right of exclusive control over the Holy City has aroused vigorous opposition on the part of Arab States of the international community.

In flagrant disregard of international condemnation, the Israeli authorities have resorted to all sorts of measures and manoeuvres to integrate Jerusalem in Israeli national territory and to obtain the international community's recognition of it as their capital. To that end, they have proceeded to large-scale expropriation of Arab land around the eastern part of Jerusalem. The decision to confiscate these lands is all the more provocative, since it was taken on the very morrow of the Security Council's unanimous adoption of resolution 465 (1980), in which it called on the Government of Israel to cease the establishment of settlements in the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem. The promulgation of the law declaring Jerusalem the capital of Israel, and the decision of the Israeli Prime Minister to install services and the Cabinet conference room in the eastern section, occupied by Israel since 1967, on the very eve of the debate on the Holy City of Jerusalem, which was to open in the Security Council, provides fresh proof of Israel's scorn for the United Nations and its Charter, and for the will of the international community.

(Mr. Southichak, Lao People's Democratic Republic)

There is no need to emphasize the fact that the establishment of peace in the Middle East depends, first and foremost, on strict respect on Israel's part for the special status of Jerusalem, as stipulated in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations which constantly reaffirm the need to protect and preserve the unique religious and spiritual dimension of the Holy Places of that Holy City, which being an integral part of the occupied Palestinian territory must be totally evacuated and unconditionally restored to Arab sovereignty.

The escalation in the violence committed by the occupation authorities is reaching such a point that international peace and security are seriously threatened. The four Israel wars of aggression waged against the peoples and countries of the area, the repeated aggression against Lebanon and the perpetuation of the occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories constitute sources of tension that may at any moment lead to a general conflagration. The collusion of American imperialism with the partners in the Camp David accords through the sustained and increased assistance to reinforce the latter's military potential has aggravated that situation still further.

All the facts I have just recounted perfectly justify the concerns of the entire international community with respect to the question of Palestine, a question recognized as being at the very heart of the problem of the Middle East. Our Heads of State or Government, who met at Havana last year, in deciding to call for the convening of this emergency special session, were fully aware of the seriousness of the situation arising out of the persistent denial of the inalienable rights of a people and the perpetuation of a state of tension in the Middle East. In fact, strenuous efforts have been made by the international community to find ways and means that could guarantee the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights. The quest for a just solution of the question of Palestine has taken place within the framework of the United Nations but it is a deeply regrettable fact that Israel and its allies, which claim to seek a solution of the problem of the Middle East, have believed it necessary to resort to partial agreements which have taken no account of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people. We will not allow ourselves to be led astray by fallacious promises made by the sponsors of those separate agreements, who continually repeat that their aim is to establish peace

(Mr. Southichak, Lao People's Democratic Republic)

in the Middle East, whereas, since the signing of those agreements, we have daily been witnessing a disquieting deterioration in the situation, a deterioration that is due to the fact that the separate agreements, invalid in both substance and form, have deliberately introduced into the Middle East problem, which was already complicated and thorny enough, erroneous and confused elements whose purpose was to divide and split up the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza Strip as well as others and to sow discord and division among the Arab peoples of that region. All the measures recently taken by the Israeli Government, in total defiance of the universal condemnation expressed, clearly proved that the true intention of those agreements was in no way that of finding a just and lasting solution of the question of the Middle East but that Israel's manoeuvres are aimed at perpetuating its occupation of the Arab territories that Israel conquered by force. To that end, the Israeli occupation authorities began by eliminating the Palestinian people, depriving them of their leaders in the hope of reducing them to despair; and the Camp David agreements were so conceived as to achieve those malevolent and criminal objectives. Furthermore, they were concluded outside the framework of the United Nations and without the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the legitimate and authentic representative of the Palestinian people, an act that was contrary to the spirit of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, in particular resolution 33/28 A of the General Assembly which explicitly declared that:

"the validity of agreements purporting to solve the problem of Palestine requires that they be within the framework of the United Nations and its Charter and its resolutions on the basis of the full attainment and exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return and the right to national independence and sovereignty in Palestine, and with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization".

The Sixth Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana last September, for its part clearly reaffirmed that any solution of the Middle East conflict was impossible without the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights, including the right to return, the right to self-determination and the right to establish

(Mr. Southichak, Lao People's Democratic Republic)

an independent Palestinian State in Palestine. The Conference declared all agreements that did not fulfil those conditions null and void. The Council of the League of Arab States, during its meeting in Baghdad in March 1979, expressed in the most vigorous terms its opposition to the tripartite treaty concluded between the United States, Israel and Egypt which constitutes "an aggression against the rights of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation". The rejection of that separate peace treaty by the near totality of the international community is due to the fact that that treaty not only disregards the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people but also that it aims at legitimizing and perpetuating Israeli occupation by force of the occupied Arab territories. Therefore it is not surprising to note today that the accords are inevitably doomed to failure.

The adoption by the General Assembly of the United Nations of resolution 3376 (XXX) on the establishment of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People marks an important step in the quest for a just solution of the question of Palestine. That Committee, in which the Lao People's Democratic Republic has the honour of participating and whose mandate is to promote the full achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, in its first report presented recommendations to the General Assembly, which endorsed them by a broad majority in its resolution 31/20. Those recommendations, based on the achievement of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, furthermore welcomed the vigorous support on the part of the socialist community, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of African Unity, as well as that of all forces that love justice and peace. That broad support clearly shows the validity of those recommendations, considered as the one and only path to the effective exercise of the natural and inalienable rights of the Palestinians. In the recommendations, which the General Assembly endorsed both at its thirty-first session as well as at three succeeding sessions, the Security Council was requested to take a decision, as soon as possible, on the basis of those recommendations. Since that time, the question of Palestine has continued to arouse great concern in the international community because the implementation of

(Mr. Southichak, Lao People's Democratic
Republic)

the positive and constructive recommendations of the Committee has been hampered by the immobility of the Security Council. Indeed, the Council, in its meetings devoted to consideration of the question of Palestine, was unable to adopt a resolution recognizing the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee. The reason for that is that the United States, a permanent member of the Council, has continued to practise its obstructionist policy in order to prevent the Council from assuming the responsibilities conferred upon it by the Charter. On that point, during the meeting of the Council in 1976, that country cast a veto against the resolution on the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Scouthickak, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

Since that time, at each series of meetings of the Security Council devoted to the consideration of this question, that same permanent member has consistently threatened to use its veto again against any draft resolution affirming the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, to sovereignty and to national independence in Palestine. At the last series of Security Council meetings on this subject, which date back to April 1980, that permanent member indeed carried out its threat by vetoing the draft resolution which had obtained a majority in the Council in favour of the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights.

In that respect, we must deplore the hostile attitude of that permanent member of the Security Council which, through its manoeuvres of intimidation and obstruction, brought the Security Council to a standstill. That position surprises no one, because everyone is aware of it and, in fact, it is in keeping with that member's role as the principal ally of Israel, whose purpose is nothing other than to drag out a settlement of the question of Palestine in order to destabilize and interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of the region and establish its control over the Middle East. We deeply regret that the Security Council continues to disregard the legitimacy of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, which has received ever-growing support and sympathy from international opinion, and even from circles which in the past had shown some reticence about the question of Palestine.

From what I have said it is clear that there is no proof that Israel is prepared to give up willingly its policy of oppression and annexation of the occupied Arab territories, and its expansionist designs. The acts of repression and aggression have considerably increased in scope and intensity and they are continuing to escalate, to the point that peace and international security are gravely threatened, and the countries of the region and the entire world may well be led at any moment into a confrontation.

(Mr. Southichak, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

In the light of that serious situation, it is therefore imperative that our present debate should not lead only to the reaffirmation of the political and legal position of the United Nations on the question of Palestine and to the condemnation of Israel's flagrant violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions; but that it should also translate our words into decisive action. We must all work together to reach specific and effective solutions demonstrating our Organization's sense of lofty responsibility and capability of taking action.

The Summit Conference in Havana reaffirmed in its Political Declaration, as well as in its resolutions on the situation in the Middle East and the question of Palestine, the need to reach a just peace in the Middle East through a comprehensive solution, including an equitable solution of the Palestinian problem. Such a solution requires the simultaneous and integral application of the fundamental principles stipulated in paragraph 102 of the Political Declaration. The achievement by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights consists in enabling that people to return to the homes from which it was driven out, to recover the property of which it was dispossessed, to exercise the right of self-determination without any following interference, and to establish an independent and sovereign State in Palestine.

In order to achieve the application of these rights and those basic principles, it is more urgent than ever that, in view of Israel's intransigence and its persistence in a policy of aggression and expansion, as well as its constant refusal to implement United Nations resolutions, the present emergency special session of the General Assembly should take firm decisions against the aggressor. Our Assembly must demand that Israel withdraw unconditionally, totally and as rapidly as possible from the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and if Israel refuses to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations, all actions agreed upon by our Heads of State or Government must be explored; those Heads of State or Government have already, through the Havana Political Declaration and resolutions, envisaged the application

(Mr. Southichak, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

against Israel of the measures set forth in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter and the necessary sanctions, as well as a total and mandatory embargo and the expulsion of Israel from the international community. We would point out that political, diplomatic and economic measures must also be taken against those countries that support and maintain the Zionist racist régime.

In conclusion, we wish to salute from this rostrum the heroic and resolute struggle waged by the Palestinian people against the Israeli occupiers. There is no doubt but that that people will triumph in a glorious victory, for history proves that no force, however deadly it may be, can shake the will of a people struggling for justice and survival.

On behalf of the Lao Government and people, my delegation reaffirms its vigorous support for the struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), its sole legitimate and authentic representative, to regain its fundamental inalienable rights. Our support is determined by our sincere duty of solidarity with the Arab peoples in general and the Palestinian people in particular in their struggle against the aggression and occupation by Israel. That support was reflected in the courageous decision of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic to break diplomatic relations with the State of Israel; that decision was taken at the very outset of the establishment of the Republic. We continue to give all our support to the Palestinian and Arab cause and to all actions likely to contribute to the rapid restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

Mr. PRADHAN (Bhutan): Mr. President, my delegation is very happy to see you once again in the Chair. We should like to thank you and the Secretary-General for having convened this seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine.

The long-drawn-out and battle-ridden crisis in the Middle East, which still continues, not only has resulted in the untold suffering of the peoples of that region but is having an adverse impact on almost every sphere of international activity. As a result, the maintenance of world peace and security by the international community is becoming increasingly difficult. However, in spite of the severe consequences we face, the signs of an early settlement of this crisis are still not in sight.

We believe that the key to the solution of the crisis in the Middle East is the withdrawal by Israel from all occupied Arab territories and the establishment of a sovereign and independent State of Palestine. We also recognize the rights of all States in the region to exist within secure and internationally recognized boundaries.

The issue of Palestine is at the heart of the Middle East problem. Therefore, unless the Governments that are in a position to do so work towards the speedy attainment of the goal of the establishment of a sovereign, independent Palestine, including the recognition of the right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland, the peoples of the region will not be able to live in an atmosphere of peace. The resultant situation will continue to jeopardize international peace and security.

(Mr. Pradhan, Bhutan)

Whenever there have been any peaceful initiatives towards a solution of the problems in the Middle East, we have always welcomed such moves with great hopes. At the same time, although we fully recognise the inalienable and sovereign right of every State to enter into treaties and agreements, the sovereign rights and the national aspirations of the peoples of other States must not be jeopardized in any manner. The June Venice Declaration by the nine-member European Community was a positive advance towards the resolution of the Middle East crisis. Their efforts have contributed to the endeavours of the international community as a whole. We are confident that such peaceful attempts will not fail to have fruitful results. At this stage, we hope that the European countries will continue to push forward with their efforts.

While attempts are being made to achieve a peaceful and a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis taking into account the legitimate interests of all the States in the area, several serious obstacles are being created which are not conducive to a durable peace. Among others, the settlements being established in occupied Arab territories and the recent attempts to make Jerusalem into the capital of Israel are unjustified and do not speak well for the intentions of Israel. Such actions - along with others - aimed at once again altering the demographic composition of the occupied Arab lands are contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter and to the beliefs to which we adhere. Israel must therefore take the necessary steps to return what it has taken by force and to reverse its policy of settlements in the occupied territories. Only then could a genuine and meaningful step towards a lasting peace be considered to have been taken. Henceforth, all those Governments in a position to act on the matter must be guided by the principles of justice and by the sense of responsibility which we all owe to ourselves and to future generations.

(Mr. Pradhan, Bhutan)

The Palestine Liberation Organization, which the Non-Aligned Movement has accepted as being the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians has been a full member of the Movement and a Permanent Observer at the United Nations in its efforts towards achieving its objectives. We believe that the Palestine Liberation Organization must participate in any settlement of the Middle East crisis as representatives of the people of Palestine.

The international community must now search for solutions which take into account the genuine legitimate interests of all the States of the region. In this search, we cannot afford to ignore stark realities, including the continued suffering and the disruption of the life of the Palestinian peoples. My delegation will join in any effort of the international community to achieve a peaceful, fair and a lasting settlement in the Middle East.

The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the next speaker, I shall now give the floor to the representative of Senegal, who wishes to introduce a draft resolution contained in document A/ES-7/L.1.

Mr. KANE (Senegal)(interpretation from French): In a debate such as the one to which this emergency special session is devoted, it is difficult not to repeat oneself or to put forward new arguments to persuade the reticent and those whose positions may have been determined even before the opening of this session. Nevertheless, we shall once again attempt to appeal to the patience and indulgence of the Assembly and make one last try.

As Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People I have already had the opportunity on the first day of the session, 22 July, to express that Committee's views. Senegal has also done so through its Minister of Foreign Affairs. I have come to this rostrum on behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/ES-7/L.1, who have done me the honour of asking me to introduce that text.

(Mr. Kane, Senegal)

The statements we have heard since the opening of this debate and the quality of the prominent figures who have spoken encourage us in our ardent search for a just and comprehensive solution to the Palestinian question within the framework of the United Nations. If there is a discordant note, it is the voice of the representative of Israel, who continues, as is his wont, to spew out in this hall torrents of insantiy, calumny and historical untruths. I do not propose to reply to him; others have already done so. We can leave it to an eminent Jew and former president of the World Jewish Organization to answer him. This was done by Mr. Nahum Goldman in the last issue of Le Nouvel Observateur, when he stated:

"The external policy of Israel, based on utopian illusions and claims, is becoming increasingly provocative and arrogant. Israel is isolated, and the support it enjoys in international bodies is diminishing, save for the support of the United States, which will continue to back Israel until the presidential elections at the end of this year."

This stubbornness on the part of Israel is beginning to discourage all those who, animated by goodwill or by profound remorse towards the Jewish people, have always defended that country. And the present debate offers abundant proof of this. Let me mention the case of a country that cannot be accused by being pro-Arab or anti-Israel, non-aligned or connected with any bloc, which is the case of New Zealand.

In his statement, Ambassador Francis after having mentioned Israel's various violations of United Nations resolutions, including resolution 242 (1967) with regard to the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by war, noted other violations, in particular the establishment of settlements, the refusal to withdraw from occupied territories and the annexation of Jerusalem. He concluded with these words:

(Mr. Kane, Senegal)

"The Palestine issue, as the Assembly has several times affirmed is at the core of the instability in the Middle East. There are few issues that potentially so gravely endanger peace and security; there are few issues that call for more urgent efforts to be made to achieve a settlement. The road to a negotiated, just and lasting settlement will not be easy. It is critical, therefore, that all parties should exercise patience and restraint. It is essential that they should refrain from actions that could increase tension and threaten lives. With goodwill on all sides, we are confident that a settlement can be reached, a settlement that will preserve the security and essential interests of all parties and assure to the Palestinian people the rights to which they have so long aspired."

(A/ES-7/PV.4, p. 92)

It could not have been better put. And it is by displaying moderation, patience and, above all, a sense of responsibility that the draft resolution before the Assembly was arduously prepared and sponsored by the following countries:

Angola, Bahrain, Burundi, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Djibouti, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Kuwait, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Madagascar, Malta, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Pakistan, Qatar, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tunisia, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the United Arab Emirates, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

I shall not dwell on ideas that have already been channelled through the media and have been taken up in certain statements, but which do not appear in this text - such as the idea of having a peace-keeping force or enforcement machinery to compel Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories. Nowhere do these ideas appear in this text, although some countries have based their positions in this debate on them.

On the other hand, facts and principles are to be found in the draft resolution. The facts that are recalled - perhaps with some sharpness because it is no good hiding one's face and behaving like an ostrich - are simple. Without a solution of the question of Palestine, peace in the area, and even in the world, will continue to be gravely threatened. Another fact is that on 30 April a veto was cast in the Security Council. We cannot go on saying: "The Council is obstructed by the veto of one country". Everyone knows which

(Mr. Kane, Senegal)

country it is and, in the Assembly, responsibility must be clearly indicated; if the Council has been unable to act, it is because of the veto of the United States of America.

In addition to the facts, the principles contained in resolutions that have already been adopted by the General Assembly are recalled in the document. Operative paragraphs 1 to 6 mention only principles which have already been the subject of Security Council or General Assembly resolutions or principles which are accepted by the international community and which are part of international law and recognized practice. I must even add that, if some of these principles have not yet been generally accepted by certain countries, those countries nevertheless accept them very well for themselves and their peoples. When it is a question of the right to self-determination without outside interference, to national independence and sovereignty, one may well ask which people or which country does not accept it for itself. When it is a question of the right to establish one's own sovereign and independent State, all States represented here in full sovereignty and independence should not, in our view, refuse to allow that right to be granted to another people.

We should like to reply in advance to those who might say that resolution 242 (1967), which some continue to regard as sacrosanct, is not mentioned in the draft resolution. We say that the principles on which the draft resolution is based are in their proper place in the text; a good look at it will show that all the principles recalled in resolution 242 (1967) are there. We agree - and we say so - that the right of every State in the area to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries is implicit in General Assembly resolutions - resolutions which, furthermore, considerably antedate resolution 242 (1967). And if we had to recall all the resolutions on the question of Palestine - from resolution 181 (II) to resolution 34/65 A of the last regular session - we might perhaps end up with more than 250 resolutions being recalled in a single document. Let us acknowledge that that is impossible in practice.

After recalling the facts and reiterating the principles, in operative paragraph 7 of the draft resolution the Assembly for the umpteenth time

"Calls upon Israel to withdraw completely and unconditionally from all the.... territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem."

(Mr. Kane, Senegal)

In operative paragraph 8, it also demands that Israel should comply with the provisions of resolution 465 (1980) of 1 March 1980 - a resolution which, let us recall, was adopted unanimously by the members of the Council and which deals with the question of the settlements in occupied Arab territories. Finally, the draft requests and authorizes the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian people, to take the necessary measures towards the implementation of the recommendations of the Committee, which have already been adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth regular session and which are contained in document A/31/35, as a basis for the solution of the question of Palestine.

Other solutions have been tried, but it is generally recognized that any solution attempted outside the framework of the United Nations is doomed to failure. The present debate has amply demonstrated that, and I shall not dwell on the point any further.

The draft resolution before the Assembly is a compromise text; that is obvious from the wide range of sponsoring countries. It took time to arrive at the text, which shows that its preparation was not easy. It was not easy because the sponsors had two concerns in mind: the first was that they wished to respect the principles and the provisions of the United Nations Charter; the second was that they wished to base themselves on the General Assembly and the Security Council resolutions on the question - which explains that the draft resolution has a certain continuity and logic that are difficult to refute.

Operative paragraphs 12 and 13 proceed from the same logic, since we indicate that the Security Council remains the organ which has special responsibility for the maintenance of peace - as stated, in particular, in Article 24 of the Charter - and call upon it once more to carry out that responsibility if Israel has not complied with this resolution by 15 November 1980. Hence we refer to the Security Council the responsibility of carrying out its mandate effectively. We hope that it will not be necessary for the Council to meet. And it will not be necessary if the resolution is implemented; and if it does it would not be necessary for the Council to apply the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter either. We therefore hope that the report to be submitted by the Secretary-General at the thirty-fifth session will be satisfactory

(Mr. Kane, Senegal)

and will not require the General Assembly to meet once again. In any event, the last operative paragraph of the draft resolution provides for the present session to be adjourned temporarily in order to see whether or not the steps set out in the resolution will be complied with.

(Mr. Kane, Senegal)

The countries which are sponsoring draft resolution A/ES-7/L.1 recommend its adoption - if not by unanimity, then almost so. We believe that in present circumstances that that draft represents the course of reason and responsibility in world affairs. The peoples of the world, including the Palestinian people, continue to turn to us in their quest to obtain respect for their fundamental rights and dignity and the worth of the human person, in their quest for the establishment in the world of the conditions needed for an era of justice and freedom for all, and finally for the achievement of social progress and better standards of life for all. Have we the right to disappoint even a small part of those people again? We think not, because from all the speeches we have heard we believe that this Assembly is now firmly determined to implement its own resolutions and that is all that draft resolution A/ES-7/L.1 is calling for.

Mr. ALAINI (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. President, as this is the first time I have spoken at this session on behalf of the Yemen Arab Republic, it is with great pleasure that I extend my sincere congratulations to you on your election as President of the General Assembly. We greet you as the distinguished representative of a friendly country, and our congratulations go to you now, almost a year after your assumption of the presidency during which time you have demonstrated great skill and have carried out your duties in a fitting manner.

Today we are meeting in this emergency special session, which has been made necessary by a succession of events in the Middle East and the ineffectiveness of the many resolutions adopted by the Security Council. That ineffectiveness is due to the attitude of the United States, its hesitancy over the resolutions and its use of the veto from time to time, as well as to Israel's disregard for United Nations resolutions as it continues to occupy territory, create settlements and perpetrate acts of terrorism against the Arab citizens of the occupied Arab territories.*

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

(Mr. Alaini, Yemen)

More than 30 years have passed since this question was first studied by the United Nations and its various bodies, including the Security Council. More than 30 years have passed, in the course of which the Palestinian people have had to explain the issues to all international bodies. More than 30 years have passed, in the course of which resolutions have been adopted with no results, except the uprooting of more people, the occupation of more territory, more intransigence and more disregard for the United Nations and world public opinion. More than 30 years have passed, in which there have been wars and other events which have marked the lives of the peoples of the area and even the world economy. Whose interest is served by the continuance of this tragedy? Who believes that the tragedy will pass one day? Who believes that a fait accompli can be imposed on the Arab world, on the Palestinians and others in the area? In 1947 the Arab peoples were under British domination and were underdeveloped and poor. But today they are in a completely different situation: their countries have freed themselves from foreign influence; they have recovered their freedom and their will; they have asserted themselves in all areas of life; they have acquired wealth; their armies are well equipped; their children are well educated; and those countries can therefore no longer accept oppression, injustice and subordination. The Palestinian people were victims of aggression in 1945; they were driven from their homeland then and many of their children went to Arab countries. Today, in the area, they are the ones with the most culture and, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), they have the institutions and the army they need and they have full recognition from the countries of the world.

I mention these obvious facts, these truths, because the facts stand alone. Why is there continued suffering in the area and in the whole world? Regardless of the actions of the Zionists, regardless of the fact that they have driven people from their homes, killed people and tried to destroy their property, that will not alter the facts. Even if settlements are created, even if the names of towns and villages are changed, even if the Zionists think that Jerusalem belongs to them today, that will not change anything and will not create a new situation of any permanence.

(Mr. Alaini, Yemen)

The Zionists exploit their numerical strength in the United States and the fact that they control the mass media. They exploit the elections and the candidates' need for their votes, their influence and their propaganda. They exploit their influence as citizens in certain Western countries, so as to play an important role in the political field.

We are well aware of all that, but it will not turn truth into lies; it will not mean that the Palestinians will bow to plundering and terrorism. Our policies are clear and we maintain our claim. Today we are quite capable of recovering our rights.

The people of the world are no longer prisoners of the financial monopolies and the fate of those people is no longer in the hands of a minority that can be easily manipulated. The people of the world today understand the facts about Palestine and Palestinian and Arab rights which are clear as daylight. Some distinguished Jewish leaders in the occupied territories, in the United States and elsewhere have begun to condemn the present policies of those who have influence in the area.

Today Arabs frequently call on the Security Council and the General Assembly to act. Only yesterday the media said that the Arabs had brought the question of Palestine before the Copenhagen Conference.

(Mr. Alaini, Yemen)

What else can the Arabs do, if they are driven from their territory and if the enemy continues to occupy it, importing immigrants and altering historical facts? What else can be done? What, in fact, do these organizations and institutions exist for? Are they not there to change things, to put an end to colonialism, to bring about the rule of justice, freedom and equality? Are there not with us today more than 100 States that not so long ago were suffering under foreign domination? In the eyes of some, Algeria was once French. And that is true of other States too. Palestine exists; Palestinians will have their State, their emblem and their entity. They will not remain in refugee camps: they will not remain refugees. Those militants will achieve their goals. That is the law of life, it is in the very logic of things, and the greatest Powers in the world cannot prevent them from achieving what they want. It is all to the honour of the United Nations that it has been able to correct some of the errors of the world and to assert its existence, its competence and its effectiveness, and to spare the world further suffering. Even if the United Nations failed to do that, then the situation will not remain as it is: notwithstanding difficulties, justice will one day prevail, and we believe that that day will come soon.

We do not want the day to come when the Arabs lose all hope and use other methods of the kind to which other peoples before them have had recourse, but that day could come, notwithstanding the will of the Arab States.

Certain parties have not fulfilled their moral and other obligations. Egypt has left the Arab world. It was always the standard-bearer in the vanguard of the struggle for liberation in Africa and the third world. But the Camp David agreements disregarded the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Palestinian people and the Arab countries directly concerned: it disregarded the world Organization and its resolutions too. The agreements have led to an impasse.

The Arab Republic of Yemen stands by the militant Palestine people, the Arab nation, the Islamic countries and all countries that have rejected Israel's allegations. My country cannot accept Israel's attempts to alter the status of Jerusalem, which it considers a centre of spiritual development that should be open to all religions. That is our opinion as an Arab country.

(Mr. Alaini, Yemen)

A total, just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be brought about without a just settlement of the question of Palestine on the basis of the complete withdrawal of Israel from Palestinian territory and from all Arab territory, including Jerusalem - a settlement based on the right of Palestinians to self-determination without any foreign interference, on their right to national independence, sovereignty, on their right to return to their homeland, in keeping with the United Nations Charter, and on recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. And here, since Israel refuses to implement past resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, we are entitled to require that machinery be created for the implementation of those resolutions. Should Israel refuse to implement United Nations resolutions and to take appropriate action, we shall call on the Security Council to take action under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

Everything we have heard from the representatives of most countries we have found satisfactory, and we thank them and express our esteem for them. We wish to tell them that they are not merely defending Arabs; they are defending the Charter, law, justice and logic. They are the conscience of the world.

As far as the representative of the United States is concerned, we heard rather strange language from him the other day. He focused his attention on the need to recognize all the parties concerned, yet he forgot that the United States alone disregards the party most directly concerned in the question of the Middle East. The United States has contributed to the creation of a foreign element in the Middle East which is the cause of all the trouble. The United States is responsible for the encouragement of aggression against the Middle East. The United States has refused and continues to refuse to recognize the Palestinian people. The United States has refused to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization, and it has refused to give it participation in all discussions regarding the question of Palestine. Moreover, the United States has threatened the countries of Western Europe if they continue to recognize the reality in the Middle East - the reality being that there is a single legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and that is the Palestine Liberation Organization.

(Mr. Alaini, Yemen)

As regards the statement by the representative of the United States to the effect that Camp David was a fitting start for fruitful negotiations on the Middle East, we would just say that, whenever discussions between Israel and Egypt focus on the Palestinian question, they encounter obstacles. In addition, Begin has very frankly said that he could not conceive of an entity or a State for the Palestinians, and that internal autonomy is not for the occupied land but for the Arabs living there today. The United States, which advises that all parties should be taken into account, in fact considers only one of the parties involved in the problem and does not heed the words of the representatives of the others, nor does it pay heed to the Islamic countries, the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement or the Western Europeans. Where then is this balance of which the United States speaks? What about the justice of which it speaks?

The representative of Israel has mentioned certain negative aspects of Arab relations, but I would say that he is sorely mistaken and that time will tell. Egypt will not remain outside the Arab ranks. The present gloomy picture that Israel has painted is only the result of passing summer clouds. There will soon emerge a united Arab world, one that devotes all its skill and its spiritual strength and its strategic oil resources to the service of its cause, in the forefront of which is the Palestinian question and freedom, justice and peace. Then we shall no longer be the weak party. And that day is not far away.

Mr. TINOCO (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): My delegation is pleased that Ambassador Salin, who so worthily represents the developing countries, is once again presiding over the work of the Assembly at this seventh emergency special session.

For the Revolutionary Government of Nicaragua, this emergency special session to deal with the question of Palestine has special significance. Ever since the triumph of the Sandinist popular revolution a year ago, Nicaragua's policies have been based on a clear position of solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the world in the struggle for freedom and in defence of their inalienable right to self-determination.

(Mr. Tinoco, Nicaragua)

Those were the principles that prompted our people to struggle against the tyranny of Somoza, and those were the principles invoked when, on 22 July last in Managua, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Comrade Yasser Arafat, and a member of our governing Junta, Daniel Ortega, announced their decision to establish official relations at the highest level between the Nicaraguan people and the Palestinian people.

In accordance with that policy, and deeply concerned over the constant violations of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, Nicaragua became one of the countries which joined in convening this emergency special session.

Other countries did not agree with the convening of this session and did what they could both to prevent the session's taking place and to undermine its results. The question of Palestinian rights has no particular meaning for them since it is a question being dealt with routinely by the United Nations.

However, for the non-aligned countries the subject is an urgent one and we think that it should be a matter of urgency for the international community as a whole. If the question of Palestine is recognized as the crux of the Middle East conflict, that conflict is equally crucial for international peace and security. At a time when the cold war has re-emerged, when the Middle East has been militarized, when a wave of anti-imperialist feeling has swept the area, disrupting the energy supplies of certain industrial Powers, when rapid deployment forces and military bases are being established, when there is open talk of stationing foreign troops in the area and the arms race is being stepped up, one can surely say with full justification that we are confronted with an emergency situation and that it is up to the international community, now more than ever, to redouble its efforts to bring about a just, lasting and over-all settlement of the conflict in the Middle East. And since the question of Palestine is the crux of the problem, we can only conclude in view of the evidence that it is the intransigence of the Government of Israel and of those that support it that keeps the world on the brink of a catastrophe. That is the emergency.

We recently heard in this hall the accusation that the world of the United Nations is not in touch with the world of reality. We should ask what reality they are talking of. If by talking of reality they would have us understand that we ought

(Mr. Tinoco, Nicaragua)

to accept the status quo in the Middle East, turn a blind eye to the repression and oppression of the Palestinians and accept that third parties can determine the future of Palestine, then we do not accept that reality today nor shall we ever accept it because it would mean a violation of the principles enshrined in the Charter and of the duty of the United Nations to offer alternatives to war.

In its resolution 34/65 B of 19 December 1979, the General Assembly, in the first operative paragraph noted with concern

"that the Camp David accords have been concluded outside the framework of the United Nations and without the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people". (resolution 34/65 B, para. 1)

In the same resolution, the General Assembly declared

"that the Camp David accords and other agreements have no validity in so far as they purport to determine the future of the Palestinian people and of the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967". (ibid., para. 4)

However, it is obvious that not all Members of the United Nations take that position. Repeatedly, the just efforts of the world community to effect the implementation of the rights of the Palestinian people have come up against the generalized and wrongful use of the veto in the Security Council by the principal ally of Israel.

Bogged down in the morass of contradictions engendered by its historical support for repressive and racist régimes, such as the Tel Aviv régime, the United States refuses to recognize the recommendations of the General Assembly in support of the rights of the Palestinian people, rights which have won broad support in international agreements, even to the extent of rejecting dialogue.

Since 1976 the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has been working patiently and persistently, presenting reports and recommendations to the Security Council which are essentially a synthesis of General Assembly resolutions and are designed to produce an equitable settlement of the question of Palestine. The Committee has done all within its power to draw the attention of the Security Council to the effects of its resolutions, noting the fundamental principles on which those

(Mr. Tinoco, Nicaragua)

recommendations were based and calling on the Council to take the steps necessary for the implementation of those resolutions. But none of this has yielded any concrete result.

Our Organization remains paralysed, unable to offer a hope of peace or legality for peoples like those of Palestine and Namibia, who today can only, and with full legitimacy, resort to armed struggle to defend their sacred rights to freedom and independence.

Frankly, in view of this record, it is commendable that the people of Palestine, through its legitimate representative, continues to believe in the constructive role of this Organization in the search for peace and justice.

The non-aligned countries have stated that it is no longer enough just to condemn Israel for its continuing and persistent policy of aggression, expansion, annexation, establishment of settlements and for its oppression and repression in respect of the people and land of Palestine. It is no longer enough simply to condemn its repeated and arrogant disregard for the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council or for its open violation of the character and institutions of Jerusalem, as guaranteed by the international community.

We need urgent and decisive measures leading to the solution of the question of Palestine and the problem of the Middle East. The United Nations has a primary duty to assist in the attainment of peace and stability in the Middle East which involves, on logical, political and moral grounds, the rejection of the Zionist approach to security based on the acquisition of more territory, on the subjugation of the peoples and the exploitation of the resources of the region, and on military support for repressive, genocidal régimes in Africa, Asia and Central America. The people of Nicaragua know all too well the consequences of that militarism. Such a policy can only awaken resistance and the condemnation of all peoples that love freedom and dignity. Such a policy can be shown historically to result only in the destruction of those who advocate it.

The Palestinians insist on remaining in their homeland. The repression of the Palestinians and their leaders will not stop them. Neither Phantom aircraft nor sophisticated weapons will bring peace or induce the world

(Mr. Tinoco, Nicaragua)

community to cease its reaffirmation of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the creation of its own sovereign State.

Nicaragua vigorously rejects any partial approach or agreement that does not provide for the liberation of Palestine as a whole or recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Moreover, we firmly reject any attempt to compare the legitimate Palestinian struggle for self-determination with Zionist aggression, which would be tantamount to comparing the victim with the criminal.

Nicaragua will therefore support a resolution aimed at setting up machinery for, first, the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 237 (1967), secondly, the use of United Nations assistance funds for the Palestinian refugees; thirdly, to the repatriation and compensation of Palestinian refugees; and fourthly, the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, under the supervision of the United Nations.

Thereby the Sandinist people and Government of Nicaragua would demonstrate to the Palestinian people and the Arab nation that they are not alone in their battle against Zionism because the struggle for national liberation is indivisible.

Mr. DUMEVI (Ghana): Many well-deserved tributes have been paid to Ambassador Salim personally and to his great country, Tanzania, with which Ghana has cordial and friendly relations. Even so, I should like to express the pleasure of my delegation at the fact that he is presiding over the deliberations of this important session. We are confident that the zeal and the ability he demonstrated during the thirty-fourth regular session and the sixth emergency session will enable him effectively to guide this emergency session as we discuss this complex problem. My delegation offers him its fullest co-operation in the discharge of his responsibilities.

The Palestinian question has been with this Organization for well over three decades. Past efforts to find solutions within the framework of this General Assembly and the Security Council have not brought us near to any solution. Direct political initiatives have yet to give a glimmer of hope. The region has seen three wars, with tragic consequences for the people of that area. It is imperative to eliminate the root causes of those wars. In pursuit of that objective, the General Assembly, by resolution 34/65 A, charged the Security Council with considering and taking a decision on the recommendations of the Palestinian rights Committee. The recommendations represent, in the opinion of Ghana, a realistic and positive effort in the search for a solution of the long-standing problem of Palestine.

The failure of the Security Council to take a decision on the recommendations and the reasons behind the failure are familiar to us all. Yet recent developments in the occupied Arab territories and southern Lebanon show how volatile the political situation in that area is.

Since the last meeting of the General Assembly, the West Bank has witnessed an accelerating cycle of violence, actions and counteractions in the form of bombings and killings. We recall the deportation of the Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul and a Sharia judge of Hebron. We also recall the maiming of the Mayors of Nablus and Ramallah, as only a few of the instances of heightened violence in that part of the world.

In the exercise of its primary responsibilities, the Security Council met and seven times rebuked Israel, asserting the right of the Palestinians to decide their own form of rule. But the Council's decisions were nullified in advance, again because of the failure of its permanent members to agree on a common stand.

(Mr. Dumevi, Ghana)

Even as the Council remained immobilized, Israeli authorities continued to mount their "hot pursuit" into southern Lebanon and relentlessly pursued their policies of establishing more Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab lands. As if that were not enough, they tabled a bill in their Parliament declaring Jerusalem the eternal capital of Israel.

Press and media reports have it that this bill has received its first reading and the indications are that it is being rushed through the Israeli Parliament in apparent disregard of, and contempt for, this Organization. Viewed in the context of other Israeli actions in the occupied territories, this latest move, in the opinion of my delegation, will exacerbate even further the tension in the area. We strongly deplore this move: it is ill-timed and ill-advised and raises serious doubts about Israel's oft-repeated claims that it seeks to live in peace with its neighbours.

We believe it is in everybody's interest to stem the rising tide of Palestinian frustrations before they spill over into another major disaster. It has therefore become necessary to move the stalled debates in the Security Council into this forum, where more and more delegations will have the opportunity to express their views on this important question. That, then, is the rationale behind the convening of this emergency special session. Member States that called for the convening of this emergency session were animated by the deeper desire to seek positive solutions to the Middle East conflict. Far from interfering with, or undermining, any political initiative, we see this emergency session as an effort in the search for peace in the Middle East conflict. In the opinion of Ghana, this session is necessary and timely.

My delegation recognizes that the Palestinian issue is a complex one. But one basic principle constantly stands clear: that of Palestinian rights. Today, an international consensus has developed on this matter in the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Islamic Conference and the nine European Common Market countries. Let us, at this emergency session, seize the momentum and, together, work to eliminate the virulent disease which, for too long, has caused agony and suffering for the people of the Middle East.

(Mr. Dumevi, Ghana)

We believe it is deluding oneself to think that the legitimate aspirations of a people can be held in check indefinitely. History, in any case, does not support that view. The case of the Palestinians is one of a denial of justice.

We also believe it is a serious political error to think that there is "no such thing as a Palestinian people" and that "they do not exist". It is equally a wrong political judgement, in our view, to dismiss the representatives of the Palestinians, the PLO as "terrorists" who should not participate in any negotiations concerning the Palestinians. It is a self-evident historical truth that freedom fighters once labelled "terrorists" put down their guns on becoming politicians. Why then do we deny the Palestinians a chance?

(Mr. Dumevi, Ghana)

My Government remains convinced that the Palestinian question is at the core of the instability in the Middle East. We also remain convinced that the solution of the problem will continue to elude our grasp as long as the injustice to the Palestinians continues. Justice will have to be done to the Palestinians if we want a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East. In this connexion, we feel that the following elements are vital: first, restoration of their legitimate rights to the Palestinians, and this implies the rights of the Palestinians to return to their homes, land and property and to decide on their own government without any external interference; secondly, recognition of the rights of all States in the area to live in peace within secure and internationally recognized borders; thirdly, participation of the Palestinians in any international negotiations affecting their destiny; we hold, in this connexion, that the Palestine Liberation Organization, their representative, should participate on an equal footing in all negotiations on Palestine; fourthly, strict application of the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war; this implies the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem; and fifthly and lastly, retention of the international status of Jerusalem in accordance with General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947.

It is high time that the international community found a solution of the Middle East conflict. In the opinion of Ghana, the United Nations should not abandon its present search for solutions, but should, more than ever before, pursue the search with greater vigour. In the same vein, we appeal to all parties to the dispute to exercise the greatest restraint in their actions. We also believe that all parties to the dispute should begin to talk to each other rather than at each other. The Middle East conflict is not a localized problem; it is an international problem. An international consensus has developed as to how to approach this problem. We share the view that this emergency special session should develop that consensus. In this way we shall have taken a step further in the search for a solution.

Mr. AL-HAGELAN (Saudi Arabia): On behalf of my Government and my delegation I wish to express to Mr. Salim our thanks and appreciation for his competent steering of this emergency special session and to register our confidence that

(Mr. Al-Hagelan, Saudi Arabia)

the session will lead to positive results under his wise guidance. I take pleasure also in expressing our deep appreciation and gratitude to Ambassador Falilou Kane, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and to its members and Rapporteur for their efforts in convening this emergency special session of the General Assembly to discuss the question of Palestine and to reach a just and permanent solution.

The Palestine question is not new to the United Nations. Every session of the General Assembly since 1947 has included a discussion of this question. Each year for the past 33 years, which represents almost the life-span of the international Organization, the United Nations has reconfirmed its increasing concern over the deterioration of the dangerous situation in the Middle East. At the same time, we have witnessed the unrestrained policy of hegemony, expansionism, racism, intransigence and fanaticism pursued by the Israeli entity against the Palestinian people and its just cause while the international community, to which the said entity owes its very existence, has been unable to reach a solution of this question. This dangerous situation, which involves the whole area, has led the international community to reject the occupation by Israel of the lands of others by force of arms, in the historic General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX), which recognized the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and its right to self-determination without external interference. However, the contents of that resolution and the rejection of Israel's occupation of the lands of others by force of arms have not been translated into effective and deterrent enforcement measures. For this reason, the international community has agreed that the holding of an emergency special session to discuss the question of Palestine was an urgent necessity because of the continued deterioration of the situation in the Middle East and the threat to world peace and security.

One cannot but ask what would have been the feelings and, perhaps, the disappointment of the State representatives who had actually participated in the San Francisco Conference in 1945 and in the preparation and signature of the United Nations Charter. This was the charter that was drafted, on the basis of which the United Nations was established to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which, twice in our lifetime, has brought untold sorrow to

(Mr. Al-Hagelan, Saudi Arabia)

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

There is no doubt that those representatives and their Governments were motivated by sound and sincere intentions. The participants in the Conference and their Governments were aware of the horrors of the Second World War and the devastation it had inflicted upon the human race. They were also aware that among the main causes of that and preceding wars was the contempt of certain States for international law, for international treaties, for human rights and for political and social justice.

We unquestionably recognize those good purposes and intentions of 1945, but what can we say today when we witness some States not only ignoring the lofty principles and values that had inspired them in 1945, but also deliberately violating those principles and values and making every possible effort to perpetuate injustice and aggression and to impede the United Nations machinery entrusted under the Charter with the task of preventing injustice and opposing aggression? Now, what hope and trust can the world's nations have in those States and what measure of confidence can they have in the United Nations organs and in their effectiveness? Can those nations overlook past and continuing deliberate actions by those Powers which have led to the perpetuation of Israeli aggression against the peaceful people of Palestine, against its men, women, children, its aged and against its life, property, land, heritage and holy shrines for a period of more than 30 years?

(Mr. Al-Hegelan, Saudi Arabia)

We do not deny that our hope and confidence in some of the super-Powers have been shaken and are in great need of rebuilding. It is very important for our friends to realize that Governments cannot function in isolation from their peoples and from their pains and aspirations. We have referred to this on several previous occasions, and in particular to the dangerous situation resulting from the brazen defiance by Israel of all the United Nations resolutions and its persistence - without being deterred or inhibited in any way by its supporters - in expanding; annexing territories, including Jerusalem; and denying to the Palestinian people the exercise of its inherent right of self-determination. We have also warned against the error by some States in resorting to different standards in the handling of various problems, as this will expose the interests of those States to dangers that will be difficult to avoid. It is also possible that this may expose the peace and security of the whole region, and possibly the whole world, to the danger of war. Once more my Government appeals to the international community to see the danger involved in the arrogant Israeli policy, acquiesced in by Israeli's friends with complete indifference to the United Nations and to its successive resolutions which have remained without implementation since 1948, thereby exposing the prestige and effectiveness of the international Organization to grave dangers which will inevitably have a negative effect in facing other international crises.

The policy of colonialism and persecution pursued by the Israeli entity in the Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories - and in particular its expansionist policy demonstrated in the annexation and Judaization of parts of these territories, the changing or eradication of their religious, national and archeological features and the obstruction of religious practices - constitutes a challenge to the universal human conscience, as reflected in the relevant resolutions of the international Organization. In particular I refer to the cities of Jerusalem and Al-Khalil and the encroachment on the sanctity of the holy Al-Masjed Al-Aqsa and the continued excavations aimed at its demolition and its replacement by a Jewish temple. I also refer to the occupation

(Mr. Al-Hegelan, Saudi Arabia)

of the Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi in Al-Khalil and its conversion into a Jewish temple. The Israeli Zionist blueprint for the occupied Arab territories is drawn on the basis of annexing all these territories to Israel. Israel, from its inception, and even from the birth of the Zionist movement, has adopted the concept of imposing faits accomplis by creating material facts to support its basic aims. The method of establishing actual settlements has been the cornerstone in implementing this blueprint. This is demonstrated in the decision of the Israeli entity to annex Jerusalem, to transfer its offices to Jerusalem and to consider it the capital of that entity.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia strongly condemns the latest Israeli measures and racist and expansionist practices, particularly what is taking place in the cities of Jerusalem and Al-Khalil, which we consider to be a dangerous aggravation of the situation in the area and a brazen violation of all the international covenants and resolutions, as well as a challenge to the will of the international community and to the sentiment of the Moslem world.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, with its religious Islamic responsibilities and in conformity with the resolutions of the Islamic Conference, cannot stand idly by in the face of the declaration by Israel of Jerusalem as its capital, and will take appropriate measures vis-à-vis any State which recognizes Jerusalem as the capital of Israel or which transfers its embassy to Jerusalem.

Following the occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and other Arab territories in 1967, Israel resorted to the same method of settlement and annexation, in complete defiance of the numerous Security Council and General Assembly resolutions which confirmed the necessity of the return of those who were displaced, the cessation of the Israeli illegal occupation, the treatment of civilians in accordance with the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, the evacuation of occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and the enabling of the Palestinian people to exercise its right of self-determination and to choose the type of government

(Mr. Al-Hegelan, Saudi Arabia)

it desires. Israel not only has ignored all these resolutions and refused to implement them but has proceeded to the furthest point in its measures of land confiscation, the demolition of villages and quarters and the replacement thereof by Jewish settlements and quarters, the changing of the physical character and the demographic composition of the area, and the imposition of a terroristic and arbitrary military rule over the Palestinian inhabitants - all this accompanied by oppression and tyranny.

The Palestinians have demanded and continue to demand respect for the United Nations Charter, international law, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In particular, they have demanded and continue to demand respect for and implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Despite all the misery, torture and killing suffered by the Palestinian people for more than 30 years, it continues to hold out an olive branch, as stated by the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We trust that this will not be overlooked by the international community and that the international community will do everything within its power to curb the Israeli voracity, based on injustice and aggression.

We have repeatedly asked, during the past 30 years or more, that the international community and those of our friends who carry greater responsibility see the real situation in the Middle East. The non-implementation of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and the continued Israeli expansion have led to a new chain of Israeli violent acts of suppression and repression in the West Bank, which have been manifested in the killing of a number of unarmed Arabs, the deportation of mayors and Christian and Moslem religious leaders, and the attempted murder of other mayors by the planting of explosives in their automobiles. These aggressive actions have not been limited to Palestinian territory but have extended to southern Lebanon, where

(Mr. Al-Hegelan, Saudi Arabia)

Lebanese villages have been subjected to heavy bombardment, including missiles, by Israeli bombers and warships, resulting in the death and injury of hundreds of civilians and the destruction of houses and whole villages.

The Israeli entity endeavours to distort the position of the Arabs and Palestinians and to disseminate false propaganda about a traditional enmity between them and Judaism. Nothing could be further from the truth, and world Jewry knows that. The Arab world has provided a haven for the Jews in the worst periods of their persecution in Europe and other countries. This results from the Moslem faith, which recognizes the monotheistic nature of Judaism and considers the Jews as a people of the Book. Jewish communities in Arab and Islamic history have enjoyed the same rights as everyone else. But they must realize that Arab and Islamic tolerance has limits and that the policy of occupation, annexation, expansion, injustice and oppression pursued by Israel, and the attacks on Islamic holy places, are capable of creating an enmity which the future may not be able to erase. Israel and Zionism must realize also that reliance on might as a basis of right cannot last for ever; history provides innumerable examples of that.

It is evident that Israel does not want peace in the region but wants a continuation of aggression and expansion. It is time for all to realize that fact. We have repeatedly stated - and this has been acknowledged by the international community in its entirety - that no peace can be achieved in the Middle East without solving the case of the principal party, which is the Palestinian people. That is the people that has been uprooted from its country and lost its land, its property, its sources of livelihood, its nationality and its status and has been subjected to consistent aggression by the usurping State, even in the refugee camps which it has inhabited for more than 30 years while awaiting the implementation of General Assembly resolution 194 (III), of 11 December 1948; Security Council resolution 237 (1967); and a large number of other supporting resolutions.

(Mr. Al-Hegelan, Saudi Arabia)

In addition, the General Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people

"to self-determination without external interference; to national independence and sovereignty" and the "right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted" (resolution 3236 (XXIX)).

These are clear and unequivocal resolutions which do not include any mention of bargaining or concessions. Nevertheless, Israel has given one excuse after another for not implementing them, and some of its friends have supported it by injecting the condition of negotiations. In so doing, they forget the principal victimized party. The purpose is clear, for Israel does not wish to allow the Palestinian people to exercise its legitimate rights because the Israeli appetite for expansion, settlement, confiscation and annexation of the remainder of Palestine has not yet been appeased, and it will not be appeased until the international community realizes and becomes convinced of the unavailability of applying the measures stipulated for such situations. The current situation, which is leading to a dangerous development of this situation in the Middle East, is posing a very serious threat which may drive the world to disaster.

On 28 April 1980, a draft resolution was submitted to the Security Council which did not, in essence, differ from the previous resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly. Yet the Security Council was unable to adopt it because of the United States exercise of its veto power. The draft resolution included the following principles: first, the Palestine question is the core of the Middle East conflict; second, the pressing need for a just, permanent and comprehensive peace based on the principles of the Charter and the United Nations resolutions; third, the deterioration of the situation owing to Israel's continued occupation of Palestine and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and its refusal to implement United Nations resolutions; fourth, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force or the threat of force; fifth, the necessity of enabling the

(Mr. Al-Hegelan, Saudi Arabia)

Palestinian people to exercise their right to self-determination, including the establishment of an independent State in Palestine; sixth, the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their land and to live in peace with their neighbours and payment of compensation to those who choose not to return; seventh, the withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem and, eighth, the establishment of guarantees in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all the countries of the region.

All these principles have been the subject of earlier resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. None of them was in conflict with those resolutions or with the provisions of the United Nations Charter or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Why then was the veto used and the Security Council prevented from adopting this resolution? The State which exercised the veto power said that the draft resolution was in conflict with the Camp David accords, and that its adoption might impede the process of negotiations. We do not at all accept this reasoning, particularly since those negotiations did not include the principal party affected by the conflict, namely, the Palestinians represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization which was recognized as the representative of the Palestinian people by the General Assembly in its resolution 3375 (XXX).

The Government of my country, guided by its Islamic and Arab principles and pursuant to the resolutions of the Arab Summit Conferences, considers that any solutions that ignore the essence of the conflict in the Middle East will result in failure. This applies in particular to the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, to return to their homes, to the establishment of an independent state on their territory, and Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab lands, in the first instance Jerusalem. Any solution that ignores the role of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people will ultimately fail.

(Mr. Al-Hegelan, Saudi Arabia)

The General Assembly cannot allow this Organization to become powerless to adopt and implement resolutions because of internal political factors in any particular State, even if that State is one of the five super-Powers. The fate of this Organization - in which the world Powers, and particularly the small States, place great hopes for the prevention of aggression and the maintenance of peace and security - is in danger unless the General Assembly can adopt a resolution containing clear and firm measures that would put an end to Israeli defiance and to that country's persistent policy of aggression and denial of the exercise of its full rights to the Palestinian people. We believe that the situation, grave as it is, concerns the entire international community, which is duty bound to take the initiative without any hesitation or delay.

It has become abundantly clear that the Palestinian people and its just cause do not lack international resolutions or universal awareness of the justice of that cause and of the right of that people to enjoy freedom and independence. What is needed is to find serious means for implementing those resolutions and for putting a stop to Israel's arrogance and aggression.

Thus, the time has come to apply the sanctions stipulated in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter to compel Israel to conform to international law and to implement the resolutions of the United Nations, particularly General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) and Security Council resolution 471 (1980). The proper course and approach for solving the Palestine question is quite clear. It requires the international community to shoulder its responsibility in accordance with the United Nations Charter and international law. It is no longer possible to ignore the obligations undertaken by the United Nations, for peace and security cannot be maintained in the Middle East except through a guarantee of the rights of the Palestinian people and the eradication of the causes of injustice and persecution.

I believe that it is timely and most relevant to note that this emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly on Palestine is taking place in the midst of the holy month of Ramadan, which is now being celebrated

(Mr. Al-Hegelan, Saudi Arabia)

throughout the Islamic world by 800 million Moslems as a time of fasting and testing, a testing of our commitment to Islam and to the one God Who is shared by Moslems, Christians and Jews, to Whom they look and from Whom they derive their very being and meaning. It is a testing also of our will to achieve the fundamental values to which we are committed, including above all justice, dignity and equality.

I believe it is particularly appropriate that this emergency special session on Palestine is being held at this time. In a positive sense, it is far more important that this special period provide a test and a reaffirmation of our commitment to justice, dignity and equality for the Palestinian people and to its history and identity. For those of us who belong to Islam, this is a special time of personal testing, but I would respectfully urge that for this family of nations the cruel and continuing occupation and dispersal of the Palestinians be a testing for all of us, both with regard to commitment to basic values and to the will and resolve in support of those values. It is a testing of our will to achieve the fundamental values to which we are committed, values that include, above all, justice, dignity and equality. These are imperatives that are shared not only by Islam, but by the overwhelming majority of the human family, and I am confident they are shared by almost all of the representatives in this Assembly. We are resolved to realize these values.

Mr. FIGUEROA (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): The holding of an emergency special session of the General Assembly to consider the question of Palestine is a clear warning of the gravity of the situation in the entire Middle East at the present time.

The question of Palestine is the nucleus of the crisis in this area marked by constant upheaval and all forms of violence, and it calls for a just and equitable solution that will reflect the purposes and principles of the Charter of our Organization.

(Mr. Figueroa, Argentina)

In the circumstances, the Republic of Argentina wishes once again to set forth its position before this Assembly. Our position is not new: it is not the result of passing circumstances; it has developed over a period of time and is based on two essential principles. First, we are fully aware of the dangers to international peace and security of a situation that has not been resolved in a manner satisfactory to all the parties. Secondly, we sympathize with those in the area who have suffered for the past 30 years. We do so not only for reasons of solidarity and international morality but especially because there are substantial Arab and Jewish communities in our population.

That is why my country has for some time participated through the intermediary of a group of officers from its armed forces in the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine (UNTSO) and why it has also constantly acted in a balanced manner in this Organization, through the Security Council and the General Assembly.

The question of Palestine, which has brought us together here at the request of the majority of the international community, including my own Government, constitutes an inextricable interweaving of political and historical elements and facts whose prolonged existence has only served to make the crisis more acute.

The 1967 conflict initiated a new cycle of violence and setbacks which has only served to make a comprehensive solution of the conflict even more complex. The position of Argentina was then as it is now perfectly clear in the General Assembly and the Security Council: the armed forces of Israel must be unconditionally withdrawn from all the occupied territories.

In keeping with this position which we have held since 1967, we cannot but expressly condemn the illegal measures adopted by Israel in the militarily occupied territories aimed at changing the legal status, the geographical character and the demographic composition of these territories in open violation of the international obligations entered into by that country under the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

Hence the Government of Argentina shares the opinion of nearly all the international community in rejecting the establishment of settlements or the expansion of existing settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 5 June 1967. That policy of Israel, which is based exclusively on faits accomplis, is illegal, for not only does it violate the principle

(Mr. Figueroa, Argentina)

of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force but, further, it will not obtain the international consensus needed to create a solid foundation.

That position was clearly set forth on 1 March this year, when the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 465 (1980).

At this time an overwhelming majority of nations views with deep concern the fact that that policy of settlements in occupied territories which, according to recent information provided by the Israeli Government, seems to be continuing uninterruptedly, constitutes one of the most serious obstacles to the achievement of a just and lasting peace. At the same time, they are convinced that that policy pre-emptes the decisions to be adopted by the Palestinian nation in exercise of its inalienable rights to self-determination and independence in keeping with the United Nations Charter and the decisions of this Organization.

With regard to the Holy City of Jerusalem, which is of vital importance to Christianity, Judaism and Islam, Argentina's position has been clearly expressed on many occasions, beginning in 1949, when my country took the initiative of preparing what subsequently became General Assembly resolution 303 (IV), which advocated a special status for the Holy City, and we should like once again to reiterate this proposal before the Assembly.

The history of Jerusalem, for basic reasons of faith and culture, is justification for the fact that the nations and authorities practising the aforementioned religions concentrate their attention on all that is happening there now and on its future. There is no valid historical argument which can be maintained to the effect that interest in this problem is the exclusive right of the countries situated in its vicinity or that its final status is the exclusive responsibility of the present occupier.*

Although we are aware that the fate of the Holy City of Jerusalem is but one aspect of the entire conflict in the Middle East and that a final solution cannot be achieved until a comprehensive settlement is agreed upon with regard to the basic problems of the area and although we understand the value and the interest which Israel attaches to Jerusalem, we cannot but remark that that value and that interest is also part of the heritage of Christians and Moslems. That is also something that was clearly set forth on 30 June last, when the Security Council adopted resolution 476 (1980).

* The President resumed the Chair.

(Mr. Figueroa, Argentina)

That resolution once again made it clear that the problem of Jerusalem cannot be fairly resolved if particular interests of political security and military strategy alone are taken into account: the history, religion and culture shared by Christians, Jews and Moslems must also be taken into account.

Israel must understand that, if it wishes to confuse the reality in Jerusalem and the Middle East within the limits of its own political and historical interpretations alone, it will be denying the possibility of genuine dialogue and a sincere expression of political will on the part of all parties providing a creative alternative, one of justice and peace.

The determination expressed by the Israeli Government to make Jerusalem a unified city under its own sovereignty and the capital of the State implies denying surrounding political reality. The Israeli nation must be convinced, as the majority of the international community already is, that a just and lasting solution will be found only when the status of Jerusalem is clearly and internationally recognized, with appropriate account taken of this convergence of historical and religious rights.

For almost 40 years the history of the Palestinian people has shown that its identity has been strengthened and enriched, while there has been a considerable change in world public opinion which sees with growing solidarity the efforts made by this people to ensure its future and win international recognition of its rights.

The Republic of Argentina has in this Assembly already stated that it recognizes the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the creation of its Sovereign State. Furthermore, we have stated that these rights must be exercised freely by a Palestinian authority having full authority over its territory and all its natural resources.

Similarly, we consider that the right to self-determination and independence includes the right to be represented and to decide its future in freedom without any conditions incompatible with the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

The United Nations, which has followed the history of the Palestinian people to the extent that political circumstances made it possible, has adopted a number of resolutions providing a solid basis for what should be a satisfactory solution.

(Mr. Figueroa, Argentina)

Now is the time for a solution to put an end to the suffering endured over the many years that this issue has been debated in this Organization. It is time for a genuine, just, comprehensive and lasting solution to ensure international peace and security, which has been threatened by the persistence of this grave and disrupting situation.

(Mr. Figueroa, Argentina)

Because we wish to hasten the day when that peace will be a tangible reality for all the world to see, we cannot fail to accept the validity of any efforts, no matter how imperfect, to bring about that peace. Yet at the same time we firmly believe that the solution which must be found cannot be at anyone's expense or behind anyone's back, nor can it be imposed by any sort of violence, without respect for the legitimate rights of the parties, rights which Palestinians and Israelis must mutually recognize. Such recognition must begin with the obvious right to exist. It is not existence itself that is under discussion, but the guarantees that are needed for that existence to continue in security, within internationally recognized boundaries, enabling the Israelis and the Palestinians to enjoy the benefits of peace.

We continue to believe that an unconditional moratorium on acts of violence of any kind by any group will facilitate the mutual recognition of those rights. Argentine knows, from its own experience, the benefits that can accrue from joint co-operation between Arab and Jewish communities, for both have lived together fruitfully on our soil and have contributed to the culture of our country. For that reason we cannot fail to hope that both communities in the Middle East will seek the means that will allow them to recognize the possibility of peace and reconciliation.

Mr. BOLOKOR (Nigeria): Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you most heartily on your resumption of the high office of President of this Assembly. Your personal record and the commitment of your country, Tanzania, to the liberation struggle of Africa, encouraged me to hope that this emergency special session on the question of Palestine will bring comfort and solace to the oppressed people of Palestine and that it will contribute to the search for a just and durable peace in the Middle East, a region which is so close and dear to my country, Nigeria.

One fact remains immutable in the consideration of the question of Palestine. It has always been and it will always be immutable until the day the question is settled. That fact is the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people for their national rights of self-determination, statehood and independence. That struggle is the core and the crux of the Middle East conflict.

The Palestinian question has remained on the agenda of this Organization since its very inception; like the hydra-headed monster of mythology, it has stubbornly resisted solution. In spite of the numerous General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, no viable and internationally acceptable solution appears to be in sight. The situation remains explosive.

A lot of clear things can be made to seem ambiguous. A lot of ambiguous things can be made to seem clear. But no matter how one looks at the interplay of forces in the Middle East today, one thing is clear and unambiguous. That one thing, which is the greatest obstacle to peace and reconciliation in the region, is the insistence by one of the parties to the conflict, since the so-called Balfour Declaration or, more insistently, since the 1967 war, that it wishes to be independent and secure only at the expense of the independence and security of other parties. That same party wishes to have and preserve a State in Palestine only at the cost of keeping others homeless and stateless. That same party aspires to be inviolate and sovereign only at the cost of subjugating and humiliating other peoples.

Israel's persistent refusal to recognize that it cannot continue to enjoy legitimacy and rights based on the law of the United Nations and, at the same time deny legitimacy and rights to others under the same law, in the view of my Government, is the greatest obstacle to any peace in the region. As long as the Palestinian Arabs are denied their rights and legitimate statehood, peace and justice will elude the Middle East.

(Mr. Bolokor, Nigeria)

The international community as a whole remains menaced, because the Palestinian question threatens the entire fabric of international peace and security.

The current emergency special session of the General Assembly was rendered necessary because of the failure of the Security Council, on 30 April 1980, to take a decision on the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. Those recommendations had earlier been endorsed by this Assembly in several resolutions, notably General Assembly resolutions 31/20, 32/40 A, 33/28 A and 34/65. I wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Chairman of the Committee, Ambassador Falilou Kane, of Senegal, for the competent manner in which he has directed its affairs. Nigeria, as a member of that Committee, is in a special position to know how much the Chairman and the rest of the membership have endeavoured to reflect the principles and decisions of the United Nations in the deliberations and recommendations of that Committee. It is regrettable therefore to recall that a negative vote cast by the United States in the Security Council paralysed further action in that important organ of the United Nations on the recommendations of the Committee, and made it necessary to convene this emergency special session of the General Assembly. It is also pertinent to recall that this is the third emergency special session devoted exclusively to the consideration of the question of Palestine.

Relying on the paralysis of the Security Council, the Israeli Government has proceeded to pursue with renewed vigour its illegal and provocative policies of implanting new settlements in the occupied Arab territories. Indifferent to world public opinion, the Israeli Government is rushing through a law in its Parliament purportedly to make the Holy City of Jerusalem the so-called unified capital of Israel. As my Head of State, His Excellency Alhaji Shehu Shagari, President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria stated recently and categorically at the meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Assembly of Heads of State and Government in Freetown;

"Nigeria cannot, and will never accept unilateral measures of the part of the Israeli authorities to change the status of Jerusalem."

Similarly, Nigeria profoundly deplores and demands the repeal of all measures taken by the Israeli authorities in the occupied territories in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949, relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and in defiance of the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

(Mr. Bolokor, Nigeria)

The pattern of Israeli occupation of Arab territories since 1967 has not changed either in nature or dimension. The impact of occupation was no less devastating in the economic sphere than it was on the human, political and national sensibilities of those territories' inhabitants. The direct economic consequence of occupation was the creation of a severe depression in the economy of the occupied territories.

(Mr. Bolokor, Nigeria)

Widespread unemployment soon brought about Arab surplus labour, which the Israelis then exploited to their advantage. It was not surprising that the Palestinians found themselves working as hired labour on farms which they had once owned, or, worse still, found themselves helping to build new Israeli settlements on the very land from which they had recently been expelled in the name of security.

Palestinians in the occupied territories are constantly being subjected to the most Draconian laws. They may be imprisoned without trial, deported or tortured.

With the apparent connivance of Israeli authorities, a new campaign for the physical liquidation of Arab leaders of the West Bank seems to be in the offing. Nigeria views with the gravest concern these developments, which are indeed injurious and detrimental to the peace process. We see the expulsion on 2 May 1980 of the Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul as well as the Sharia Judge of Hebron and the vicious terrorist attacks of 2 June 1980 on three Arab Mayors in the occupied territories - in which the usually efficient Israeli occupation authorities have still to make any arrest - as inflammatory in an already combustible environment. The atrocities and violations of human rights often perpetrated by the Israeli military Administration in the occupied territories in the name of security have no parallel in recent times except for the police terrorism against Africans in apartheid South Africa.

Rather than seek peace through negotiation based on the judicious implementation of existing United Nations resolutions, rather than respect existing international law, Israel has not only refused to call a moratorium on the establishment of new settlements in the occupied territories but has proceeded to justify its expansionist policies over and beyond its legitimate demands and concerns. It is indeed something of an oddity in the modern world to have such policies based on obscurantist religious grounds. Nigeria therefore believes that a prerequisite for peace in the Middle East is the renunciation by Israel of policies that obstruct the peace process and a firm commitment to withdraw from the occupied territories, as stipulated in Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

(Mr. Bolokor, Nigeria)

My delegation welcomes all initiatives in the direction of peace. But we are under no illusion that partial treaties or partial agreements can serve as a substitute for a just and comprehensive peace treaty, which alone can endure. Efforts at a comprehensive peace treaty must involve all parties to the conflict, including, in particular, the Palestine Liberation Organization. Such efforts must cover all aspects of the Palestinian question, some of which were not given equal and adequate treatment in resolution 242 (1967). Such a treaty must be formulated on the basis of equity and justice. Just as in 1967 Nigeria supported resolution 242 (1967) and continues to support its principles, which affirm

"respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force",

so do we now recognize new realities such as the incontestable status of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate and authentic representative of the Palestinian people, whose aspirations to self-determination, nationhood and political independence have yet to be fulfilled.

At the last Summit of the Organization of African Unity, held in Freetown, Sierra Leone, the African Heads of State or Government reaffirmed that the question of Palestine was at the heart of the Middle East problem, and consequently no solution in the Middle East could be envisaged which did not fully take into account the interests of the Palestinian people; that full implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and property and to achieve self-determination, national independence and sovereignty would contribute decisively to a comprehensive and final settlement of the Middle East crisis; that the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with other parties, on the basis of General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3375 (XXX) was indispensable in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East, held under the auspices of the United Nations. They also reaffirmed the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the consequent obligation of Israel completely and speedily to evacuate any territory so occupied.

(Mr. Bolokor, Nigeria)

The United Nations has an ennobling responsibility to ensure that any solution of the Palestine question must take into account those fundamental issues and principles. Only thus can we avoid a distorted peace that will merely achieve a short-lived respite today only to be confronted by a more serious conflagration tomorrow. This Assembly, faithful to the United Nations Charter, is in honour bound to ensure that the dispossessed Palestinians are guaranteed unfettered freedom to return to their homes in safety and dignity and that those who choose not to return are paid just and equitable compensation, as provided for in resolution 194 (III).

Nigeria remains unflinchingly committed to giving total support to the legitimate demands of the Palestinian people for the exercise of its inalienable rights to self-determination and independence within secure and recognized boundaries of its own, like the other States of the region. Israel should realize that its own security is directly linked to the security and the inviolability of the territorial integrity of its neighbours. Above all, it must co-operate in the creation of a homeland for the Palestinian Arabs, since that is the only way that the legacy of bitterness arising from its own creation can be effectively removed.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to announce that Viet Nam should have been listed as one of the original sponsors of draft resolution A/ES-7/L.1. A corrigendum to that effect will be issued.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.