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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THIRTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 21 April 1982, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. KITTANI (Iraq)
later: Mr. KAMIL (Indonesia)
(Vice-President)
- Question of Palestine /5/ (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 5 (continued)

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

The PRESIDENT: I proposed yesterday that the list of speakers be closed at 12 noon tomorrow, Thursday, 22 April. May I take it that the Assembly agrees to that proposal?

It was so decided.

Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Angola, I would request you to accept our appreciation for the able manner in which you are discharging your various duties in connexion with General Assembly affairs.

I would also salute Mr. Farouk Kaddoumi, head of the Political Department of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and other members of the PLO delegation.

I can do no better than repeat the comment you made not too long ago, Sir, that 300 United Nations resolutions on the Middle East had been adopted in the last 30 years - all to no avail. All those resolutions have been flouted by Israel, ignored by Israel, contravened by Israel and violated by Israel. Various resolutions have deplored the actions of Israel, condemned them, asked for redress - again to no avail.

Meanwhile, the people of Palestine have been forcibly ejected from their historic homeland, their homes and properties confiscated, and their country taken from them by one of the most repressive régimes existing today.

The inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, like those of all others, are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The Palestinian people's human, national, civil, political, cultural and economic rights have been denied to them and abused and violated by the Zionist State.

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

Israel has managed to persist in its violations largely because of the support given to it by Western imperialist countries, which are also guilty of supporting Israel's ally and friend in southern Africa, the racist apartheid régime in Pretoria. The close links and similarities between the two have been documented and are widely known. So is the support given to them by Western imperialist interests.

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

Israel's military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza has a counterpart in Pretoria's illegal occupation of Namibia. And just as the Government and people of Angola extend their support to the Namibian people, so too, with the same degree of commitment and solidarity, we extend our support to the people of Palestine in their struggle against the foreign military occupation of their land, and in their legitimate struggle, led by their sole authentic representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, to form their own independent sovereign State.

The question of Palestine is at the heart of the problem of the Middle East. Without a solution to the issue of Palestinian independence and other Palestinian rights there will be no fair, just and lasting peace. A temporary peace, a partial peace, a fragmented peace: that is no peace. It merely serves to disguise the problems. It tries to camouflage them. It seeks to buy time: time for the Zionist State to entrench its illegal and racist policies all the more in occupied Arab territories.

The seventh emergency special session on Palestine was begun in July 1980. Not only was the resolution adopted at that time not implemented by Israel, but in fact further measures have been enacted by the Zionist authorities aimed at weakening the structure and institutions of Palestinian nationalism, both inside occupied territories and inside Israel, and across borders as well.

The United Nations, which participated in the creation of Israel, must adopt the ways and means for the speedy implementation of Palestinian national aspirations, including the right to a sovereign State in Palestine. We have plenty of resolutions and guidelines. Now we need an international mechanism which can oversee the delivery of justice to the people of Palestine.

Without peace in Palestine there can be no peace in the Middle East. Without peace in the Middle East there can be no peace in the world.

A luta continua. A vitoria e certa.

Mr. BOUHARA (Algeria)(interpretation from French): The resumption of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine is fully justified and is lent significance by the current, extremely dangerous, deterioration in the situation in Palestine, in the occupied Arab territories and throughout the region.

(Mr. Bouharz, Algeria)

During the first phase of our work in July 1980 - because of the very fact that the international community's aim was to make known, in so solemn a manner, its overriding concern over the question of Palestine and the tragedy endured by the Palestinian people for more than three decades - we had grounds to expect at least that because the Assembly was taking up the question with the authority attendant upon such a session the Zionist occupier, oppressor and aggressor would hesitate to continue its extortion and its misdeeds.

Less than a month after those meetings, the city of Al Quds was annexed - just as if, by that provocative act against a place so laden with symbols, the Zionist entity wanted more clearly to express its arrogant defiance of the concerns and efforts of the international community.

Since then, there has been a succession of criminal acts and manifestations of open belligerence: military attacks against Lebanon, to the very centre of Beirut; the destruction of the Iraqi nuclear research centre; the annexation of the Golan Heights; the decision to dig a canal linking the Mediterranean Sea with the Dead Sea; and, even now, continued savage repression against the Arab populations of the West Bank and Gaza.

Through all this, which the facts now show to be a provocative, deliberate and calculated reply to the decisions taken at this session in 1980, the Zionist entity demonstrates its contempt for any appeal to justice and right, and confirms its indifference to endangering peace and security in the region and in the world. Indeed, the situation in the Middle East has never seemed to be generating so many dangers and threats to peace.

Awareness of this explosive context led the non-aligned countries to convene very recently a special session of their Co-ordinating Bureau, which considered at Kuwait all the developments in the question of Palestine and their impact on the region.

The Kuwait meeting sounded the alarm at a greatly deteriorating situation, and tried, by mobilizing the forces of the Non-Aligned Movement, to avoid the worst and to that end to draw the attention of the Powers making up the international community to the urgent need to ensure right and justice for the suffering Palestinian people and to halt the criminal acts of those who oppress them, who jeopardize the freedom of peoples throughout the region and, hence, threaten international peace and security.

(Mr. Bouhara, Algeria)

By calling for the resumption of this emergency special session, the non-aligned countries once again affirm their historic role, in the service of peace and the freedom of peoples, of reminding the international community about a problem in which it above all others bears responsibility and which, more than any other problem, contains all the elements which could set off the widest-ranging and most tragic of conflagrations.

Indeed, the United Nations remains deeply involved in the question of Palestine, and more precisely in the present extremely serious stage in its development: the events test its ability to discharge its fundamental task of safeguarding peace, its all too clearly challenged authority, and, at the same time, its credibility.

From that perspective, the tragedy of the Palestinian people has for 34 years been the Way of the Cross of the United Nations, its guilty conscience and an ongoing test for it. Powerless to give justice to a people cast by a tragic decision on the road of exile, the United Nations has for several decades seen its decisions and resolutions constantly defied by a single entity - supported, it is true, by the most powerful accomplices.

But more serious and more disquieting than this lone defiance is the now systematic blocking of any decisive action on the part of the organ with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Because of its recurrence, that blocking tends to destroy the basic machinery for the safeguarding of peace and for the promotion of the very purposes and principles of the Charter. That practice is eroding the whole *raison d'être* of the institution.

On the question of Palestine, and generally speaking on the problems of the Middle East, we find more and more often that the debates in the Security Council are moved to the General Assembly to offset the irresponsible use of the veto to thwart the will of the majority. By repetition, that practice threatens to transform the Security Council and the General Assembly, which are complementary organs serving the same objectives, into organs working and acting antagonistically - an abnormal state.

(Mr. Bouhara, Algeria)

This situation created in our Organization in regard to so tragic a problem as the question of Palestine is most alarming. Yet, despite the usual - and even fashionable - criticism about the inability of the United Nations to command respect for its decisions, we are not among those who conclude, too lightly, that it is absolutely important.

(Mr. Bouhara, Algeria)

The United Nations can be nothing more than the States that make it up and its impotence, on such an issue, is more often only a result of the exercise of power by those of its Members to which extra responsibility was given precisely to serve the Organization and to strengthen it, and not to obstruct its bodies or to prevent the expression of the will of the international community. This is blatantly obvious whenever discussion of the question of Palestine or of any other problem produced by the crisis in the Middle East leads to the Zionist entity's being singled out and its misdeeds stigmatized.

The efforts made by the United Nations to understand the Palestinian question better during recent years and to place it in its proper perspective are well known to us all and deserve the highest consideration.

Has it not, indeed, to remedy the injustice which it helped to commit against the Palestinian people, adopted highly significant measures either to put an end to the frenetic acts of aggression, repression and annexation by the Zionist entity or to declare, on behalf of the international community, the pressing need for the Palestinian people to recover their fundamental national rights?

Has it not admitted the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the Palestine Liberation Organization, as a permanent observer within all its bodies; an observer that is not, of course, entitled to decide what falls within the competence of Member States, but one that is particularly active, present, heeded and respected?

Every year our Organization includes on the agenda of its main committees permanent items which focus the views and activity of the international community on all aspects of the Palestinian question, on the practices of the Zionist entity in pursuing its policy of repression in the occupied territories, thus showing its constant concern.

No other international problem has caused so many meetings and given rise to so many debates in the Security Council, the General Assembly and other bodies within the United Nations as has the Palestinian question and what is commonly called the crisis in the Middle East.

(Mr. Bouhara, Algeria)

Finally, has not our Organization expressed in clear terms its condemnation of Zionism, of its nature and its misdeeds? How many times has the Zionist entity been accused and condemned, quite rightly, for violations of ethics, of the principles of the Charter and of the rules of international law.

We would be tempted to say that all that has been in vain if, because of the many lessons of history and because of our own conviction that just causes will finally triumph, we were not aware that what we need are efforts, perseverance, persistence and determination to sway the fate which hangs over a whole people and grant them their right to life, freedom and justice.

How very many times have we said in this body how concerned we were at the many consequences of the persistent policy of Zionist occupation, the train of suffering and death that it brings to the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples, together with the threat that it poses to international peace and security. In every Security Council meeting, at every session of the General Assembly, there is the same trial with the same defendant, the same list, which grows ever longer, of misdeeds and offences, the same sentence, and every time we see the same accomplices.

We have also condemned here and in other international bodies how pernicious are the Camp David agreements and the Washington treaty for the advent of true peace in the Middle East and for the attainment of the national rights of the Palestinian people, both because of the way in which they were drawn up and the misleading process they aimed to initiate.

Three years later, events have borne out the most pessimistic of our forecasts and the Zionists themselves are unmasking - how thin a mask it was for those who wanted to see! - the real purposes of their domination and expansionism. We are not pleased to be able to say "we told you so" when the results of what was so foreseeable are repression, death and bereavement and the extension of the threatened war.

(Mr. Bouhara, Algeria)

The events which are taking place today in the occupied Arab territories, in southern Lebanon and throughout the region are extremely disquieting and our concern is to see this emergency special session finally and resolutely take all the measures necessary. Despite everything there is to revolt us in the news coming from the occupied territories - the arrests, assassinations, blind shootings, even in the most sacred places - we cannot believe that anger over those actions and their condemnation will only lead to the recording yet again of the long list of traditional complaints.

In the worst of the repression, what has been happening in recent months in Palestine and in the occupied territories brings to us the image of a people without weapons confronting an over-armed oppressor. For those who have fallen, for those martyrs among whom are children, women and the elderly, complaint alone is not enough. We would be more faithful to the memory of their sacrifice and more respectful of the principles governing our Organization if we were to grasp the meaning of their struggle and reflect it here in terms of decisions.

In view of the impotence of the nations, all too long displayed, the courage and determination of those who suffer and struggle, in the face of death which mows them down, indicate hope and show us the way. The international community has the duty to express the conscience of peoples and their will to triumph over injustice and misfortune. The Arab people in the occupied territories appeal to us reminding us of our responsibilities and our lofty task.

Those who fall in Palestine today, in the territories occupied by the Zionists, those who, in Lebanon, live under the permanent threat of aggression, are trying for themselves, but also for peace in the world, to bring to us one last message and one last warning. Let us take those words to heart.

For all those reasons, the present session is not merely a resumption of a session which was scheduled a long time ago; it is not a matter of merely continuing work and discussions already begun, but far more than that. It is an exceptional session, an emergency special session which calls for an equally exceptional and pressing resolution.

Neither can we ignore, particularly after meetings in recent months devoted to other questions equally crucial relating to the situation in the

(Mr. Bouhara, Algeria)

Middle East, that this resumption of our work is required to underline a double failure: that, on the one hand, of any approach based on verbal condemnation or of quickly forgotten and ineffectual warnings and that, on the other hand, caused by the blocking of the Security Council as a result of the ever-ready veto of a great Power. That Power made this clear in a very sadly significant way, just when we were resuming our work, by standing alone against all the other members of the Security Council.

Taking advantage of that paralysis in our Organization, the Zionist entity knows that the road is clear for it to continue to carry out more acts of aggression, to pursue its policy of expansion and, with impunity, to exacerbate the climate of tension throughout the region.

This situation places our Organization at a true cross-roads. Will it find the right reaction whereby, in affirming right and justice for the Palestinian people with all the necessary authority, it can become reconciled to itself and to history.

That is our hope as we begin our work, a hope which it is true is strengthened by your competent presence, Mr. President, at this rostrum, as you bring us all the wealth of your experience and your privileged witness to the tragedy of Palestine.

Mr. GREEHO (Ghana): The fact that the General Assembly once again devoting serious attention to the question of Palestine at this resumed seventh emergency special session shows the importance that the international community attaches to the issue. It is an important issue not only because it concerns disagreements between Arabs and Israel but also because the whole Palestinian issue reveals certain flagrant violations of the United Nations Charter and the human rights Covenant.

Some will wonder why this single issue has occupied the attention of the Security Council and the General Assembly to this extent and for so long. The simple reason is that the Middle East continues to be gripped by worsening tension and violence to which the international community cannot afford to be insensitive. The situation in Palestine itself is deteriorating almost by the hour and there is a real threat of an armed conflagration with very extensive international repercussions. The Ghana delegation hopes, therefore, that a sincere effort can be made at this session to reach an international consensus that can bring peace and justice to the area and to the Palestinian people.

On 5 February this year the General Assembly adopted a resolution which articulated the international attitude to the Palestinian question. Even though it was not a resolution graced with unanimity of views, it none the less represented the undisputed verdict of the overwhelming majority of the General Assembly on the unacceptable Israeli practices in the region. However, since then the situation has deteriorated even further. Only recently, on Easter Sunday, the international community was shocked by the barbaric massacre and violence committed inside the precincts of the holy Al Aqsa Mosque. Again, an eight-year-old Palestinian child was killed in cold blood a few days ago. Each day, Israeli authorities and soldiers treat peaceful Arabs in the West Bank and Jerusalem with unnecessary violence.

The Al Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock are indeed holy treasures of the Islamic faith and, therefore, are of special significance to millions of Moslems throughout the world. The cold-blooded assassination of persons within their precincts and their general desecration are therefore a violation of all written and unwritten laws which should guide the behaviour of human beings.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

These acts of violence constitute a provocation of the Arab population in the area and the Palestinians in particular and should be condemned by all who seek peace and tolerance in the area.

In the light of this steady deterioration in the situation, my delegation believes that the Assembly is under obligation to assist in halting the potentially explosive developments. In fact, the Ghana delegation would like to believe that it was precisely for that reason that this session was convened, and not to gratify any pathological hatred for Israel or Israelis.

It will be recalled that the Charter, which brings us all together as one great international family, states in its Preamble that we the peoples of the United States are determined

to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours..."

It is a solemn undertaking that all Member States have made and, if Israel today is out of step with this principle, through its actions, the General Assembly should not hesitate in pointing this out and adopting all the means at its disposal to induce conformity.

A fortnight ago the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries considered the question of Palestine and also came to the conclusion that the Palestinian question was at the core of the Middle East problem. In that decision, they echoed a similar conclusion reached earlier in the General Assembly -- a conclusion that was as true then as it is now. To deny this is to maintain that the Palestinians have no inalienable rights. On the contrary, it was precisely because their inalienable rights, including the right to return to their homeland and the right to establish an independent Palestinian State, had been denied them that conflict still prevailed in the region. It stands to reason, therefore, that, if peace is to return to the region, it must be through the recognition of the injustice meted out to the Palestinians and the marshalling of the political will to correct it. So far, Israel has believed in solving only a few isolated problems as its response to the international community's call for an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict, but this approach is clearly inadequate because the attributes of freedom, independence and peace are absolute and cannot be satisfied fractionally.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

In addition to the denial of these basic rights to the Palestinians, Israel's record in the region must embarrass even the most loyal of its supporters. Its claims to occupied territories, its insidious increase in the process of annexation in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, its actions to expropriate Arab land and other illegal acts - all examples of the acts of a violent and frustrated neighbour whose practices are a threat to international peace and security.

The United Nations Security Council and General Assembly have deplored and condemned these practices by Israel because they violate international law and the Charter. Of the numerous resolutions adopted by these two bodies, I should like to recall Security Council resolution 465 (1980) of 19 March 1980 because it articulates the verdict of the international community on Israeli practices. It states that:

"... all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure or status of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, or any part thereof, have no legal validity and that Israel's policy and practices of settling parts of its population and new immigrants in those territories constitute a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and also constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East." (Security Council resolution 465 (1980), op. para. 5)

The Ghana delegation reaffirms its support for this resolution and would like to warn that further Israeli refusal to accept this verdict is likely to entail serious consequences for international peace and security.

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

As one reads the news or watches film strips on events concerning the West Bank, Jerusalem and other occupied territories, one feels the incredible arrogance with which Israeli soldiers and civilian leaders unleash violence and commit acts of aggression against the Palestinian and other citizens. But one gains the knowledge at the same time that the writing on the wall could not be bolder for Israel. When the trampling on the rights of a people gets to the stage where they are prepared to face guns, tanks and other destructive weapons of the oppressor with their bare hands, then change is inevitable and it is only a matter of time before they rid themselves completely of the yoke of oppression. We hope that the friends and allies of Israel will help to bring this truth home to the Government of Israel.

In this suppression of the liberties of the Palestinians and the commission of acts of aggression against them we cannot but hold certain Western European friends and allies of Israel jointly responsible. They should understand that for every woman maimed, every child orphaned and every man killed they are equally responsible because of the weapons and technical assistance they have provided Israel for the practice of violence. There is no doubt that Israel puts the weapons it receives from those sources to regrettable and murderous use, and the United Nations has called for the cessation of such assistance. But until today Israel has continued to treat United Nations resolutions with contempt. We need no further demonstration of Israeli disrespect for the United Nations. We should like to give warning that the time is fast approaching when the Member States will be forced to take the action prescribed in the Charter against Israel for its persistent violation of the principles of the United Nations. Until then we should like to urge its friends and allies, in the name of humanity and good neighbourliness, to exert the maximum pressure on Israel to effect change.

In the face of all the overwhelming evidence of Israeli aggression and injustice, this Assembly must take certain action. We believe that that action should not only reaffirm support for past resolutions and recall principles with which we are now familiar, but must also strive to achieve consensus in our will to effect change. We believe also that this Assembly's work would be incomplete without a specific recommendation to the Security Council to take certain actions under the Charter against Israel. Finally, we must resolve

(Mr. Gbeho, Ghana)

to continue with our efforts, in spite of current difficulties, to find a just and lasting solution to the Palestinian question. The Ghana delegation is strongly of the view that to fail to do this would be to acquiesce indirectly in the further violation of Palestinian and Arab rights. For our part, we reject this wrong-doing and will always lend our support to the search for freedom and justice.

Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): The extraordinary ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement, held in Kuwait from the 5th to the 8th of this month, decided to request the resumption of this seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly.

It is no coincidence that that importance conference deemed the resumption of the Assembly's session to examine the question of Palestine to be something that could not be postponed. The most recent weeks and months have demonstrated once again the expansionist and brutal essence of the Israeli régime and its status as the spearhead of imperialism in the Middle East aimed at the heroic people of Palestine and the Arab countries. But those peoples have not bowed before the Israeli-Yankee strategic alliance concocted in the so-called Camp David agreements, whose primary objective was the installation of a pax americana in that vital corner of the world.

The unprecedented act of aggression carried out against the peaceful nuclear facilities in Iraq, the attempt to annex the Syrian Golan Heights, and the ruthless attacks against the people in southern Lebanon and the Palestinian refugee camps in that country were accompanied and followed by fierce repression in the occupied Arab territories, primarily in the areas of Gaza and the West Bank, where, apart from dismissing officials elected by the Palestinian population, the Israelis fell, with fascist zeal, on defenceless demonstrators, including children, an act that recalled the sinister exploits of the Hitlerites in occupied Europe and in Nazi Germany itself.

More recently, the sacrilegious acts committed by the Israeli Zionists in Al Haram Al Sharif, the sanctuary of the Dome of the Rock and the Al Aqsa Mosque, where Palestinian worshippers were shot down by murderers from Tel Aviv, have justly outraged the international community, which for years now has been

(Mr. Roa Kouri, Cuba)

striving to bring to heel this offending régime, which has so repeatedly violated the Charter of the United Nations and its resolutions.

The Non-Aligned Movement, which since its foundation in 1961 has not ceased to express its unswerving solidarity with the cause of the Palestinian people, could not at this time but appeal once again to the General Assembly to act. As Fidel Castro said, in his report to this Assembly on the results of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana in 1979,

"For the non-aligned countries, the Palestinian question is the very crux of the problem of the Middle East. Both questions form an integral whole and neither can be settled in isolation from the other.

"The basis for a just peace in the region starts with the total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the occupied Arab territories and provides for the restoration to the Palestinian people of their inalienable national territories and rights, including their right to return to their homeland, to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State in Palestine, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX). This implies that all measures taken by Israel in the Palestinian and other Arab territories since their occupation, including the establishment of colonies of settlements in Palestinian and other Arab territories - whose immediate dismantlement is a prerequisite for the solution of the problem - are all illegal, null and void."

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(Mr. Roa Kouri, Cuba)

The Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau in Kuwait essentially reaffirmed this position of principle of our movement, which has been reflected and set forth in the recommendations of the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 31/20 of 24 November 1976.

It is common knowledge that the Security Council was not able to adopt these recommendations or to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as defined in General Assembly resolution ES-7/2 because of the negative vote of one of its permanent members, the United States of America, the principal ally and supporter of the Zionist régime.

It is due primarily to this unconditional and open support of the United States - reiterated once again in the veto cast yesterday on the draft resolution considered by the Security Council with regard to the murders in the sanctuary of the Dome of the Rock - that Israel has been able to disregard the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. The promulgation of the so-called basic law of Jerusalem and all the measures aimed at the Judaization of the Holy City and the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, the stubborn expansionist policy and the policy of liquidating the Palestinian people are undeniable results of the abominable marriage between the Zionist State and imperialism.

Today, 21 April 1982, Israel's air force has launched three attacks on the coastal zone of Beirut and north east of Sidon. A number of installations in Jiyeh, Saadiyat, Naameh, Aramoun, Klaldé and other places were attacked, which demonstrated the truth of the recent denunciations by the Palestine Liberation Organization and Lebanon with regard to the imminence of Zionist aggression against the Lebanese Republic. This is indeed gross and massive aggression by the Zionist authorities against the Lebanese people and the Arab people in general. The evident objective is to gain ground with a view to a new and large-scale military confrontation in the area.

The international community is accustomed to the complicity of the United States Government in the aggressive policy of its Israeli allies. It has the duty to demand of that Government that it unequivocally repudiate the criminal adventurism of the Zionist régime, and to call for prompt action by the Security Council with a view to halting the aggression now under way and taking sanctions against the guilty.

(Mr. Roa Kouri, Cuba)

The Cuban delegation once again takes the opportunity to express its unreserved solidarity with the sister Republic of Lebanon in the defence of its sovereignty and territorial integrity and most energetically condemns this new act of war on the part of the Israeli fascists.

The Israeli-United States strategic alliance, which has been put into effect in spite of the breaking-off of the conversations between the two sides, far from contributing to bringing about a comprehensive and final solution to the Middle East problem, confirms Israel's role as the principal pawn of imperialism which threatens not only the countries of the area but the States of the Gulf and East Africa and thus constitutes a genuine threat to international peace and security.

The sinister objectives of this unholy alliance and the dangers it entails for the African countries are made clear by the close link between the United States and Israel and the fascist régime of Pretoria and the co-operation they render that State economically, politically and militarily.

The tentacles of the Zionist militarists extend as far as Latin America. Their weapons and advisers have served and continue to serve various tyrannies of the continent in the massacre of peoples fighting for final and genuine independence, just as today Yankee weapons and advisers help in the assassination and murder of Salvadoran patriots and foment the destabilization of Nicaragua from neighbouring countries.

This reactionary policy was the reason for the denunciation contained in the Kuwait communiqué of

"the attitude of countries which render assistance and supply arms to Israel", since

"the true reason for lavishing such vast quantities of death-dealing weapons and means of destruction is to consolidate Israel as a base for colonialism and racism in Africa and Asia."

Israel's criminal international conduct, its barefaced defiance of the United Nations, its continued violation of the rights of the Palestinian and Arab peoples of the occupied territories, its expansionist and annexationist designs, its unscrupulous policy of pillage and its sinister role with regard

(Mr. Roa Kouri, Cuba)

to the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America must be resolutely combated by the Members of the United Nations.

It is now absolutely essential for the Security Council to impose on the Zionist régime the binding sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter until it recognizes the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and complies with the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

In the meantime we must increase the moral, political, diplomatic and material support for the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, so that its struggle can continue and be intensified by all possible means. We must also intensify, nationally and internationally, the campaign to impose binding political and economic sanctions against Israel and totally isolate the Zionist régime since its acts, including those of today against the Republic of Lebanon, reveal it as a State that does not love peace.

As requested and authorized in General Assembly resolution ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980, the Secretary-General should take the necessary measures towards implementation of the recommendations contained in the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and, furthermore, initiate contacts with all the parties involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East with a view to finding a comprehensive, just and lasting solution that will make it possible to bring about peace in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions.

Those measures together with the others enumerated in the programme of action approved in Kuwait and those contained in previous resolutions of this Organization will, if applied as a matter of urgency, make it possible to put an end to a conflict which has threatened and continues to threaten to become a world-wide conflagration, and to do justice to the Palestinian people, the victim of the most brutal mistreatment and suffering known in our time.

Mr. ZAINAL ABIDIN (Malaysia): When the Security Council met over the past few days to consider the grave situation arising out of the act of desecration against one of Islam's holiest shrines, my delegation, along with several others, representing a large section of the Islamic community, conveyed to the Council our strong indignation at the deplorable act perpetrated by an Israeli soldier. It was a feeling intensely shared by all who truly value the spiritual and religious sanctity of Jerusalem. We participate in this debate today, in this resumed emergency special session, not to repeat what we already said in the Security Council a few days ago but merely to highlight the grave situation prevailing in the Middle East as the result of Israel's forced occupation of Arab territories and its denial of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

Today the situation in the Middle East remains volatile and explosive. Israel's attempts to extend its laws, jurisdiction and administration over occupied Arab territories, including recently the Syrian Golan Heights, were clearly against the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter as well as the established principles of international law. Just three weeks ago the Israeli authorities, in utter disregard of Israel's obligation as the occupying Power, disbanded the Municipal Council of El Bireh and dismissed the democratically elected mayors of Ramallah and Nablus. The list of Israeli violations of the United Nations Charter and international law is indeed long. The annexation and expropriation of Arab land and property, the establishment of new settlements in occupied Arab territories, the dismissal and deportation of elected officials and the desecration of Holy Places are now a matter of public record. These Israeli actions to incorporate the occupied area into Israel's sovereign territory not only serve to exacerbate the already tense situation in the Middle East and further complicate the peace process but also have the potential of drawing the region deeper into the vortex of armed confrontation.

(Mr. Zainal Abidin, Malaysia)

The fundamental principles for a comprehensive and durable settlement of the Middle East conflict have been established and repeated unequivocally in numerous United Nations resolutions. I should like to reiterate here that this issue can be resolved only when Israel undertakes a complete, total and unconditional withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and recover their property, and the recognition of their rights to self-determination and national sovereignty and to the establishment of their independent national State on their national soil. The essential prerequisite for the attainment of a peaceful solution is the full and equal participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in any peace negotiations. It is obvious that the search for peace is not made difficult by the Palestinians. What is also obvious is the intransigence of Israel, which has continued to oppose a solution that would restore to the Palestinian people their inalienable rights and dignity. The use of brute force and naked aggression in pursuit of Israel's expansionist objective seems to be Israeli policy.

It is regrettable that some countries - countries that exercise major responsibility on questions of world peace and security - have chosen to support Israel's policies of aggression and expansion on the grounds that Israel's security is being threatened. This support manifests itself in the casting of votes against draft resolutions which call for strong measures against Israel. The outcome of the Security Council debate just a day ago is a case in point. It is this support that has emboldened Israel to embark on a further course directed towards consolidating its control in the illegally occupied Arab territories on the basis of biblical arguments, ignoring contemporary international law which acknowledges the rights of self-determination over historical claims. Those countries whose support has thus far enabled

(Mr. Zainal Abidin, Malaysia)

Israel to continue its intransigent posture cannot be absolved from their obligation to compel Israel to cease and desist from its acts of violence and repression against the Palestinian people and to withdraw from occupied territories.

The time is long overdue for decisive action by the United Nations. The problem of securing a homeland for the Palestinian people has been with us for more than three decades now. With the passing of time, the situation in the occupied territories has deteriorated. Emotions have been aroused to such a pitch and distrust has reached such dimensions that even a small incident could spark a major conflagration which could have grave consequences for world peace. The international community has an obligation to ensure that peace and stability prevail in the Middle East and it cannot therefore acquiesce in the various deliberate and systematic acts of aggression perpetrated by the Israeli Government.

It is appropriate that on this occasion my delegation should once again reaffirm its solidarity with the people of Palestine in their just struggle to redeem the rights that have been forcibly taken from them. In this regard, it is also imperative that the international community do its utmost to obliterate the grave injustice that has been perpetrated against the people of Palestine, to enable them to exercise their inalienable rights to return to their homeland and property, to self-determination and to independence and national sovereignty. These measures, which have already been endorsed in various United Nations resolutions, represent the best hope for that peace and normalcy which have long eluded the region.

Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): Is it not ironic that the prestige and credibility of the United Nations are subjected constantly to irresponsible attacks and that the culprit is the only entity which came into being by a resolution of the same Organization which today it is trying to harm in various ways? Is it not ironic that an entity the desperate components of which are bound together only by religious dogma has proven to be an intolerant society which not only is inimical to the other two divine revelations but also treats them with contempt? Is it not ironic for those who dismissed the elected Palestinian mayors without any legal authority - and for the sole purpose of punishing them and the idea of democracy - to pay lip service to democracy?

One could go on ad infinitum reciting the obvious cases of extreme disparity between deeds and words reflected in the Israeli Zionist conduct. But I shall confine myself to citing an example of a courageous Jewish voice warning the Jewish people, especially the American Jewish leaders, about the consequences of the Begin Government's policy, which is leading the Israeli society to the edge of the abyss.

Joseph Eger, in an article in The New York Times of 19 April 1982, refers to the violations of the sacred Al Aqsa Mosque, to the aggression by the Israeli soldiers against the Arab population, and to the unwarranted dismissal of the Arab mayors. He ridicules the autonomy talks and mentions Israel's preparations to invade Lebanon. Then he asks himself:

"What has happened to us Jews? So many Israeli policies not only violate our moral and spiritual traditions but also are self-destructive. So many actions of the Begin Government end in defeat, creating bitter enemies. Israel is more isolated than ever. Its military superiority brings little security."

That Jewish voice concludes the article by addressing the following words to American-Jewish leaders:

'American Jews must work together with our Israeli cousins to lead us from violence and death toward our age-old dreams of peace.'

(The New York Times, 19 April 1982, p. A21)

(Mr. Jamal, Qatar)

That is indeed irrefutable testimony, but, in spite of that, we must regrettably conclude that although it deserves our respect, it is but a voice crying in the wilderness. What can be done by one person who speaks the truth here and there, when we are faced by a society driven by madness and intoxicated by military brute force to the point that it totally disregards international law and secular and religious values - a society which has lost its senses because of its attachment to the illusion that it is God's chosen people and that it is therefore permitted to establish its homeland on the ruins of the homeland of another people?

We do not think that in 1949, when by General Assembly resolution 273 (III) the United Nations established that entity and admitted it to this Organization, it expected that the entity would be the first renegade, disregarding that very resolution and subsequent ones.

If the United Nations has been unable until now to impose the will of the international community on a Member which unashamedly and arrogantly flaunts its violation of the Charter, it is not at all fair to blame the Organization for that. Based on the position expressed by those who spoke in the recent Security Council discussion, the Security Council has almost unanimously condemned the Israeli occupation authorities in the Arab territories, holding them responsible for violations and desecrations of Islamic holy shrines in Jerusalem and for the brutal crimes committed by their forces in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. Their victims are often children between 7 and 15 years of age. In spite of that, the Security Council has been prevented from faithfully expressing the will of the international community - about which there was no doubt in the Council.

It is true that Herculean strength managed to paralyse the Council. Nevertheless, it was only the one negative vote of one member against the 14 affirmative votes of the other members. But unfortunately, that negative vote enjoys the right of veto - and the right of abuse of the veto. However, to the extent that the result of the voting represents frustration for the Palestinian people, whose inalienable rights to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State in the land of Palestine have been

(Mr. Jamal, Qatar)

recognized by the United Nations and to the extent that it undermines the prestige and credibility of the United Nations as an instrument capable of justly settling international conflicts within the framework of the principles of the Charter and international law, it confirms that the United States has chosen to disregard the unanimous international condemnation of the Israeli occupation and has doomed itself to isolation in the Zionist ghetto.

But what is new in this situation is the extreme inconsistency between what the customary United States declarations in various international forums of support for United Nations resolutions, including Security Council resolution 476 (1980), which reiterated the illegality of Israeli actions designed to annex occupied Jerusalem, and its latest objection to the inclusion in a Security Council resolution of a reference to Jerusalem as a part of the Arab territories occupied by Israel.

American partisanship concerning the rights of the Palestinian people needs no further proof. Yet recently that partisanship has assumed a new, dangerous dimension: it has become a mere automatic partisanship which betrays disregard for the international community, which has condemned Israeli occupation, and disregard for the sentiments of 900 million Moslems who have been horrified by the criminal desecration and violation of the sanctity of the Al Aqsa Mosque and the other Islamic holy shrines in occupied Jerusalem. Perhaps this new development has dispelled any doubts concerning the so-called autonomy. We do not think there is anyone who now doubts that Israel is exploiting these so-called talks to mask its usurpation of the Arab and Palestinian territories, being quite certain that it can act with impunity so long as there is the veto which paralyzes the Security Council.

(Mr. Jamal, Qatar)

Can anyone now blame Israel for persisting in its arrogance and in its contempt for this Assembly - which it has taken by surprise, while the latter is engaged in discussion of Israel's brutal acts of aggression against the Palestinians, by committing a new, brutal air attack on the sovereignty of Lebanon? Israel has violated Lebanese air space in committing this act of aggression against helpless Lebanese and Palestinian civilians in the suburbs of Beirut, to pave the way for the invasion of Lebanon, for which 14,000 heavily armed soldiers have been massed on the border.

The State of Qatar, while associating itself with its sister Arab and Islamic States, which have all severely condemned the violation of the holy Islamic shrines in Jerusalem and the brutal repressions committed daily by the Israeli occupation authorities in the occupied Arab territories, reaffirms that the establishment of peace in the Middle East depends on a solution to the Palestinian problem, and that such a solution will be achieved only by the implementation of all the United Nations resolutions which confirm the inalienable rights of the Palestinians and recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The General Assembly is not being requested to adopt another resolution affirming the rights of the Palestinian people: it has already adopted and confirmed, in previous special and regular sessions, numerous resolutions which declare the illegality of the Israeli presence in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights and recognize the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent homeland in the Palestinian territories occupied since the war of June 1967.

But the United Nations, in general, has, today more than ever, to defend its credibility and very *raison d'être* before the peoples of the world, in the face of an anomalous Member which, although rejected by the international community derives its arrogance from the infinite economic, political and military support provided to it by the United States of America.

Mr. ABULHASSAN (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): Ever since this morning -- and even now as we are meeting to consider once again Israel's inhuman practices against innocent Palestinians in the occupied territories -- Israeli planes have been roaring, in continuous sorties, through the skies of Lebanon, dropping incendiary bombs upon the inhabitants of Beirut, and insanely wreaking total devastation, which reflects the true nature of Israeli policy and the way of thinking of Israel's leaders.

The Israeli policy which should be given the biggest share of the attention of the international community is that which is rooted in the basic designs which Israel has on the occupied territories and which its leaders sum up so frankly these days.

Defence Minister Ariel Sharon, for instance, has characterized what is taking place in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as 'a struggle for Eretz Israel'. And Menachem Begin, as reported by the American news agency the Associated Press, has told Lord Carrington, the former British Foreign Secretary, the following: (spoke in English)

"that he considers the West Bank a part of Israel, and a Palestinian State would not arise -- ever. 'We wouldn't let it come about.'"

(continued in Arabic)

And as the Israeli Ambassador to Washington, Moshe Arens, stated some time ago: "Israel is prepared to annex the West Bank if the talks stall.

In other words, all this talk about negotiations and peaceful efforts, and even the talk about this meager autonomy, is nothing but a fable; it does not hold any water. With all its repressive, coercive and blackmailing methods, Israel is only paving the way to take the final step -- namely, the annexation of the West Bank and Gaza -- when the international atmosphere is right.

As the well-known journalist Jeoffrey Godsell has stated in an article published in the 31 March issue of the Christian Science Monitor, the message which Begin wants to send through his repressive policies in the occupied territories is:

(spoke in English)

"Accept the Israeli interpretation of the autonomy for the Palestinians in the West Bank, or else we have no alternative but to go ahead with the outright annexation of the territories."

(Mr. Abulhassan, Kuwait)

(continued in Arabic)

We have repeatedly mentioned from this rostrum that the ultimate Israeli design for the occupied territories aims at achieving two parallel objectives: first, removing as many of their Arab people as possible; secondly, annexing as much of their Arab land as possible, whether through confiscation, seizure or plain stealing. We detect those two objectives in every aspect of Israeli policy in the occupied territories.*

The heavily armed Israeli army is confronting a helpless people under occupation which has no weapons of self-defence other than stones. We have seen how soldiers of this "valiant" army fired at school children, killing some and wounding hundreds, which leads us to speculate: In what other country is stone-throwing considered a crime punishable by death?

And side by side with the firing operation carried out against the young in a way which implies that Israel means to impose its iron fist, the Israeli authorities have let irresponsible armed Israeli elements run loose to raise havoc in the land and even to encroach on the holiest of Moslem sacred sites and attack the congregations in the Al Aqsa Mosque, as they did several days ago - a crime which led to the expression of indignation all over the world and was condemned by various religions and faiths.

The meeting of the Security Council yesterday reflected the true international position by the simple fact that the draft resolution brought before it had gained the votes of all the members of the Security Council except for that one country - namely, the United States - which is hand-cuffed by Israel and, therefore, is prevented from living up to its own ideals, as well as those of mankind.

* Mr. Kamil (Indonesia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Abulhassan, Kuwait)

The distinguished American journalist, Anthony Lewis, has written that

(spoke in English)

"One of the ugliest realities in the West Bank is the vigilante activity of some Israeli settlers. The extremists among them are frankly intent on driving the Arab inhabitants out; they use violence and intimidation to that end". (The New York Times, 5 April 1982, p. A23)

(continued in Arabic)

Another distinguished New York Times reporter, David Shipler, also says that

(spoke in English)

"the Arabs in the occupied territories see themselves as helpless victims of carloads of heavily armed Jewish militants who terrorize them with the objective of ultimately taking all their land and driving them out of the West Bank".

(continued in Arabic)

And the Washington Post has confirmed that very point, in its edition of 23 March 1982.

In order to achieve those two objectives, Israel has committed the ugliest crimes to which any people under occupation could be subjected, crimes surpassing those of barbarian nazism and fascism.

In addition to the murder of innocent people - whether at the hands of the occupation troops or at the hands of the extremist armed Jewish elements who are allowed to commit murder and terror with the connivance and encouragement of the authorities - the Israelis have stopped at no crime in order to apply their policy of the iron fist in the occupied territories. They have dismissed elected mayors and replaced some of them with Jews. They have closed schools and universities and prevented newspapers from publishing news of the events in the occupied territories, even in the form in which they were broadcast by Israeli radio itself. They have forcibly opened the shops which were closed in response to the call for a general strike, leaving them open for looting. They have also jammed the radio stations of the neighbouring Arab countries so that the people of the occupied territories will not be able to listen to reports of what is happening in their very midst, thus leaving the

(Mr. Abulhassan, Kuwait)

people of the occupied territories in complete isolation, in the hope that that will make them more vulnerable to the policy of coercion.

The Israelis have also coined new phrases to describe their current practices in the occupied Arab territories, phrases like "the elimination of the influence of the PLO" in the occupied territories and the "creation of new Palestinian leadership" in the occupied territories. Such phrases are simply euphemisms for the new Israeli strategy aiming at breaking the Palestinian will, which has demonstrated its power of resistance against the policy of Israeli repression and terror.

One of the ironies worth mentioning is that the Begin Government itself nearly became the first casualty of its own repressive policy, which, rather than breaking the Palestinian will in the occupied territories, has led to the creation inside Israel itself of an opposition movement against that policy. That movement first manifested itself in demonstrations in which more than 20,000 Israelis took part, and then in the remarkable vote of confidence in the Knesset on the issue of the Government's policy, a vote which very nearly ousted Begin's Government.

What drives Israel's rulers to continue this repressive policy, which was described by the Israeli newspaper Ha'aretz as a policy of brutalization? The clear answer is that, as we have stated repeatedly from this rostrum, Israel feels completely free to do whatever it wants, and at the same time feels safe from any international punishment. The late Israeli leader Moshe Dayan once said,

(spoke in English)

"So long as the United States of America is on our side, to hell with the rest of the world."

(continued in Arabic)

What is taking place before our very eyes supports that theory, whose truth is becoming clearer every day.

In our view there are three things that embolden Israel to go on violating international law and disregarding repeated United Nations resolutions:

First, the sword of the American veto is always hanging over the United Nations, threatening any attempt to punish Israel for its defiance of international law. That threat culminated yesterday in the use of the veto by the United States

(Mr. Abulhassan, Kuwait)

against a Security Council draft resolution that reflected the international position and international feeling very accurately with regard to a crime that no sane person can justify. The latest stance taken by the United States in the Security Council has defeated the purposes of even the closest friends of the United States, who have been defending the fraudulent United States position; that stance has put those friends in a very embarrassing position. Now the world is wondering whether yesterday's international consensus could have been the result of a lack of understanding about the true Israeli behaviour, and whether the United States stood alone on the side of right in its interpretation of that behavior. The world is wondering, and we wonder with it.

The second thing is that, regardless of what is going on in the occupied territories, everything, as usual, is normal between the two allies, Israel and the United States of America. For even as the Israeli authorities were persecuting innocent people and violating all international laws and norms, the United States Congress was considering economic and military aid to Israel, even considering some increases. It even went so far as to consider warning the United Nations against taking any measures against Israel. Never during all this did we hear a single word of sympathy with the victims of the Israeli soldiers heavily armed with American weapons, namely, the Palestinian children who fell, martyrs, killed by the bullets of the Israeli murderers.

Thirdly, on top of all that, we have all those flimsy arguments put forward by the United States to justify such strange behaviour: they argue that any pressure on Menachem Begin and Ariel Sharon will only lead to Israel's reneging on its commitment to the final stage of the withdrawal from Sinai, or to an invasion of Lebanon. Such arguments are nothing but a new phase of the traditional justification of American policies towards Israel, a justification always based on the assertion that any policy against or pressure on Israel is wrong because it is counter-productive.

The fact of the matter is that the United States resorts to that kind of justification in order not to be forced to put pressure on Israel - for reasons not unknown to us. The problem with American policy towards Israel is that it has thus far been unable to draw a line of demarcation between its support for Israel and its support for Israel's arbitrary policies in the occupied territories. And

(Mr. Abulhassan, Kuwait)

unless the United States makes that distinction, Israel will continue its public defiance of the international community until it achieves its territorial ambitions by the annexation of the West Bank and Gaza, having already annexed Jerusalem and the Syrian Arab Golan Heights.

(Mr. Abulhassan, Kuwait)

What is taking place in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is the last stage of the preparation for this expected annexation. If the international community fails to put things in the right perspective, namely, by making Israel understand that it cannot continue the policy of constant defiance of the international will without punishment, then the international community will very soon find itself confronting another fait accompli imposed by Israel without being able to do anything about it. Any measures to be taken by the United Nations in this respect should take all the aforementioned factors into consideration, foremost among which is how to deal with the protective shield provided by the United States veto with respect to the continued Israeli expansionist policies.

We believed until recently that Israel was alone among the countries of the world in its disregard of the international will and that in this it is shielded by United States protection. But now that the United States has allowed itself to use the veto power to protect Israel three times in the first third of this year alone, and for reasons which - and this is the best that can be said about them - are an insult to the intelligence of the ordinary man, we have every right to wonder whether the use of this power by the United States, in such a spirit of international irresponsibility, means that the United States has put itself on the same footing as Israel in its disregard of international values, laws and morality, or whether its use of this power against the international will means that the concept of democracy, in the eyes of the self-proclaimed leader of the democratic world signifies acceptance of the rule of the majority when it is inside the country but working against it when it is outside.

I said in my statement before the Security Council yesterday, prior to the voting on the draft resolution which was vetoed by the United States, in spite of the fact that the other 14 members voted for it:

"It is also time that the one permanent member of this Council which provides Israel's continued encroachments on world peace with its protective shield, through its ... power of veto, reassessed its position and lived up to its commitment as a guardian of world peace in its capacity as a permanent member of the Council". (S/PV.2357)

(Mr. Abulhassan, Kuwait)

My country's delegation is sorry to say that the United States has opted to adhere to its commitments to the enemy of world peace rather than to its commitment to world peace itself.

Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): Nearly two years have passed since the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine was convened. Looking back and examining the course of events in the Middle East during that period we note positive developments, such as progress in the normalization of relations between Israel and Egypt based on the peace treaty between the two countries. As a result, and through a process of peaceful negotiation, Egypt is now about to have its territory restored to it.

On the other hand, however, it must also be pointed out that the Palestinian autonomy talks so far have not achieved the hoped-for progress. Furthermore, the international community has had to concern itself with such unfortunate incidents as the Israeli bombing of an Iraqi nuclear reactor and Israel's attack on Lebanon. The international community strongly denounced those actions. And in the occupied Arab territories Israel recently passed legislation which in effect annexed the Golan Heights, and undertook measures to dissolve town councils and dismiss three elected West Bank mayors. Moreover, earlier this month we witnessed acts of sacrilege against Holy Places in Jerusalem. Those developments have surely resulted in a further deterioration of the situation in the region. Although a period of respite has generally prevailed in south Lebanon for nearly a year, ever since a cease-fire was arranged with the co-operation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, it is a matter of great concern to the international community that fighting in that area is now reported.

Thus, the situation continues to deteriorate and the Middle East problem, at the core of which is the question of Palestine, is becoming more complex and a solution to it increasingly elusive. Japan, therefore, is of the view that the discussion of this question at this resumed emergency special session is most timely. We strongly hope that in our deliberations on all the aspects of the question of Palestine we will be able to make a real and effective contribution to the search for a just solution.

(Mr. Nisibori, Japan)

In our view, the deterioration of the situation in the occupied Arab territories stems primarily from Israel's occupation policy of unilaterally changing the status of the occupied territories, for example through its establishment of settlements in those territories, and its annexation of East Jerusalem. All those actions are incompatible with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and other relevant United Nations resolutions. They have no legal validity and are, indeed, illegal. They must not be condoned by the international community. We deplore those actions which are detrimental to an atmosphere that could lead to a solution of the question through dialogue and which jeopardize the entire peace process. We urge Israel to repeal those measures immediately. Furthermore, we strongly appeal to Israel, as the occupying authority, to make special efforts, in accordance with the Fourth Geneva Convention and relevant international law, to protect the human rights and promote the welfare of the Palestinian people who have long had to endure the hardships of occupation.

The basic position of the Government of Japan on the Middle East problem and, in particular, on the Palestinian question, has been presented on numerous occasions. However, I should like to take this opportunity to restate it as follows:

(Mr. Nisibori, Japan)

First, peace in the Middle East should be just, lasting and comprehensive;

Secondly, such a peace should be achieved through the early and complete implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and through the recognition of and respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination, under the United Nations Charter;

Thirdly, each and every path towards the realization of such a peace must be explored, with careful consideration given to the legitimate security requirements of the countries in the region and to the aspirations of all the peoples in the region, including the Palestinian people.

In accordance with these fundamental principles, Japan is firmly convinced that it is first and foremost essential that Israel withdraw from all the occupied territories, including East Jerusalem.

Moreover, the result of exercising the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people must be decided by themselves. Japan holds the view that the right of establishing an independent State is included in the concept of the right to self-determination.

From this standpoint, Japan supports principles contained in, and the spirit of, General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) of 1974 and resolution ES-7/2 of the seventh emergency special session, which recognize, inter alia, the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people. However, in order to ensure that these General Assembly resolutions will effectively constitute a firm basis for achieving a just peace in the Middle East, Japan believes that it has proved necessary to incorporate into them an important principle contained in Security Council resolution 242 (1967), that is,

"... 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." (Security Council resolution 242 (1967), op. para. 1 (ii))

(Mr. Hisibori, Japan)

In accordance with the basic position of the Government of Japan as I have just outlined it, Japan is of the view that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) represents the Palestinian people. Thus, in order to advance the cause of peace in the Middle East, Japan believes that it is essential that Israel and the PLO recognize each other's position and that the PLO participate in the peace process in the future.

In this connexion I should like to mention the visit to Japan last fall of Chairman Arafat of the PLO at the invitation of the Parliamentarians' League for Japan-Palestine Friendship. During their candid exchange of views with Chairman Arafat on the Middle East problem, including the question of Palestine, Japan's Prime Minister and Foreign Minister emphasized that a solution should be sought peacefully through talks, without recourse to the use of force, as well as through the mutual recognition of Israel's right to exist and the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

Moreover, as a step towards an early solution of the Palestine question, Japan believes that it is of utmost importance that both Israel and the Palestinian people make sincere efforts to dispel mutual distrust and to foster a genuine will to coexist.

Japan earnestly hopes that all parties directly concerned will, in the spirit of the United Nations Charter, show courage and follow the path of reason by refraining from the use of force and that they will do their utmost to settle this problem in a just and peaceful manner.

Japan supports the international efforts which have been made for the achievement of a comprehensive peace in the Middle East and also supports all ongoing efforts and initiatives towards the same end. In this regard I should like to refer to the Saudi Arabian proposal for peace in the Middle East, which was announced last summer. We welcome the initiative and efforts of the Saudi Arabian Government. In particular, Japan appreciates the fact that the Saudi Arabian proposal contains basic elements for the achievement of peace in the Middle East which are consonant with Japan's position, such as Israel's withdrawal from all the territories occupied since 1967 and confirmation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. We hope that all the parties concerned

(Mr. Hisibori, Japan)

will give due consideration to such initiatives which seek a solution through peaceful means and aim at establishing a dialogue for an early resolution of the problem.

Japan also greatly appreciates and has been actively cooperating with the activities of the United Nations with regard to the question of Palestine. We wish to mention here in particular the role played by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), which has been making a valuable contribution to the maintenance of peace and security in the region, mainly through relief and education programmes for Palestinian refugees.

We wish also to call attention to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF), which, deployed in the most crucial zones in the Middle East, are essential elements in containing the conflict and in maintaining and promoting peace.

The search for a solution to the question of Palestine, which has continued to engage the attention of this Organization ever since it was established, is extremely complex and fraught with difficulty. At this time, the Government of Japan reaffirms its intention to spare no effort in attaining our common goal - an early solution of the question of Palestine through peaceful talks and without recourse to the use of force.

Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): Last Easter Sunday, 11 April 1982, witnessed a reprehensible desecration of the holy precincts of Al Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock at Al-Quds Al-Sharif. The shock and indignation felt at this outrage throughout the Islamic world was demonstrated in the observance of 14 April 1982 as a Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People by the Islamic countries. In Pakistan there was complete stoppage of normal work in the Government, as well as private sectors, and special meetings and prayers were held for the rights of the Palestinian people and for the safety and sanctity of the Holy Places in Jerusalem. President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, in a declaration on the eve of this Day, reaffirmed the deep and abiding commitment of the people of Pakistan for solidarity with and support for their Palestinian brothers in their just struggle.

(Mr. Naik, Pakistan)

The violence and massacre committed in the holy precincts of the Al Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock cannot be dismissed as the insane act of a deranged individual. It is the sequel to the 1969 arson which destroyed a part of the Al Aqsa mosque, the sustained diggings underneath its ancient structure and the frequent discoveries of explosives in the vicinity of the holy sanctuary which reinforce the deep fears that the Islamic holy shrines in Jerusalem are facing a real threat of destruction at the hands of fanatics in Israel in their sinister design to Judaize the Holy City.

Against that somber background the Islamic countries requested the urgent convening of the Security Council, in which they subsequently presented a draft resolution condemning the wanton sacrilege of the holy precincts and calling upon Israel, the occupying Power, to observe and apply scrupulously the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention as these are applicable to all territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem. That draft resolution, which enjoyed the support of 14 members of the Security Council, was vetoed by the United States. Pakistan profoundly regrets that the Security Council has been prevented from taking action on a grave matter that has stirred the deepest emotions throughout the Islamic world.

The Holy City of Jerusalem embodies a unique spiritual tradition of the three great monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, and it cannot indefinitely remain under occupation. The Holy City cannot be allowed to become the spoils of war.

The United States actions sheltering Israel from the international censure of its policies of occupation and annexation can win neither friends nor peace in the Middle East. They will serve only to aggravate the already explosive situation, a manifestation of which is found in the intensity of the protests and street demonstrations by the unarmed Palestinian and Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories. The details of the grim situation inside the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories were already eloquently set forth in the Assembly yesterday by His Excellency Mr. Farouq Kaddoumi.

The resumption of the seventh emergency special session reflects the deep concern of the international community, particularly the non-aligned and Islamic

(Mr. Naik, Pakistan)

countries, over the grave situation in the occupied territories, which has entered a most dangerous phase. The threat to peace in the Middle East is growing and at its heart lies Israel's expansionism and its callous denial of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

The Arab and Palestinian inhabitants of the occupied territories are being subjected to a relentless reign of terror. Their land and properties are being expropriated and they are being systematically driven from their homeland into permanent exile. Their elected leaders are being arbitrarily dismissed and forcibly expelled. Some of them have also become the targets of physical assaults. These repressive measures are coupled with administrative and juridical steps on the part of the Israeli authorities aimed at changing the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure and status of the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem. Settlements are being established in increasing numbers on expropriated lands for part of the Israeli population and for new immigrants. In July 1980 the Israeli Knesset proclaimed the so-called basic law declaring the Holy City of Jerusalem as "the eternal capital" of Israel. Last December Israel proceeded to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. Clearly the Israeli objective is to change facts on the ground and thus consolidate its control over the occupied territories.

In pursuit of its expansionism, Israel has not restricted its ambitions to the occupied territories alone. Israeli armed attacks against Lebanon continue unabated and have taken a toll of the lives of hundreds of innocent men, women and children. In June last year Israel wantonly destroyed a peaceful nuclear installation near Baghdad. Its aircraft violate the air space of the neighbouring Arab countries at will and with impunity. There are ominous reports of Israeli preparations for a large-scale aggression against southern Lebanon and the Syrian Arab Republic. And a serious breach of the cease-fire in Lebanon and of peace has been committed by Israel today, only a few hours ago. The Israeli air force has launched three extensive air attacks on the coastal areas south of Beirut and northeast of Sidon, causing heavy casualties and severe damage to civilian property. Surely, far from reflecting a desire

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for peace, Israel's bellicose behaviour betrays its insatiable avarice for expansion and a vain attempt to terrorize its Arab neighbours into accepting its occupation of the Arab and Palestinian territories.

The Security Council has adopted several resolutions variously aimed at providing a framework for peace in the Middle East or at reminding Israel, the occupying Power, of its obligations in the occupied territories, or at censuring its actions in contravention of international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) emphasize the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by use of force. Resolution 465 (1980) determined that all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character or status of the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, had no legal validity and constituted a flagrant violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention. Resolutions 476 (1980) and 478 (1980) expressly censured Israeli moves to alter the status and character of the Holy City of Jerusalem, and resolution 497 (1981) took the same view of Israeli measures to annex the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. The Israeli response to these decisions of the Security Council has been that of contempt and utter disregard.

Indeed, the Israeli pursuit of systematic annexation of the occupied territories is aimed at mutilating the very basis of the United Nations efforts for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The derisive Israeli affront to the decisions of the world body have placed in jeopardy its capacity to ensure international peace and security and the hopes for a world order based on the principles of the Charter.

Israel's disdain for the decisions of the international community and the support of its powerful allies which encourage its arrogant defiance cannot prevent the deterioration in the Middle East situation.

Peace cannot be built on a foundation of violence and injustice. Peace cannot be achieved by denying the freedom-loving Palestinians their right to self-determination or by usurping their ancient homeland or by liquidating the Palestinian national identity; and judging from the historical upsurge for freedom and liberty in our times, the Palestinian demand for justice cannot be silenced by brute force. The people of Pakistan salute the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people, their indomitable courage and their great sacrifices, which will surely bring them victory.

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The imperatives of peace in the Middle East are unequivocal and well known. They are: the complete withdrawal by Israel from the Arab and Palestinian territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, exercise by the people of Palestine of their inalienable national rights, including the right to establish a sovereign State of their own in their homeland; the full and equal participation in a peace process of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Any endeavours to achieve a solution of the Palestinian question which exclude the Palestine Liberation Organization will be foredoomed to failure.

The international community's demands of Israel concerning a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict have been repeatedly stated over the years in General Assembly resolutions, including resolution ES-7/2, adopted at the seventh emergency special session, on the Palestinian question, in 1980. That resolution specifically refers to the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People outlined in its report of 1976, which remain pertinent to any initiative for the establishment of a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Palestinian question. The value of the work of that Committee has been acknowledged in subsequent General Assembly resolutions, and we commend it wholeheartedly.

In resolution ES-7/2 the General Assembly requested and authorized the Secretary-General of the United Nations to take the necessary steps towards the implementation of the recommendations made by the Committee in 1976. The period of nearly two years since the adoption of that resolution has seen little to encourage hope of progress towards the solution of the Palestinian issue. Conscious of this dangerous immobility, the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement held early this month in Kuwait called upon the Secretary-General of the United Nations to undertake at the earliest possible time adequate endeavours to initiate contacts with all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict with a view to finding concrete ways and means of achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting solution conducive to peace and in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter and

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the relevant resolutions. In the view of the Pakistan delegation, at this resumed seventh emergency special session the General Assembly must endorse this call by the Extraordinary Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries.

At this resumed session the General Assembly must also call upon the Security Council to consider the application of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against Israel under the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter until Israel fully carries out the decisions of the United Nations relevant to the question of Palestine.

The Security Council should no longer tolerate the blatant repudiation of its decisions by a stubborn aggressor. The Security Council has an obligation to bring to an end the tragedy of Palestine, which remains a constant source of tension and turmoil in the world. If Israel persists in its lawlessness the Security Council must act in the firm and effective manner demanded of it in view of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.