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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE EIGHTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 26 April 1982, at 10.30 a.m.

President:

Mr. KITTANI

(Iraq)

- Question of Palestine /5/ (continued)

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82-61338/A

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

. AGENDA ITEM 5 (continued)

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): It is not necessary to probe at any length into our consciences to discover the feelings of our people, Government and delegation, given the new attacks that the Israeli Government has perpetrated against innocent lives and the traditions and rights of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation.

For Nicaragua, recent history repeats itself with marked frequency: a soldier wearing an Israeli army uniform fires indiscriminately on a Moslem crowd; various members of the faithful are murdered; sacred places are seriously damaged; there are cynical explanations by Israel; the United States Department of State rapidly endorses the official statements of the Zionist Government.

Given those facts, we are bound to recall Somoza's ruthless "Made in USA" National Guard, which for decades repressed, tortured and murdered the Nicaraguan people. We know what is being felt by the Palestinian people. This new chapter of suffering brings us even closer to them.

Little by little, even the most sceptical and indifferent, the most incredulous, are becoming convinced of the nature of the Tel Aviv régime and what is inspiring it. Little by Little the patience of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation is coming to an end, and it is becoming increasingly clear what an obstacle Israel constitutes for the attainment of peace in the Middle East.

Israel, which does not respect United Nations resolutions, which systematically violates international law, which tramples underfoot the national inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, which daily provokes its Arab neighbours with acts of annexation of territories, and which daily ignores universal protest and feels protected by the veto of a permanent member of the Security Council, is nothing more or less than a revised and augmented version of the "disturbed" soldier Alan Harry Goodman.

(Mr. Chamorro Mora, Nicaragua)

Even though the most insensitive heart must be stirred by the facts, we are not surprised by the crimes and desecrations that the Government of Israel has perpetrated against the Palestinian people and the Holy Places. Jerusalem, occupied in order that it may be turned into the eternal capital of Israel; the Al Aqsa Mosque used as an execution place, on the edge of collapse as a result of excavations; the sacred sanctuary faced with the danger of demolition; Lebanon bombed once again - those and countless other examples demonstrate the official policy of the Zionist Government and reflect its lack of respect for the great Arab nation and its violation of the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

We think that actions such as these and others repeated systematically by the Zionist Government are acts against not only the Palestinian people and the Arab nation but also Central America and all mankind: it is trafficking in weapons and supporting dictatorial régimes, arming them and keeping on close terms with them, with the OK of their protectors. Israel is still in the dock in the Security Council, still the subject of debates at emergency special sessions. And it still has the staunch support of the United States, which, with its willingness to use the veto against just causes and against the principles of the United Nations Charter, has become a persistent impediment to the Council's authority. In this context, at a special Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement, on the Palestinian question, our Minister for Foreign Affairs, speaking on the activities of the United States vis-à-vis our common problems, stated:

"We refer to the United States, which a few days ago was a protagonist in the sad spectacle of the casting of the veto in the Council on two resolutions, almost simultaneously - one relating to Nicaragua and the other to the Middle East. In both cases a call was made for justice and respect for the right of our peoples to self-determination. In both cases the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter were vetoed.

"It might appear that the only affirmative vote cast by the Reagan Administration is for interventionist and destabilizing projects of the Central Intelligence Agency directed against Nicaragua, El Salvador, Cuba, Grenada and other countries which, like ours, are fighting to obtain, increase or defend their sovereignty and independence."

(Mr. Chamorro Mora, Nicaragua)

In the meantime, while the pig-headedness persists, while there are no moral and spiritual considerations, Israel will continue to occupy this area, will continue to annex Arab territories, will continue to bomb Lebanon, will repeat its strikes - allegedly pre-emptive - against Iraq, will continue to destroy the Palestinian authorities, will continue to violate Security Council resolution 465 (1980) on the unalterable character of Jerusalem and the other occupied territories, will continue to impose terror and to spread death throughout the Palestinian homeland. This situation will remain unalterable until the final victory of the Palestinian people, through the efforts of their legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and through the united action of the Arab nation, which will return things to their proper owners.

We agree with those who believe that the United States must submit to serious review its policy in the Middle East and, more specifically, its policy towards Israel, because to date it has only endorsed and supported actions which are condemned by the people of the United States, because it has to date mistakenly interpreted their feelings and aspirations. It is inconceivable that while the United States permits itself to call on Arab nations and the Palestinian people to abstain from the use of violence, it encourages and justifies such use on the part of Israel. This can be concluded from the declaration by the State Department on 11 April 1982, made by the acting Secretary of State, Walter Stoessel, in which he once again called for patience by the victims. It is incredible that those murdered in these new and grievous events are asked not to react. This is a curious interpretation of the rights of peoples and of the responsibilities assumed by the United States.

A United States citizen, a member of the Israeli army, commits an abominable crime; for the United States it is an isolated fact, without importance, given a disproportionate amount of publicity. My delegation wonders what the reaction of the United States Government would have been if the same thing had been done by a Nicaraguan citizen in the ranks of the Salvadoran revolutionaries. Would they have stood by silently? Would they have understood? Would they have presented it as an isolated act? Or, on the contrary, would they have prepared press conferences, such as the one of such black memory for the State Department, involving the young Nicaraguan Jose Orlando Tardencillas, who was brought from

El Salvador, in complete violation of his individual rights, and would they also have attempted to conclude from that fact, which they describe as isolated, our involvement in the internal affairs of El Salvador? For our part, knowing them as we do, knowing that to justify themselves they must fabricate evidence, we would tend to believe the latter conclusion.

Only a few days before those latest crimes, the ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement, meeting in Kuwait from 5 to 8 April, issued a communiqué which, in relation to the matter which has brought us here, stated:

"The Ministers expressed their condemnation of Israeli aggressive and expansionist policies in Palestine and the occupied Arab territories, its violation of the basic rights and freedoms of the inhabitants of Palestine and the occupied Arab territories, its persistent establishment of settlements, displacement of Arab citizens, demolition of their houses and confiscation of their properties." (A/37/205, annex, para. 16)

It continued:

"The Ministers condemned Israel for its complete disregard of Security Council resolutions 465 (1980), 476 (1980) and 478 (1980), condemning the promulgation of the 'basic law on Jerusalem' and condemned all Israeli measures aiming at the judaization of the Holy City of Jerusalem by altering its demographic composition, character and status ..." (Ibid., para. 19)

Israel's reply was forthcoming three days later, on 11 April; its ferocity made clear that there is no limit to its defiance. At the same Kuwait meeting, knowing the aggressor, and with a topicality more than ever justified:

"The Ministers reiterated their support for Lebanon's sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence, and called for the full implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978). They expressed their deep concern over the situation resulting from Israel's intense campaign, threatening to intervene militarily in Lebanon, and, /they reiterated/ their condemnation of Israel's aggression and aggressive policy." (Ibid., para. 25)

This seems to have been a presentiment, for the nightmare has returned to take hold of Lebanon; the gigantic monstrosity of Israeli bombardment has again become a reality.

My delegation and all those which cannot stand idly by in the face of such situations are entitled to hope that those offering their support for these cruel actions will measure the price implicit in that support and encouragement for this delinquent State, for the continuous perpetration by it of acts which are a valid cause for international indignation. It is, moreover, necessary that the international community take steps to put an end to this continuous lack of respect by Israel and those who support it in its decisions. It would be a mockery of Palestinian blood if those responsible for these crimes were once again absolved; to let such misdeeds go unpunished would be to mock the faith and devotion of more than a billion believers against whom Israel has directed its attacks; it would be to countenance the massacres in the villages of southern Lebanon.

It has been said many times and in many ways that there are few matters of world concern enjoying such a consensus as this: As long as Israel persists in its refusal to recognize the right of the Palestinian people, led by its indisputable vanguard, the Palestine Liberation Organization, to self-determination, a homeland and independence, peace in the Middle East will be, as it is today, an increasingly unobtainable goal. For while on the one side we see a ruthless Israel, on the other is the steadfast determination of the Palestinian people, their faith in victory and the solidarity of the people of the world.

Mr. FONSEKA (Sri Lanka): The seventh emergency special session of July 1980 was convened to consider the question of Palestine because the Security Council was precluded from acting on the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People - recommendations which had been endorsed by repeated General Assembly resolutions, in 1976, 1977 and 1979. That special session has been resumed 21 months later, for reasons which are too obvious to need recapitulation. During the special session, speaker after speaker, as they have done before and since, reiterated the proposition - which some might say has been repeated ad nauseam - that the core of the Middle East problem is the injustice done to the Palestinian people; that no solution to the Middle East question is possible without a solution to the Palestinian question; and that if we need a peaceful solution, there can be no fragmentation either in the approach to a solution or in the solution itself.

(Mr. Fonseka, Sri Lanka)

The resolution adopted at the special session in July 1980 before it was suspended sets out in its operative paragraphs what would constitute a solution to the Palestine question. Yet, as we well know, it is not for lack of resolutions, whether of the Security Council or of the General Assembly, that a solution is beyond reach. The resolution adopted in July 1980 secured the affirmative votes of 112 Members, with only seven voting against. We could go on to look at the resolutions on Palestine and the Middle East adopted at sessions of the General Assembly before and after July 1980 and we would see much the same story. The overwhelming majority of the membership of this Organization has given unambiguous recognition to the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination.

We do not regard this resumed special session as an occasion for engaging in a recapitulation of the history of the Palestine problem and the United Nations involvement in it. However, we do not think that we would be repetitive in making some brief references to what has transpired, not since as far back as the special session of July 1980, but just in the last 12 months.

Resolutions of the General Assembly are summarily dismissed as being mala fide. Defying even those resolutions adopted by the Security Council, Israel continues its policy of territorial aggrandisement in the occupied West Bank. The incredible is sought to be made credible by invoking Biblical authority and the West Bank has been reincarnated as Judea and Samaria. Last December, dropping all pretence, Israel annexed the Syrian Golan Heights. There is of course a Security Council resolution declaring that as having no legal effect but it has been dutifully ignored by Israel, just as happened when Jerusalem was annexed. The territory of Lebanon has been dismembered and its people subjected to the horror of an unending war - the last such assault having taken place just last week.

It is for the occupied West Bank, however, that Israel has reserved its worst ravages. For nearly 15 years the Arab people of the West Bank have undergone deprivation, humiliation and violation of their human rights, in total disregard of the Fourth Geneva Convention. My delegation has personal

(Mr. Fonseka, Sri Lanka)

awareness of the extent of those violations through our membership in the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories. Some five weeks ago Israel sought to take the first initiatives to impose civil administration in some of the cities of the West Bank by dismissing their elected representatives and sending in civilian administrators. The Palestine Arabs put up a justifiable resistance. They did so for the good reason that, just as in Jerusalem and the Golan, this was the thin end of the wedge, a prelude to outright annexation of the West Bank. Neither arrests, detentions, curfews, nor wanton killings of unarmed civilians have enabled the occupying Israeli authorities to restore a semblance of order. The last such episode was the firing on worshippers within the precincts of the holy shrine of Al Aqsa. It is not to the credit of this Organization's premier body, the Security Council, that it has been precluded from adopting any of the draft resolutions expressing its strong disapproval of those actions by Israel and seeking a remedy.

The policies of Israel are unmistakably directed against the one organization which Israel knows is the real protagonist, that is, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which is the true representative of the Palestinian people. Israel's refusal to recognize the PLO's representative capacity and role is the truest manifestation of the PLO's authenticity. There can be no other explanation for the retribution which Israel unleashes on Beirut and on south Lebanon, and against the elected representatives of the Palestinian people in the West Bank, or the search-and-destroy missions that it conducts farther afield against the representatives of the PLO.

Yet it is not the PLO which has suffered; rather, an increasing number of States - some of which were hardly expected to take such a step barely a few years ago - have accorded to the PLO the recognition and status that it has so well earned. It was just two weeks ago that my Government extended to the PLO Mission in Sri Lanka the status of a full diplomatic mission. Palestine remains a problem not just for Israel but also for those Members of this Organization which persist in the delusion that the PLO is just a group of terrorists who can be separated from the Palestinian people. The irony is all the greater in that this delusion persists among the one-time leaders of the Irgun Zvai Leumi.

(Mr. Fonseka, Sri Lanka)

We shall, of course, be asked why we must speak in this debate on Palestine, as we have done in others that have taken place in this Assembly and in the Security Council on issues related to the Middle East and the occupied territories. We have no illusion that a repetition of well-known views or yet another resolution will bring a solution to the question of Palestine. Nevertheless, we feel obliged to intervene in this debate, not only to reassure the Palestinian people and their organization, the PLO, that we have not broken faith with them, but also to tell their detractors and those who question the authenticity of their acknowledged leaders that both Israel and its supporters must sooner rather than later reconcile themselves to the reality of a Palestinian State, without which there can be neither settlement nor peace in the Middle East.

Mr. KUEN (Austria): The seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine has resumed at a time of increased tension in the Middle East. The Austrian Government is deeply concerned about the outbreaks of violence in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, as well as in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. The recent armed attacks by Israel on Lebanese territory have further escalated the risks of confrontation in the region.

All this illustrates the tragedy of the unresolved conflicts in the Middle East. The massive sacrifices of human lives and the large-scale destruction in the area speak more clearly than anything else for the urgency to find a peaceful and comprehensive settlement.

Any solution of the Middle East conflict must be based on the recognition of four basic facts: first, Israel is a reality and, like every other State, has the right to be recognized and to exist within safe and secure boundaries; secondly, the Palestinian people is also a reality and, like every other people, has national rights, including the right to its own State; thirdly, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) represents the Palestinian people and those who want to talk with the Palestinians will thus have to speak with the PLO; and, fourthly, the use of force can never be a legitimate means for the acquisition of territory and Israel must therefore withdraw from the occupied territories.

(Mr. Kuen, Austria)

In this connexion, Austria welcomes the implementation of the final stages of the peace treaty between Israel and the Arab Republic of Egypt and the withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces from the Sinai peninsula according to schedule. Austria regrets, however, that Israel has shown no intention to take similar steps with regard to other occupied territories.

Israel's policy in the still occupied territories continues to contravene established norms of international law. Austria has always considered the Fourth Geneva Convention, of 1949, as well as the Hague Convention of 1907, as applicable in full to the territories occupied by Israel. The Austrian Government firmly rejects the unilateral law passed by the Israeli Government on the status of Jerusalem, as well as the decision to extend Israel's law, jurisdiction and administration to the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. Austria fully agrees with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, which declare those measures null and void and without legal validity.

The past has seen many efforts to find a comprehensive solution within the framework of the United Nations, in the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as outside the Organization, through direct political initiatives. So far all these efforts have at best produced only limited results. They have failed, however, to solve the issue which lies at the core of the Middle East situation: the Palestinian problem. Justice has to be done to the Palestinian people, a people that has been left homeless and dispersed and denied its most basic rights for too many years. An international consensus has emerged on the rights of the Palestinian people and its representation through the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Austrian Government, for its part, has recognized the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people.

In our view, a comprehensive settlement can best be achieved by negotiations among all parties directly involved. As a first step, direct talks without any precondition should be initiated between the two parties most immediately and directly concerned - that is, Israel and the PLO. We are fully aware of the obstacles on this path, but we believe that with a genuine desire to solve this tragic conflict those obstacles can be overcome. We are convinced that through such exploratory talks the

(Mr. Kuen, Austria)

shape of a possible negotiated solution will emerge and the obstacles which seem to prevent negotiations at present will be removed.

For historical and geographical reasons Europe's relations with the Middle East have been intense and its security closely linked with peace in the Middle East. We have a common interest in bringing about a comprehensive and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict.

Another round of rhetoric will not help. The time is overdue for concrete steps and negotiations.

Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): The fact that this emergency special session of the General Assembly is seized of the Palestinian question once again is indicative of the seriousness with which its Members view the recent events in occupied Palestine and the Middle East, as well as of the importance they attach to the implications which such events may have for international peace and security.

The need for the resumption of this session is proof of the inability of the United Nations so far to ensure the implementation of its own resolutions, and of its outright failure, at times, to adopt any resolutions, in spite of flagrant violations of the United Nations Charter.

What is more, instead of progress in the Middle East we are confronted today with a deterioration of the situation. Instead of a reduction of tensions, we witness new acts of aggression and an intensification of the hostilities in the area, which are directed against the Palestinian people.

Israel has dismissed elected mayors, has disbanded duly elected municipal councils and has carried out air attacks on neighbouring Arab States, in utter disregard of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the views of its Members. In a succession of acts of defiance of United Nations resolutions, Israel has declared the annexation of East Jerusalem and the extension to the Syrian Golan Heights of Israeli law, jurisdiction and administration, and has settled part of the West Bank, in spite of resolution 242 (1967), which clearly affirms the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. For 12 months now, there have been

(Mr. Moushoutas, Cyprus)

such acts on the part of Israel, which not only have not helped in the search for a solution to the Palestinian problem but have, instead, added their detrimental effect to an already critical situation.

The position of my Government on the question of Palestine is well known and has been reiterated on several occasions in the United Nations and in other international forums, and recently in Kuwait, on the occasion of the ministerial meeting of the Co-ordination Bureau of the non-aligned. We believe that without a comprehensive and just solution to the Palestine problem, which forms the core of the Middle East problem, there can be no peace and security in the region. What is more, any peace effort must take into account the legitimate interests of the people of Palestine, as expressed by the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is the only authentic and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

It is imperative that the Palestinian people, through its sole and legitimate representative, the PLO, should be party to any negotiations concerning its homeland. We strongly believe that the future of a people cannot be decided in its absence.

It is for that reason that my Government fully supported the final communiqué of the meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau held at the ministerial level in Kuwait, which calls for complete, total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories in conformity with the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force; the free exercise of the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property, from which they have been displaced and uprooted, and, to those who choose not to return, the payment of equitable compensation; and the attainment and free exercise of the inalienable rights in Palestine of the Palestinian people, including the rights to self-determination without external interference, to national independence and sovereignty, and to establish its own independent, sovereign State.

Such recommendations have been made in the past by various organs of the United Nations, by the Non-Aligned Movement, and in a number of international forums. Similar recommendations have also been made by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, of which my country is a member.

My Government strongly supports the right of the refugees and the displaced to return to their homes and lands. No passage of time can affect or alienate the right of refugees anywhere in the world to return to their ancestral homes and lands. To the Palestinians and to all other uprooted peoples must be returned what is rightfully theirs.

Representing a State whose people have been rendered refugees in their own country, we understand fully the bitterness and the plight of the Palestinian refugees, and we stand by them in brotherly solidarity. We therefore support the adoption of the practical measures which alone can lead to the implementation of the relevant resolutions of this Assembly, whether in Palestine, Namibia or Cyprus.

Only a few days ago Israeli jet fighters bombed residential areas in neighbouring Lebanon, causing casualties among the civilian population. This latest Israeli act has been condemned by the Foreign Minister of my country. In his statement, he said that

"The Cyprus Government unreservedly condemns the open Israeli aggression upon Lebanon, and declares its undivided support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Lebanon.

(Mr. Moushoutas, Cyprus)

"This Israeli move constitutes a flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter, international law, and Lebanese sovereign rights."

It is our view that concrete measures should be adopted urgently by the international community for defusing the tension in the region. The Kuwait communiqué by the non-aligned countries which I mentioned earlier, the relevant United Nations resolutions and the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People provide a basis from which the United Nations could proceed to adopt measures towards the solution of the problem of Palestine.

Mr. AL-QASIMI (United Arab Emirates)(interpretation from Arabic): The General Assembly has resumed the work of its seventh emergency special session to consider actions against the Arab peoples in occupied Palestine and the various kinds of oppression and repression practised by the Israeli occupation authorities, who do not hesitate to use all means at their disposal to stifle the struggle of a people which is asking for freedom and self-determination.

This is the third time in the brief period of two years that the General Assembly is meeting in emergency special session to consider aspects of the Palestinian question. There is no doubt that it would have been possible to forgo this session - and perhaps other future sessions - had the Security Council not been prevented from carrying out its responsibility for keeping the peace and deterring the aggressor by the biased United States position in favour of Israeli aggression, which contravenes all international laws and practices.

The United States has not hesitated to put an end by its abuse of the veto power to any draft resolution which might be a deterrent to Israel.

All States which have joined the United Nations, from the time of its establishment to the present, have committed themselves to act in accordance with the Charter and to apply all its principles and provisions. There are, of course, some countries which have broken their commitment to act in accordance with the Charter, but no State in the world has contravened the provisions of the Charter in the way that Israel has done. From its

establishment to the present day, it has been in a constant state of war with the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. It also stands in contempt of the numerous resolutions of the United Nations on the subject of Palestine and the Middle East.

How, then, should the United Nations deal with Israeli dismissal of its resolutions? Will the United Nations remain unable to defend itself and to protect its very existence from Israeli sabotage every time Israel displays its contempt for its resolutions? Israel has already killed the United Nations once in the past, by its murder of its representative, Count Berradotte. Is the United Nations to allow Israel to murder its principles in the future?

Israel was accepted into the United Nations, in accordance with the General Assembly resolution admitting it, upon conditions which Israel pledged to accept and apply. The most important of these is its commitment to the resolutions of the General Assembly, particularly the two resolutions adopted on 29 November 1947 and 11 December 1948 respectively. Those resolutions include Israeli commitments regarding borders and human rights, as well as the basic rights of the Palestinian Arabs, the return of the refugees to their homes, and the status of Jerusalem.

Despite their guarantees to apply and respect those resolutions, the Israelis have violated them; in fact, they have violated more than 300 United Nations resolutions on the questions of Palestine and the Middle East.

It has become very obvious that unless international pressure is applied, Israel will not implement the resolutions of the United Nations. It will not give up the land it occupied by force. Nor will it cease its aggressive actions against the Palestinians. The application of international pressure against Israel is an alternative, if the United Nations is to be unable to implement its numerous resolutions against Israel.

Since the position of the United States of America in the Security Council has prevented the adoption of enforcement measures against Israel, there is no alternative but for the General Assembly to shoulder its responsibilities. It is indeed regrettable that a major Power acts as a supporter of the aggressor, turning its back on the victim.

(Mr. Al-Qasimi, United Arab Emirates)

The position of the United States of America, which is completely biased towards Israel in the Security Council, the General Assembly and other international organizations and agencies, is that of giving a blank check to Israel to carry out its continued and increasing aggression against Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

It is just as regrettable to note that, at a time when the world is considering stronger ways in which to bring about respect by Israel for the resolutions of the United Nations, the United States Congress is considering ways to discontinue its financial contributions to the United Nations if the Organization adopts a resolution imposing penalties on Israel. We do not wish here to question the good faith of the decision-makers in the United States who are working in accordance with what they consider to be appropriate United States policy. However, we would only ask them to be guided by what a former Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, Senator William Fulbright, said in a CBS interview on 14 April 1973. He said:

(continued in English)

"I think that the policy of the Senate is what has encouraged and is largely responsible for the present Government of Israel following a dangerous policy for Israel as well as for us. ... It's quite obvious that without the all-out support by the United States in money and weapons and so on, the Israelis couldn't do what they have been doing. So we bear a very great share of the responsibility for the continuation of that state of warfare."

(spoke in Arabic)

Senator Fulbright continued:

(continued in English)

"We do not owe the Israelis our support of their continued occupation of Arab lands, including old Jerusalem and the Palestinian West Bank."

(spoke in Arabic)

Senator Fulbright also said:

(continued in English)

"Is the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes from which they were expelled any less fundamental than the right of Soviet Jews to make new homes in a new land?"

(Mr. Al-Qasimi, United Arab Emirates)

(spoke in Arabic)

That is the attitude of a man who held a high position in the United States administration and who witnessed the great role played by the supporters of Israel in the drafting of United States policy with respect to the Middle East.

The time has come for the United Nations to do something for the Palestinian people other than adopting resolutions. The least that the United Nations can do is to redress the injustice that has been imposed on that people and to force Israel to respect the resolutions of the Organization. The United Nations must seriously consider the question of imposing sanctions on Israel. This may be the last opportunity for the United Nations to bring about respect for its resolutions and to do so without hesitation or fear, even if it is subject to blackmail and pressure. Otherwise, the faith of the peoples throughout the world in the United Nations will be destroyed and the Organization might suffer the same fate as that suffered by the League of Nations, and the world will lose its most important machinery for peace-keeping and security.

Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): The delegation of Mauritius does not come to this rostrum to weary the Assembly with a reiteration of the analysis of our agenda item entitled the "Question of Palestine".

That, after some 34 years, the fate of Palestine and its people is still couched in the form of a question speaks for itself as a failure of the United Nations in its interminable efforts to bring peace to a region that has been deprived of it since the founding of the world Organization.

I use the word "failure" not in the sense of an institutional indictment of the Organization itself, but rather in the sense of the failure of the parties to utilize it effectively, until it has progressively become the expanding battleground of the big-Power struggle. Their failure - that is, the failure of the big Powers - is perhaps the greater one, involving as it does their commitment in San Francisco to the Organization's Charter, which endowed them with a special responsibility for maintaining international peace and security.

(Mr. Ramphul, Mauritius)

Their wanton division into rival Power blocs, almost within a year of assuming their responsibility, continues to be reflected with mirror-accuracy in the chronic division of the Middle East. That is the situation before us now, except that the malady of divisionism is now deteriorating into the crisis of fragmentation.

Let me make it clear at the outset that I am not here to indulge in the common smear of indicting the Security Council as a whole. Its misadventure in departing from the high role assigned to it by the Charter is not beyond remedy. Like a derailed train, it needs only to be hoisted back on track in a manner that will get it going in a new direction and, most of all, back to a mental attitude of how to run its veto-ridden engine.

Four vetoes -- if I may use the common journalistic term -- in a matter of a few months on the various problems of the Middle East should convince us that this misuse of one of the Security Council's primary powers is far more dangerous than all the missiles in their possession, about which they are now bargaining in a game without rules, in a game that is all gamble, in a game of Russian roulette -- as they are with their vetoes.

As for the draft resolution which the General Assembly will no doubt soon adopt by an overwhelming majority, the position of my delegation will be determined by what the great British sociologist Herbert Spencer called "first principles".

In relation to our specific agenda item, they are: the principle of self-determination, so that people may decide their own destiny with the right of statehood in their own land; the principle of non-acquisition or annexation of territory by use of military force; the responsibility of an occupying Power to conduct its occupation under internationally-recognized Geneva conventions; the United Nations principles of human rights; and the principle that the termination of occupation must be achieved by peaceful means arrived at within the orbit of the United Nations.

Here we are happy to note that at last the illegal occupation of the Sinai is completed. We hope that the exact borderline will be settled soon without difficulty. However, we all know that durable peace in the Middle East will not be secured as long as the Palestinians have not achieved their just and determined goal of self-rule in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and established their own homeland.

(Mr. Ramphul, Mauritius)

The definition - politically - of a "first principle" is that it is immutable, beyond an iota of compromise. We have seen, and still see, with respect to the Middle East, that the lazy spirit of compromise bargains away the rights of peoples and ends in a palsy of collapse - that it is almost always accompanied by the merciless veto which strikes after extracting a compromise. The salami tactics are always at play.

(Mr. Ramphul, Mauritius)

Thus, perhaps, as bad as the veto is the eternal hope that, somehow, it can be appeased by indecision and moderation when positive action is called for.

As this special session is coming to a close, I believe that it is in order to ask: Where are we now? A resolution will be adopted perhaps with the inevitable provision again calling for action by the Security Council, and this in turn will again meet with another veto. We shall then come back to another session of the General Assembly with yet another resolution, in a non-stop shuttle procedure that wearies the spirits of men and supplies fodder to the dissenters from peace itself. Perhaps the proper inscription on the tombstone of a child killed by a bomb from a proud air force would read: "She was killed in a race between an arrogant veto and a futile resolution".

How can we break out of this impasse? As my delegation sees it, we must first become acutely aware of the world climate in which the Middle East problem assumes a different spirit and a different dimension in the 1980s from those which existed in the 1950s and the 1960s, when statesmen and peoples were still pinning their hopes on certain moral standards.

Today much of that hope has painfully contracted along with the international moral standard, while the Middle East theatre has expanded to much of West Asia, the Gulf of Persia and even, strategically, the Indian Ocean. In this expanding geography we see, as in other expanding regions, the darkening clouds of an approaching general war. We read it in the unceasing flow of nervous daily statements by top officials of the Powers with predominant war potentials and their raucous press, which know how to beat the drums when the bugles begin to blow.

But, most of all, we see it in the warped mentalities that precede the approaching catastrophe.

It has been said that wars begin in the minds of men; I should add: not without warning conveyed to us with the pollution of those minds as they turn to court calamity.

Blowing the winds of planned confusion, statements of threat are made one day and recalled the next, with a warning of force on the third. The path to war is paved with the cobblestones of confusion.

(Mr. Ramphul, Mauritius)

The race for client States has become the new political Olympics, in a frantic bid for more and more power against an expected war. That is bad enough. Worse still, however, is when the client State runs out of control and even takes over from the master.

Numerically, the symptom becomes obvious when the number of confrontations begins to exceed the number of bids for conciliation -- as we see happening today.

The almost daily fall of Governments reflecting the instability of States -- inherent or man-made -- is quickly manipulated by economic and psychological pressures spreading their fires beyond their national borders to regional conflagration.

Détente -- or the safety-valve of coexistence -- has become an indecent word and another cold war is being adulated as undying hatred of "the enemy". The cold war, once the rhetoric of silent guns, is now heating up before our very eyes, with a heavy toll of human lives -- civilians, the aged, mothers and children. And this among Christian nations whose churches are filled with 1,000 years of tradition of the of Mother and Child. Inside are the great paintings, outside the bleeding corpses.

As a measure of the moral deterioration, the arch-symptom of a developing world war, we invoke the international law of the Geneva Conventions from the highest rostrum of the United Nations while, from the same rostrum, the United Nations itself is defied, maligned and insulted. Hitler at least had the decency to do it from the gallery of the League of Nations. As in the case of the League, it seems that some are attempting to destroy the United Nations in order to root out the moral structure of peace.

Hope and faith, part of that moral structure, must, it would appear, likewise be crushed, as the House of God and its Holy Shrines are deliberately made the targets of bombs and bazookas.

Is that the behaviour of enlightened peoples? In this holocaust of man's accumulated imperatives, it is necessary to sloganize the virtues of reversalism. The founding fathers at San Francisco spoke of "peace and friendship". The new international order rejects any friendship with "the enemy", which is invariably a United Nations Member State -- although, with this amputation,

(Mr. Ramphul, Mauritius)

peace can be dangerously precarious. Indeed, there seem to be preparations for a shooting-peace, just as the United Nations peace-keeping forces have been turned into a shooting-truce.

I have mentioned no names, but everyone here can fill in the omission. I shall mention no more examples of the visible and invisible symptoms of the climate-of-war makers; all members here can lengthen that list better than I.

What is my conclusion? That has been stated, in better terms than I could, in a major address two days ago at the inauguration of the Institute for East-West Security Studies in New York, when the Secretary-General spoke of "the increasingly dangerous situation in the Middle East", where he feared an impasse and a void which could have extremely damaging consequences for the area and beyond. And he added that, precisely for that reason, its problems must be viewed "in a global context".

The global context needs no belabouring. In that Pandora's box, we see already many wars in progress -- and many more in the making. Like isolated fires in a vast forest, they are rapidly spreading until, by a fusing regional continuity, they become the fire of a third world war -- and by this I do not mean a war of the third world but World War III.

For years the United Nations has clung to its one boastful credential: that the United Nations has, if nothing else, been able to head off a third world war. Now we must face up to the awesome realization that we can no longer rest on the euphoria of that claim. Now is the challenge; now is the time.

Here too the Secretary-General gives us a clue of where to begin, when, enlarging on the road to peace in the Middle East, he asserts that it involves a comprehensive dimension, "including the great Powers".

(Mr. Ramphul, Mauritius)

It is my off-the-cuff suggestion that the United Nations already has set a precedent for such a move - when it discussed and even implemented the concept of a summit Security Council when a world crisis warrants it.

I believe that we have reached the stage when such a high session is warranted. It can be a session without resolutions, without votes and without vetoes, and its simple agenda item should be "The Third World War".

It could begin even during this session without interfering with the Assembly's own agenda and resolution, with a simple separate resolution which could be drawn up by the President of the Assembly for submission to the regular forthcoming Assembly session, at which it could become an important ingredient of the general debate. Great dangers ask for special action.

Mr. ADJOYI (Togo) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, first of all I should like to express my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the resumed seventh emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly, on the question of Palestine. The competence and impartiality with which you have so admirably guided the work of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly and its ninth emergency special session, on the situation in the occupied Arab territories, are recalled by all here and are a sure guarantee of the success of our work.

I should also like to extend my delegation's congratulations to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, on the remarkable way in which he is coping with the crises that have convulsed the world since his election as head of the Secretariat of our Organization.

The Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement, meeting in an emergency ministerial session in Kuwait from 5 to 8 April 1982, adopted a final communiqué requesting, inter alia, that the Secretary-General reconvene the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, on the question of Palestine.

This resumption, which has been the subject of various controversies is necessary in view of the situation in Palestine and in the occupied Arab territories, which has constantly deteriorated because of Israel's many challenges to the international community.

(Mr. Adjovi, Togo)

With each Israeli challenge, my delegation has stated its position both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council. Thus we need not recall those challenges, especially since many of the delegations that have spoken before us in this debate have addressed them at length. I should, however, like to mention two recent facts.

First, concerning the indescribable grave sacrilege committed in the Al Aqsa Mosque of Jerusalem on Easter Day by the Israeli soldier Goodman, the Israeli Government has not assumed its responsibilities as an occupying Power, which impose on it the duty to ensure the security of the civilian population in the City of Jerusalem in accordance with the Fourth Geneva Convention, of 1949, relating to the protection of civilians in time of war. The Security Council owed it to itself to condemn that sacrilege and to reaffirm the applicability of that Convention to the City of Jerusalem.

The second recent fact is the bombing of Beirut by Israeli aircraft on 21 April 1982, which in my delegation's view was a further defiance by Israel of the international community. We strongly deplore this new escalation, which is pouring oil on the flames at a time when the Secretary-General of the United Nations has been requested to undertake new efforts to persuade all the parties concerned in the Middle East conflict to sit down at the negotiating table.

My delegation is convinced that a new general flare-up in the region can only give the Israeli Government reasons to continue its prolonged, illegal occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories it has occupied since 1967. In fact, the latest bombing of Beirut by Israel is intended to exacerbate tensions and passions in the region and to undermine the new peace efforts that the Secretary-General will undertake following the request made at the emergency ministerial session of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement that has just taken place in Kuwait. My delegation is pleased with the request made by the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement of the Secretary-General of the United Nations that he take appropriate steps as speedily as possible to establish contact with all the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East in order to find specific means to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement

(Mr. Adjayi, Togo)

likely to result in peace, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

This request for a new approach is likely to be a decisive turning-point in the Middle East conflict and an important step towards settlement of the conflict. In this respect my delegation would like to take this opportunity to reaffirm the measures that are in its view indispensable for the establishment of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East: first, the withdrawal of Israel from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories it has occupied since 1967; secondly, exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, including their right to self-determination and the creation of an independent sovereign State without foreign interference; and, thirdly, the right of all the States of the region, including Israel and the future Palestinian State, to live in peace within secure and recognized borders.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to quote the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Republic of Togo, who, at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, stated that:

"The Government of Togo has always acknowledged the correctness of the position of Israel in proclaiming its right to a homeland. But the Government of my country acknowledges this same right for others - in other words, for the Palestinians under the leadership of their sole and legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization". (A/36/PV.33, p. 36)

I would put it to all the parties to the conflict that reciprocal recognition of their rights is necessary if peace is to return to that region.

Mr. ALLAGANY (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): Sir, once again I have the pleasure of addressing the General Assembly under your presidency. A number of emergency special sessions have had to be convened under your presidency of the General Assembly, for it appears that Israel has chosen this particular session of the General Assembly to intensify its attacks on the Palestinian people, on occupied Palestine and on the Syrian Golan Heights. As usual, Israel has taken advantage of world events and the development of crises in other parts of the world and has proceeded to fulfil its ambitions for expansion, settlement, annexation and the confrontation of the entire world with accomplished facts. This conforms to Israel's familiar policy of opportunism and of the closing of avenues proposed by the international community for a fair and comprehensive peace that would guarantee peace and security in the Middle East.

The Arab Group requested a resumption of the seventh emergency special session following the defeat of the Jordanian draft resolution contained in document S/14943, dated 1 April 1982, in the Security Council because of the United States veto. The vetoed draft resolution merely denounced the measures taken by the Israeli occupation authorities, such as the dismissal of elected mayors, and called on Israel to rescind those measures. It reaffirmed that all the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, continue to apply to the occupied territories. The draft resolution also called upon Israel to cease forthwith all measures applied in the West Bank, including Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights, which contravene the provisions of the aforementioned Geneva Convention. In the preparation of this draft resolution, several reservations were borne in mind in order to facilitate its adoption by the Security Council and in the hope of avoiding the exercise of the veto by the United States.

(Mr. Allagany, Saudi Arabia)

Yet the draft resolution failed because of the veto. In justifying the exercise of the veto, Mr. Lichenstein, the representative of the United States, stated that the Security Council's primary role should have been to urge restraint on the parties to avoid any new outbreak of violence which could endanger international peace. Since Israel was the party that was guilty of excesses and of lack of restraint in its illegal actions, Mr. Lichenstein did not explain which other parties he was referring to. Were they the dismissed mayors, or the Government of Jordan, which complained to the Security Council? Mr. Lichenstein also stated that there was no provision in the Geneva Convention for the election of public officials, which Israel none the less permitted in 1972 and 1976, thereby kindly going beyond the requirements of the Convention. He then stated that in any event, article 54 of the Geneva Convention gives the occupying Power the unrestricted right to dismiss public officials, whether they be appointed or elected.

I regret to state that this justification is unconvincing and does not rely on an accurate interpretation of article 54 of the Fourth Geneva Convention. There was no reason to urge the Arab side, which is the victim of aggression and whose rights have been denied, to exercise restraint. Restraint was actually demonstrated in the resort to the Security Council and the General Assembly in accordance with the United Nations Charter. Every time the Arabs have resorted to the Security Council and the General Assembly since 1973, it has been to complain, to no avail, against repeated Israeli excesses and acts of aggression and the violation of the Charter, of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Each time, Israel - the aggressor - lacked restraint and resorted to violence, oppression, terror and opportunism for expansion and annexation. It is neither just nor fair to compare the Palestinians, who are suffering under illegal occupation and the horror and misery of naked colonialism, with the Israeli occupation forces, which are violating the provisions of the Charter and international law.

(Mr. Allagany, Saudi Arabia)

As regards article 54 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, that article clearly stipulates that the occupying Power may not alter the status of public officials or judges in the occupied territories, or in any way apply sanctions to or take any measures of coercion or discrimination against them, should they abstain from fulfilling their functions for reasons of conscience. It is true that the last part of article 54 allows for the removal of public officials, but this power is subject to the first part of the article, namely, that the occupying Power can only exercise such authority where it is not intended to coerce or discriminate against those officials when their abstention from fulfilling their functions is for reasons of conscience.

All the news from the West Bank indicated that the direct cause for the dismissal of Mr. Ibrahim Al-Tawil, the elected mayor of El Bireh, was his refusal to accede to an order from Mr. Menachem Milson, the civilian administrator, to appear before him. The Mayor refused to appear before Milson or to co-operate with him for a good reason, relating to his conscience - namely, that the appointment of a civilian Israeli administrator for the occupied Palestine territories was tantamount to a de facto annexation of such territories. The Mayor did not wish to recognize a civilian administration because the area, in his view, was subject to temporary military occupation. The Mayor had fully and realistically seen through the Israeli attempt.

He had sufficient courage to take a stand which was dictated by his conscience. This stand provoked the colonial and arrogant Menachem Milson, who considered it a challenge to him and to his authority, or used it as an excuse to implement his design and plan to get rid of the municipal councils, which included honest citizens in Nablus and Ramallah and other towns, and to replace them with corrupt elements which he could manipulate with the use of money, arms and power to implement his plan for the perpetuation of the occupation of the West Bank, or what Israel calls Judea and Samaria.

(Mr. Allagany, Saudi Arabia)

The leaders of Israel resort to strange and inconsistent excuses. They accuse the elected mayors of complicity with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and of acting on instructions from that organization; and, since the PLO does not recognize the Israeli occupation and its settlement policy, according to them, it is against Israel's existence and that of the Jewish people as a whole. This is very peculiar logic, for until these recent developments Israel alleged that the PLO had no base in the occupied territories and that it imposed its will on the Palestinian inhabitants through the use of terrorism.

We must therefore pose the following questions: Which party uses pressure and terrorism against the inhabitants of the occupied territories? Is it the dismissed mayors and members of their municipal councils? Is it the mayors of Hebron and Halhoul, who had been deported by Israel at an earlier stage? Is it the mayors of Nablus and Ramallah, who were mutilated by Israeli explosives, or the unarmed youngsters in the West Bank who took part in demonstrations in defiance of armed Israeli troops who killed and wounded scores of them, some of them not older than eight? Is it not obvious that Israel - its troops and Jewish settlers who are considered as part of the reserve army - is the party guilty of repression and terror against anyone who has any human dignity and opposes or objects to Israeli terrorist practices?

And who did Milson appoint as a replacement for Ibrahim Al-Tawil, Mayor of El Bireh, and Bassam Al-Shaka'a, Mayor of Nablus? He appointed three Israelis, two of them army officers. A dispatch from The New York Times correspondent in Israel included the following comments by Mr. Shmuel Toledano, an Arab affairs adviser in the former Labour Government:

"If Mr. Milson thinks that within a reasonable time there will be people ready to be mayors, he is deluding himself, and the delusion will be costly to us."

That was printed in The New York Times of 27 March 1982. Mr. Toledano stated further that Milson's policies were childish. This policy may be childish in regard

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to Israel, but in fact it is dangerous beyond imagination to the Palestinians whose life, whose future and whose country are at the mercy of persons like Begin, Sharon and Milson.

Mr. David Shipler, a New York Times correspondent, related in the issue of 27 March 1982 an incident which indicates the extent of Milson's arrogance and his complete contempt for the Palestinians and the Arabs in general. He reported that a Swedish correspondent Cordelia Edvardson, who had spent part of her life in Nazi concentration camps in Germany, had asked Milson about the change in Israel's interpretation of the 1976 municipal elections, which Israel had at that time described as "free elections". Milson stared at the correspondent for a while, and then asked her provocatively if she was a supporter of the PLO.

This is the style of the Zionist movement and Israel's leaders. They steal a country inhabited by Palestinians from time immemorial and then find it necessary to legitimize their theft. They mobilize all their forces and world resources to obtain recognition of the State of Israel, which was established on stolen land. They give an undertaking to the international community to pursue a policy of peace and to abide by all the provisions of the United Nations Charter and resolutions. As soon as they secure recognition for their State and before the ink dries, they refuse to abide by the first relevant General Assembly resolution - resolution 181 (II) - requiring Israel to permit the Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and to compensate those who choose not to return. Then the violation of United Nations resolutions becomes part of Israel's established policy.

That is not enough for Israel. It begins to direct constant insults and obscenities at this Organization and at the entire international community, accusing them of bias and betrayal of conscience. According to the views and statements of its leaders, anyone who disagrees with their point of view becomes anti-Semitic, and anyone who lends them blind support becomes a champion of democracy and humanity. The Jew who migrates to Israel from any part of the world becomes a legitimate owner of the country; and the Palestinian whose country has been usurped, who has been thrown out of it and who is subjected to terror, repression, assassination and genocide becomes a terrorist.

(Mr. Allagany, Saudi Arabia)

Israel's leaders do not hesitate to aim their terrorist propaganda at the rulers of countries who decide to follow the dictates of their conscience on the question of Palestine. They accuse them of anti-Semitism, or even of nazism and fascism. They do not realize that the measures taken by them against the Palestinians in the occupied territories do not at all differ from the measures attributed to the Nazi and Fascist systems. Of course, the Zionist leaders protest such comparisons, but they do not realize that free historians will not be deterred from recording this, irrespective of any exposure to temptation or intimidation.

The Zionists have saturated the world with their cries regarding their experiences in Germany and other Western countries; but they have closed their hearts and eyes to the savage terror that they have committed and continue to commit against a peaceful people which has done no harm to them and whose only offence is that it struggles against colonialism and oppression and demands its natural right to self-determination. Is it logical and human that the Jewish people should commemorate the thirty-ninth anniversary of the Warsaw uprising and not see or feel the justice of the Palestinian cause and the severe oppression to which it continues to be subjected?

This is the Israeli mentality and the Zionist logic. They rob the Palestinian people of the largest part of its country and make preparations for the next stage to rob it of what has been left of the country. They confiscate the land and establish settlements thereon, and then proceed to annex those lands to protect the settlements, to increase the number of Jewish settlers and to encourage more immigrants to Israel.

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They established settlements in the Syrian Golan Heights and followed that with its annexation to Israel. They are now following the same course with regard to the West Bank, which they are filling with settlements and with Jewish armed settlers. The New York Times of 28 March 1982 published a report from its correspondent David Shipler which included the following description:

"But even barring the formality, annexation is well under way. In fact, Jewish settlements, once just scattered hilltop clusters of house-trailers, are expanding rapidly into large townships of apartments and villas as growing numbers of Israelis invest their own money in houses and land. The settlers represent a broadening constituency that regards the area as an integral part of Israel. The point of no return may have already been passed".

Regarding the conduct of the settlers, Mr. Shipler reports that, riding through Arab villages at night, shooting into the air, smashing windows, vandalizing electric generators, even abducting teenagers who might or might not have thrown stones, these vigilantes have brought a frightening spirit of lawlessness to the West Bank. Some Palestinians think they are laying the groundwork for the expulsion of the Arabs or for the flight of the Arabs, as occurred in 1948.

In the latest campaign of terror launched by Israel in the West Bank it resorted to the dissolution of the municipal councils, the encouragement of certain criminal elements to set up different bodies called "village leagues" by Israel, and the supply to these persons of arms and lavish sums of money, reaching into the millions of dollars, to implement the Israeli plans. The Israeli newspaper the Jerusalem Post described the leaders of the village leagues as:

"some of the most discredited persons in the West Bank community, even before they agreed to collaborate with Israel, and their adjutants regular ruffians who ... commanded plain loathing".

Mr. Anthony Lewis wrote in The New York Times of 1 April 1982 that the establishment of village leagues reminds him of the methods used by the colonial Powers against

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fractious natives: "push aside the real political leaders and try to deal with backward rural elements". He cited as an example Ian Smith, who, as Prime Minister of Rhodesia, used to produce tribal chiefs as black representatives. Of course, Ian Smith failed, and the same thing will happen in the West Bank. Milson wants to destroy the leadership, which truly represents the Palestinian people, and replace them with persons who are willing to implement his instructions, thereby destroying all hopes of self-determination for the Palestinians.

The latest episode of Israeli conduct was most peculiar. The United Nations, in the present circumstances, seems unable to deter it from pursuing this horrifying course. As I said at the beginning of this statement, we still believe in peace, but the road which is followed by Israel is the surest way to an uncontrollable war that will drive the Middle East region to the precipice. The constant attacks in the West Bank, in Gaza and in the Syrian Golan Heights, and the campaign of terror launched by Israel on the land and its natural resources, on the legitimate population of the country and on the religious shrines, as well as Israel's contempt for Arab and Islamic society, not only are a provocation to Moslem and Christian Arabs and to the whole international community, but include all the necessary ingredients to push the world to certain war. Once more we urge the United Nations and leaders of all States - and particularly the States which are friendly to Israel - to see this danger which hangs over our heads. The rulers of Israel have lost their minds and their sensibilities. The only driving force leading the Zionists is their blind fanaticism and their faith that they are above all international laws. They have been encouraged by the unreserved support given to them by their friends.

(Mr. Allagany, Saudi Arabia)

In an interview with Mr. Bernard Nossiter of The New York Times on 15 April the Secretary-General of the United Nations was asked about the Falkland Islands crisis and the conflict between the United Kingdom and Argentina. He indicated, inter alia, that there was more reason for alarm over the tension in the Middle East and implied that at any moment there could be an explosive piece of news. Without minimizing the dangerous situation in the Falkland Islands, we fully share the Secretary-General's assessment, which we have been constantly reiterating - to no avail. This fear of an explosion in the Middle East derives from long experience and the long record of Israeli conduct, planning and political opportunism. The Secretary-General was not at all wrong in his apprehension, for while this emergency special session was in progress Israel launched savage air attacks on various locations in Lebanon, resulting, as usual, in death and injury to a large number of civilians. This, of course, is part of Israel's expansionist plans and its ambition to control southern Lebanon and the Litani River.

What is it that leads the Zionist movement and the leaders of Israel to believe that injustice and terror, practised by them against the Palestinians, will be forgotten as soon as Israel ceases to create new facts at the expense of what is left of Arab Palestine and at the expense of the Palestinian people? How can they justify their annual observance of the anniversary of Jewish rebellion in Poland - and this was the thirty-ninth anniversary - and expect the Palestinians to forget their country and their expulsion from it, the murder of thousands of them in Palestine and in the refugee camps in Lebanon and other locations, and the destruction of their homes over their heads in air raids or as a result of collective punishment executed despotically and on the basis of mere suspicion? We are fully aware of the Israeli disdain for the Arabs and their blind prejudice against them. This is the racism which drives them to indulge in and to justify these wild practices. But the Zionists and the leaders of Israel have overlooked a plain reality: namely, that the Palestinian who has struggled and sacrificed his life and the welfare of his family for 33 years becomes more convinced with every passing day that Israeli aggression is continuing against his homeland, his family and his places of worship. The life of the Israeli aggressor is not greater or more valuable than the life of the Palestinian or his human and national dignity.

(Mr. Allagany, Saudi Arabia)

We are not unaware of the fact that a number of Jews with awakened consciences are beginning to denounce the savage Israeli practices. Mr. Steve Einstein, in a letter published in The New York Times on 16 April 1982, asked the Jews of the United States how long they will stand by in silence as their brethren in Israel expropriate Palestinian land, censor newspapers, discard elected officials, imprison people without due process, and ignore the fact that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has captured the hearts and minds of the people. In a report by New York Times correspondent David Shipler passages are quoted from a statement by Mr. Haim Cohen, a former Justice of the Israeli Supreme Court who now heads the Israel Association for Civil Rights. Mr. Cohen said:

"When I hear these stories about identity cards /a reference to identity cards for the Druse inhabitants of the occupied Syrian Golan Heights/... I ask myself simply, are these Israelis? Are these the Israeli defense forces? Are these Israeli soldiers? Is this Israeli law they are imposing? It is the law of the barbarians."

(The New York Times, 19 April 1982, p. A2)

Once more we say to the international community that the Israeli practices constitute the greatest danger to the Middle East region. The unlimited support given to Israel by certain countries and the incapacity of the Security Council caused by the United States veto are the greatest factors contributing to this peculiar situation. We therefore urge the international community once more to restore to the United Nations its credibility in order to enable it to play the positive role for which it was established, and not to permit this Organization to become a tool in the hands of the Israelis, who misuse it and who threaten world peace without any deterrent. We firmly believe that Israel forfeited its eligibility for membership of the United Nations many years ago. We also believe that the vast majority of the international community is aware of this and is greatly worried by it. We submit that the time has come for Israel's membership to be suspended and for military and economic measures to be taken to prevent it from causing the destruction of world peace and, possibly, of mankind as a whole.

Mr. AL-ALI (Iraq)(interpretation from Arabic): The General Assembly began its seventh emergency special session in July 1980, after the Zionist occupation authority had committed the infamous crime of annexing the City of Jerusalem to its territory and declaring it to be its eternal capital. That crime violated and contravened all international law, norms and practices. It was also in complete contradiction with the very bases on which our international Organization was established.

The situation has further deteriorated. There is constant tension in occupied Palestine; it is so great that it threatens to explode, changing the Middle East into an area posing a threat to international peace and security.

This emergency special session has been resumed less than three months after the General Assembly considered the dangerous situation brought about by the Zionist entity's decision to annex the Syrian Golan Heights. That recent session was held after the Security Council had failed to impose the necessary measures against the Zionist entity - even though the Council had declared the decision illegal - as a result of the use by the United States of its veto in favour of Israeli aggression, thus protecting Israel from any sanctions being imposed against it.

This is the third time the Assembly has met in emergency special session to consider the dangerous situation in which the Palestinian Arab people live, and which has become explosive because of the escalating racist and oppressive methods used by the Zionist occupation authorities against the peoples of the occupied territories. Their policies have always been accompanied by brutal acts, aggression and repression, which always have and always will be the true nature of Zionist racism and of its aggressive expansionist trends.

Once the terrorist Begin Government had fully put into effect its decision to annex the City of Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights, it began a few weeks ago its preparations for forging another link in its chain of aggressive expansionism: it aims not only at preparing the ground for the annexation of the occupied West Bank and Gaza sector, but also at launching armed military aggression against southern Lebanon directed squarely at the heroic Palestinian resistance and at Palestinian refugee camps. In preparation

(Mr. Al-Ali, Iraq)

for that aggression, the Zionist entity has spread out a huge wave of terror across the occupied territories. Many Palestinians were thrown in gaol, and that was followed by the dismissal of legally elected mayors in retaliation for their determination and heroism and for their defiance of any method of violence or terrorism and of threats of murder or expulsion. The Zionist authorities began to create false "village leagues", to which only a small group of opportunistic mercenaries, who are rejected by and isolated from the people, belong. The Zionist entity also began to impose the civil administration law on the Palestinian people.

A few days after that a brutal crime was committed: the murder of innocent worshippers in Al Aqsa Mosque, its sanctity violated by a criminal Zionist gang which was merely following the orders of the gang leader, Menachem Begin. This worsened the already critical situation both inside and outside occupied Palestine. Demonstrations swept every part of Palestine. Women, old men and children took to the streets, defying the occupation authorities with their faith and belief and their determination to hold onto their right to live in freedom and dignity. They faced the bullets with sticks and stones. The demonstrations grew in size and number until they constituted a real revolution that swept every city in the occupied territories, whether under occupation since 1948 or since 1967.

What increased this feeling of anger and rebellion among the heroic Palestinian people was the fact that these crimes were committed coincidentally with the anniversaries of two historic events of which the heroic Palestinian people and the Arab nation are proud: the battle which took place on the banks of the Jordan River on 21 March 1967, and the Day of the Land, when, in 1976, the Palestinians in Upper Galilee defied a Zionist plan aimed at expelling them from their land in order to prepare it for the establishment of settlements by Zionists.

(Mr. Al-Ali, Iraq)

To those who do not remember, let us say that the brutal attack which was carried out against Al Aqsa Mosque and which resulted in the killing and wounding of dozens of innocent Palestinians was only another statistic to be added to the previous aggressions aimed at Islamic and Christian religious places of worship in the occupied territories.

Following 5 June 1967, the sacred Al Aqsa Mosque was subjected to arson by the Zionist Michael Rohan with the full knowledge of the Zionist authorities. In August 1976 the supreme Israeli rabbi entered the court of the mosque in his military uniform accompanied by a number of military officers of the enemy army and carried out a religious service which lasted for two hours. He announced that he had a plan to set up a temple in the court of the mosque. In August 1976 another Zionist repeated the attempt to set fire to the Dome of the Rock. The Zionist authorities also placed a veil of silence over the theft of the Crown of the Virgin in the Church of the Resurrection. In May 1980 a large number of explosives and weapons was discovered on the top of a Jewish temple, very close to the mosque - obviously intended to blow up Al Aqsa Mosque. On 9 April this year Zionist gangs, as affirmed by their publications, tried once again to blow up Al Aqsa Mosque by using a very powerful time bomb placed within the mosque, but the attempt failed because a guard at the mosque discovered the time bomb and it was subsequently dismantled and the destruction was thus avoided.

In spite of all that, the terrorist occupation authorities once again affirmed that they sponsored all those crimes. Sheikh Saddrudin Al-Alami, the Chairman of the Higher Islamic Council, informed the Minister of Police and the Liaison Officer for Religious Relations that the Islamic Council had received many letters threatening murder and aggression against Holy Places. Those letters were signed by the Gush Emunim movement and the Zionist guards of the temple. However, the occupation authorities took no measures whatsoever against them, and three days later we witnessed that brutal crime which was carried out by the head of that Zionist gang, Alan Goodman. After he had carried out his crime, the occupation authorities played a very obvious theatrical role and openly arrested the criminal - of course only temporarily. At the same time, they confronted the Palestinian civilians who came out and condemned that criminal action, firing at them and using other means of violence against them. As a result, many were killed and others were wounded.

(Mr. Al-Ali, Iraq)

That popular uprising in the occupied territories and the complete strike which followed had many repercussions at the Arab and international levels. As a result, several facts emerged which without doubt will have a deep and positive effect on the future of the Palestinian and Arab struggle. The most important of those facts, in our opinion, are the following.

First, the Zionist occupation, in spite of the passing of 34 years of Zionist presence in occupied Palestine, has only been an interim period in the history of the Palestinian people; it will pass as a result of the struggle, determination and sacrifice which characterize that heroic people, however long it may take. Arab feelings in the occupied territories increase each day and Palestinian land will never be anything but Arab land. Young people, women and the elderly who have lived through and witnessed the occupation nightmare repeat their slogan - even when confronted by the Zionist forces, their bullets and the hatred of their gangs - that Palestine has always been Arab and will continue to be Arab.

Secondly, for those who have lived under that occupation nightmare and who have suffered from its oppression, Israel has not become an entity to which they are obliged to submit. In fact, without hesitation and without fear they are determined to reject it. They will not deal with it and they will not accept its perpetuation. They will not end their resistance or activity against it until they overcome it.

Thirdly, occupied Palestine, in spite of the attempts at demographic, economic and cultural change at the hands of the Zionist invaders and the fact that it has been subjected to the Zionist settler invasion of its territories as well as the most dangerous plans of occupation and judaization, will nevertheless remain Arab, as regards its people and its land.

Fourthly, there is the failure of the capitulation policies and attempts to encircle the Palestinian people by imposing suspect projects with high-sounding names. The only solution acceptable to the Palestinian people is that of total liberation.

If we bear in mind these basic facts and effects which emerge from that popular uprising, we find that it has seriously weakened security and stability within the Zionist entity and has shaken it, until it has become necessary for it to find relief from its internal embarrassment. For instance, the assassination of

(Mr. Al-Ali, Iraq)

a Zionist diplomat in Paris was used as a pretext to announce that the cease-fire agreement with the Palestinian resistance in southern Lebanon had become null and void. We have no doubt that it was the Zionist intelligence agencies that killed him. Thus, the Zionist enemy is preparing to strike at the resistance in southern Lebanon by destroying the bases of the resistance. But its people and its elements in the occupied territories will continue heroically to confront the Zionist enemy.

In that manner, the Zionists can achieve two aims at one time: first, they can limit the escalation of the military power of the Palestinian resistance in southern Lebanon, and secondly, they can find some relief from the internal pressure that has built up after the Arab upsurge and uprising in the occupied territories. In addition, this is also a trial balloon with respect to the Camp David accord. But there is every indication that that accord has died with the conclusion of the Zionist withdrawal from Sinai, and with the murder of Sadat and the revelation of the failure of the capitulationist policy, which has brought to the sister State of Egypt isolation and weakness against Zionist power.

(Mr. Al-Ali, Iraq)

In its adoption of this policy of expansion, aggression, its refusal to abide by the United Nations Charter, its terrorization and repression of the Palestinian Arab in the occupied territories and its determination to continue its occupation of Arab territories, Israel exacerbates the explosive situation in the Middle East daily, thus threatening international peace and security.

The Security Council - more than once - was ready to take a decisive decision returning right to its real owners, in accordance with the United Nations Charter. But the veto was misused by a major Power, which continues falsely to allege that it is defending peace and freedom in the world. That country is the United States of America. American continuous bias in favour of the Zionist enemy and against Arab right has always been and continues to be the basic reason for Israeli intransigence and contempt for the resolutions of this international Organization. The unlimited support received by the Zionist enemy from the United States of America in the military, economic and technical fields, the support for its expansionist and aggressive policies which it finds within and outside the United Nations, the strategic agreement between the Zionist enemy and the United States of America - all that leads us to take the view that the United States is in fact the main enemy of the Arab nation. The Zionist entity is simply a willing tool of American imperialism, which aims at destroying the Arab national liberation movement in general and the Palestine national struggle in particular.

This Assembly must assume its responsibilities for the protection of international peace and security through serious action to guarantee the national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to their homeland, the right to self-determination and the right to establish their own independent State on their national territory, in keeping with the relevant resolutions of this international Organization and in response to the logic of right and justice.

(Mr. Al-Ali, Iraq)

If Israel considers that the unlimited support and assistance it receives from the United States of America is sufficient reason for it to continue its flagrant defiance of the international will and its non-compliance with all international resolutions asking for recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian, and also to continue threatening the States of the region with aggression and occupation, it will be sadly disillusioned. For the era of power is about to pass, the era of aggression, imperialism, expansion at the expense of others is ebbing, and in its place we shall find the era of freedom, sovereignty and independence. Ample examples of that are what has happened in Viet Nam, Cuba, Iraq, Nicaragua, Angola and other countries.

The time has come for the international community to carry out its historic responsibility of guaranteeing justice, peace and security, and to make the necessary efforts to force the Zionist enemy to withdraw from all the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories and abide by the United Nations Charter and to commit itself to implement General Assembly resolutions and respect international laws and agreements.

If the enemy does not respond to this logic of right and justice and if it continues contemptuously to apply its policy of expansion, aggression and annexation, the international community and this international Organization in particular should impose the necessary sanctions to protect international legitimacy and strengthen and enhance the faith of peoples in this Organization by guaranteeing the application of the Charter.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.