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Seventh emergency special session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE NINETEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Monday, 26 April 1982, at 3 p.m.

<u>President:</u>	Ms. GONTHIER (Vice-President)	(Seychelles)
later:	Mr. LEGWAILA (Vice-President)	(Botswana)
later:	Mr. THUMBORG (Vice-President)	(Sweden)

- Question of Palestine /5/ (continued)
- Programme of work

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

AGENDA ITEM 5 (continued)

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

Mr. SALLAM (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): Just a few days ago the United States of America once again abused the right of veto, as is customary when the question of Palestine is considered in the Security Council. Despite the insistence of the United States of America that no reference be made in the draft resolution to Israel's responsibility for the unfortunate act perpetrated by an Israeli soldier -- who is also an American citizen -- in desecrating Al Harim Al Sharif and murdering innocent worshippers in the Al Aqsa Mosque, and despite the fact that some members of the United States delegation requested certain Security Council members to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution, we were surprised to see the Government of the United States of America deliberately and wilfully vetoing the draft resolution.

We learnt afterwards that the United States of America would have vetoed any draft resolution submitted to the Security Council on the question of Palestine before Israel's scheduled withdrawal from the last third of Sinai, even if that draft resolution was in agreement with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Sallam, Yemen)

It seems that the United States would like to make it clear to the entire world that it is absolutely determined to fulfil its commitments vis-à-vis the Camp David accords, even if those commitments do not bring about any just peace. May Israel enjoy this loyal ally that is ready even to sacrifice its reputation and interests for the sake of a Zionist gang that is unaware of its true size and that disregards its reputation and the interests of its people.

Is it in the interests of the United States to be hostile to 900 million people throughout the world? Is it in the interests of the United States to stand by the rulers of Israel even if they are wrong? The peoples of the Middle East wish to live in peace, to apply themselves to the development of the resources of their land, in order that the majority of them may enjoy prosperity. However, Israel, which was created by the United Nations, was brought up and raised by the United States in the midst of those peoples in order to be a thorn planted in the heart of the Arab world - in order to insult it, intimidate it, threaten it and destabilize it, as well as to immobilize its economic development plans.

As a result of its action, the United States of America will reap nothing but what it has sown. Israel has dismembered the Middle East completely through the creation of hostilities and by sowing the seeds of dissent among the nations of the world. It has disseminated false rumours and allied itself with one brother, pitting him against his fellow brothers and pitting neighbour against neighbour, as if it were Satan incarnate.

The United States, as a super-Power and a Permanent Member of the Security Council, has grave responsibilities: it must endeavour to establish its policies in the Middle East on the principles of justice and equality; it must bridge the gap separating the parties concerned in the Middle East in order to further the attainment of a just and comprehensive peace, instead of setting one party against another and instead of arming one party in order to control and dominate the other; instead of inflaming passions among the parties and beating the drums of war.

(Mr. Sallam, Yemen)

If as it claims, the United States is truly desirous of establishing a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, it behoves it, first, to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, or to initiate a dialogue with the leaders of that organization, without prior recognition - that is the least to be expected. Any dialogue that is opened between the United States and the PLO will dissipate the accumulated clouds and false, illusory doubts and promote constant progress towards laying the foundations of peace on a just and positive basis, rather than on the basis of an unfair and unbalanced resolution of the Security Council - 242 (1967) - which has been misinterpreted more than once by the representative of the United States in regard to its provision on the refugee problem. As she is fully aware, that resolution in no way refers to the established inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. As she is also fully aware, Israel interprets operative paragraph 2 (b) of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) - which stipulates "For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem" - as a settlement not only for the Palestinian refugees, but also for the Jewish refugees who have immigrated to Israel from certain Arab countries.

The representative of the United States mentioned that her Government believes that peace:

(spoke in English)

"... can be achieved only through respect, reason and compromise".

(A/ES-7/PV.17, p. 7)

(continued in Arabic)

The delegation of Yemen is in favour of having recourse to those principles in order to reach a just and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East, but is the path of Camp David the sine qua non for implementation of such principles?

My delegation maintains that the path of Camp David has not achieved a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East: rather, it has created a temporary, and waning, peace between Egypt and Israel alone. This "peace" is about to collapse, any day now, because it ignores the core of the Middle East conflict: the problem of the Palestinians and of Palestine. The deployment of forces from

(Mr. Sallam, Yemen)

the United States, the United Kingdom, France and other countries, or of a so-called multinational force, on the Egyptian border in Sinai cannot solve the core of the problem but has further complicated and increased Israel's isolation by putting it in these new iron shackles. Israel's hope to conclude treaties with its Arab neighbours patterned after Camp David will not be realized, because the Arab peoples have learnt, through the proud people of Egypt, which underwent this bitter and painful experience, and which displayed the utmost patience in its ordeal, the reality of the irresponsibility of the American-Israeli design - clear to all peoples of the world - of forcibly winning recognition of Israel by its Arab neighbours without solving the core of the Middle East conflict: the Palestinian question. The international community, including the United States, is well aware that the PLO is a full-fledged member of the Arab League.

(Mr. Sallam, Yemen)

My country further considers the representative of the PLO in Sana to be the ambassador of the State of Palestine, and he enjoys full diplomatic privileges and immunities in the Yemen Arab Republic.

The international community, including the United States of America, is also fully aware that the Arab summit conference held in 1974 at Rabat decided on 29 October of that year that the PLO is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The General Assembly, at its twenty-ninth session, adopted resolution 3236 (XXIX) on 22 November 1974, which affirmed that the established national rights of the Palestinian people are inalienable, especially its rights to self-determination, independence, sovereignty over its territory and return to homes and property. At the same session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 3237 (XXIX), also on 22 November 1974, in which it granted to the PLO observer status in the international Organization and invited it to participate in all the work of the international conferences convened under the auspices of the United Nations.

The United States of America itself has recognized the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, in the Soviet-American joint statement on the Middle East issued on 1 October 1977. That statement said, inter alia, (spoke in English)

"The United States and the Soviet Union believe that, within the framework of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem, all specific questions of the settlement should be resolved, including such key issues as withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the 1967 conflict; and the resolution of the Palestinian question, including insuring the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people ..."

(continued in Arabic)

On the basis of that statement, the United States, no matter how much it may attempt to ignore the existence of the Palestinian people, who number 4 million, or to ignore the existence of the PLO, the sole authentic representative of that determined and steadfast people, cannot do so in the final analysis. The attempts of the United States of America to close its eyes to the very existence of the PLO, and to persuade the world community to accept its fallacious policies based on what it claims to be the establishment of peace in the Middle East through the implementation of agreements similar to the Camp David agreement are all doomed to failure: they can never achieve a just, comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

(Mr. Sallam, Yemen)

Therefore, it is useless to put pressure on the countries of the region to make them sign agreements similar to the Camp David agreement. For no Arab or Islamic country has the right to speak for the Palestinian people or to engage in any dialogue on their behalf. Only the Palestinians may speak on their own behalf, through the leaders of the PLO, the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people.

We are tired of hearing long, trite statements devoid of goodwill and constructive ideas. Today, the world is awaiting a new peace initiative outside this Organization, which has failed, and will fail in the future, in its attempts to solve the long-standing dispute in the Middle East. That failure is a result of the bias of United States policy towards Israel.

Looking objectively at the peoples of the Arab nation, and at the Palestinian and the Jewish peoples, anyone can see that those peoples are tired of war and desire peace. They wish to live side by side in permanent peace, as they lived in the olden times in security and well-being.

My delegation therefore appeals to the international community - and primarily to the leaders of the super-Powers - to bridge the gap between the Palestinian and the Jewish viewpoints so that a comprehensive and just peace may be established in the Middle East.

Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai was completed yesterday. The Swedish Government welcomes that historic achievement, and congratulates Egypt and Israel on having established normal and friendly relations. The Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai stands out as proof that accommodation and peace in the region need not be forever unattainable. For the first time in history there exists today a recognized international border between Israel and one of its neighbours. It illustrates the fact that the difficulties caused by decades of hostility and distrust can be overcome by peaceful negotiations once the political will is at hand.

This positive development has not, however, eased tension around remaining problems at the root of the Middle East conflict. On the contrary, developments elsewhere in the region give increasing cause for alarm. The massive violation of the cease-fire in southern Lebanon that was carried out by Israel on 21 April,

resulting in death and destruction, must be condemned. Israeli sources are quoted as having pointed to Israeli casualties suffered in southern Lebanon as one of the violations of the cease-fire that had triggered the Israeli raids. Casualties suffered by Israeli soldiers who have crossed the border into Lebanon cannot be construed as a violation of the cease-fire and cannot be accepted as a pretext for air strikes against that very country.

My Government urgently appeals to all parties to exercise the maximum restraint and avoid further violations in southern Lebanon, so that the cease-fire can be fully restored and maintained.

My Government has also noted with grave concern the series of disturbing developments in the occupied territories. We deplore the dismissal by the Israeli occupation authorities of the Mayor and Municipal Council of El Bireh and of the Mayors of Nablus and Ramallah. Those measures have only served to provoke strong reactions from the Arab population. The violence and loss of life that followed the Israeli actions cannot have come as a surprise to the Israeli authorities. The occupying Power carries a major responsibility, and should act immediately to rescind its decisions concerning the elected officials. To replace democratically elected leaders in the occupied territories with others for political reasons is reprehensible.\*

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\* Mr. Legwaila (Botswana), Vice-President, took the Chair.



(Mr. Thunborg, Sweden)

No progress seems to have been made in the central issue of the conflict, namely, the future of the Palestinian people and of the remaining occupied territories. In our view, a final peace settlement can be reached only in negotiations between the parties concerned. Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) must face one another at the negotiating table. The PLO must recognize Israel's right to exist within secure and recognized borders. Israel, on the other hand, must recognize the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right, should they so wish, to establish an independent State. Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), supplemented with the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinians, contain the basic elements in any just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict.

In conclusion, I wish to refer to suggestions put forward at this session that would call into question Israel's standing in the Organization. My Government is firmly opposed to any efforts aimed at excluding Israel from full participation in the work of the United Nations. Furthermore, the universality of this Organization is one of its most important assets. The proposed review by the General Assembly of Israel's status in the Organization appears to be an attempt to move towards exclusion of Israel through a procedure other than that foreseen by the Charter. For those reasons, my Government strongly opposes the proposed review. We believe that action by the General Assembly to exclude Israel would be extremely harmful to the United Nations, since the Organization would then be taking a step towards abdicating its role as a universal forum and would be losing some of its moral authority to act in the interest of peace in the Middle East and elsewhere.

(Mr. ELFAKI (Sudan) (interpretation from Arabic): The seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly resumes its proceedings against a backdrop of grave developments in the area of the Middle East which certainly disrupt the security and safety of the peoples and States of the area and threaten peace and security in the world. Between the suspension of the seventh emergency special session in July 1980, and its resumption on 20 April 1982, a series of grave developments has taken place, represented by the aggressive Israeli practices both within and outside the occupied Arab

territories against the Arab nation in its entirety and against the inalienable Palestinian rights in particular. During the interval between the suspension of the seventh emergency special session and its resumption, Israel has, with impunity and in complete disregard of international law, the Charter of the United Nations and other treaties that regulate relations among States and peoples, annexed the eastern part of Jerusalem and bombed the nuclear reactor in Iraq, thus arrogating to itself the licence to violate Arab air space and to kill innocent citizens in Lebanon. Hundreds of people there have become victims of shooting, which could only be described as wanton, on the part of Israel. Israel has also dismissed the elected mayors of El Bireh, Nablus and Ramallah and inflicted draconian measures there. It has annexed the Syrian Golan Heights in pursuance of its policy aimed at changing the demographic character of the occupied territory and at defacing its Arab identity and forcing its original inhabitants to leave.

Israel's activities did not stop at that, but went so far as to desecrate the sanctity of Al Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. Recently its aircraft bombed Beirut and the adjacent villages and inflicted death and destruction on the innocent Palestinians in those areas.

All those developments demonstrate the following established facts. First, Israel is persisting in its aggressive and expansionist policy and refuses to abide by the Charter of the United Nations and to implement the relevant resolutions of this Organization since they are incompatible with Israel's expansionist policies and aggressive practices which aim at achieving the strategic objective of building an illusory State with no definite borders. Secondly, by pursuing its aggressive policies and refusing to comply with the Charter and United Nations resolutions as well as international law and treaties and by persisting in its occupation of Arab territories and threatening Arab citizens - their existence, their territory and the permanence of their property, their traditions and places of worship - Israel is pushing the whole area of the Middle East gradually towards the brink of conflagration and thereby threatening peace and security not only in the Middle East but throughout the world.

(Mr. Elfaki, Sudan)

Thirdly, the failure of the Security Council to discharge its responsibilities as set forth in the Charter to maintain international peace and security makes it incumbent upon the General Assembly, in accordance with Article 10 of the Charter and General Assembly resolution 377 (V), to assume its responsibilities in the maintenance of international peace and security and to bring about respect for the Charter and the implementation of United Nations resolutions.

Sudan believes that the General Assembly, in assuming its responsibilities today for the maintenance of international peace and security, should reaffirm the following. First, no comprehensive, just and lasting peace can be established in the Middle East in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions of the Organization without the full and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab and Palestinian occupied territories, including Al Quds Al Sharif, and there can be no peace without a just solution to the Palestinian problem on the basis of the restoration to the Palestinian people of all their inalienable rights.

Secondly, the General Assembly must reaffirm the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and property in Palestine, from which they were displaced, and their right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent and sovereign State on their territory.

Thirdly, the General Assembly should once again reaffirm the right of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, to participate on an equal footing in all efforts, deliberations and conferences concerned with the Palestinian question and the situation in the Middle East within the framework of the United Nations.

Fourthly, the General Assembly should reaffirm that all the provisions of the Hague Convention of 1907 and the Fourth Geneva Conference relative to the Protection of Civilians in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, apply to all the occupied Arab territories and that all the parties to those Conventions must respect the obligations set forth therein.

(Mr. Elfaki, Sudan)

Fifthly, the General Assembly at this session must adopt and impose on Israel all the stringent sanctions within the framework of the Charter and reaffirm that Israel's record and measures, as well as its continuous violations of the United Nations Charter and international law and its aggressive response to all United Nations efforts and resolutions confirm that Israel is not a peace-loving State and that it is not fulfilling its obligations under the Charter or those contained in General Assembly resolution 273 (III), adopted on 11 May 1949.

In conclusion, we wish to point out that all eyes are focussed today on the area that for three decades now has been torn by Israeli aggression, occupation and torture, and on the General Assembly during this emergency special session. Everyone is calling upon the General Assembly to take every possible suitable and effective measure to oblige Israel to respect the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law and human norms.

Mr. YANGO (Philippines): On 25 July 1980 - almost two years ago - His Excellency Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, delivered the policy statement of my delegation before the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly. In accordance with the Philippine position of principle on the question of Palestine, my delegation gave its whole-hearted support to resolution ES-7/2, which, inter alia, reaffirmed the inalienable rights in Palestine of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination, without external interference, and the right to national independence and to the establishment of its own independent sovereign State.

The Philippine delegation has requested to be allowed to speak on this important item today because of our profound and grave concern over recent developments that have unfolded in the Middle East, which hamper the advancement of our collective search for a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the area. The outbursts of violence in the occupied Arab territories of the West Bank and the acts of sacrilege against the Holy Places in Jerusalem, which are revered and venerated

(Mr. Yango, Philippines)

in the hearts and souls of three great monotheistic faiths, have claimed the lives of so many innocent people. Only a few days ago the Israeli air force struck at Lebanese villages south of Beirut. Both sides claim that they have been provoked by the other. Be that as it may, we should now more than ever be apprehensive that these types of incidents could result in a catastrophic explosion in the region and escalate into widespread war.

The fragile atmosphere of peace that has reigned in the region for the last nine months is in serious danger of being swept away by these violent incidents, with ominous consequences for international peace and security. Every effort must now be made to restore and maintain the cease-fire so painfully achieved between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

For those reasons, my delegation views as most timely the resumption of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly to consider anew the question of Palestine, which is at the core of the Middle East problem.

The Philippine delegation joins the Secretary-General in calling upon the parties concerned to exercise the utmost restraint during this extremely dangerous period and, at the same time, we urge them not to resort to the use of armed force but to settle their differences through peaceful means. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that our deliberations will result in meaningful efforts for the achievement of a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to the long-festering problem of the Middle East.

It is my delegation's view that the present trend of events in the Sinai should give us some measure of hope and encouragement. The full withdrawal of Israel which took place yesterday - 25 April - should be recognized as a milestone in paving the way for the quest for a comprehensive peace. We should be pleased to give credit to Israel and Egypt for the agreement they have achieved in the Sinai. It is a point of departure for possible peaceful agreements in other areas of that troubled region.

The Philippine position on the question of Palestine has time and again been amply enunciated and defined on numerous instances in this forum and in the Security Council when we were one of its non-permanent members from 1980 to 1981, as well as in other international forums. I should like briefly to summarize it this afternoon:

(Mr. Yango, Philippines)

First, the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem;

Secondly, the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish its own independent State;

Thirdly, the full implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973);

Fourthly, a special international régime for the city of Jerusalem, as called for in General Assembly resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III);

Fifthly, the participation of the PLO, the representative of the Palestine people, on an equal footing, in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East within the framework of the United Nations; and

Sixthly, negotiations for peace among the parties concerned.

In keeping with these basic principles, the Philippines has lent its firm and unflagging support to all constructive and positive moves to solve the question of Palestine. It is regrettable that fresh causes have been added to compound the gravity of the situation.

Instead of withdrawing from the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, the Israeli Government has been perpetuating its presence in these territories by establishing settlements and it has also annexed East Jerusalem and, most recently, the Syrian Golan Heights. These unilateral measures and actions taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition and institutional structure or status of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, have not been recognized by the international community and they have been denounced as illegal. Moreover, Israel's policy of settling parts of its population and new immigrants in these territories runs counter to the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. The recent disturbances in the West Bank are to a considerable extent attributable to Israel's policy of occupation.

(Mr. Yango, Philippines)

It has been the consistent view of my delegation, and it is shared by many others, that should Israel withdraw from the Arab and Palestinian territories it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, the prospects of peace in the region would be greatly enhanced. At the same time, however, we must recognize the realities in the Middle East. Israel's continuing intransigence is a direct effect of its concern over its safety. Israel's right to exist within secure and recognized boundaries within the terms of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) must also be given adequate consideration and must be recognized.

The Philippines has closely examined the evolution of this problem ever since it was first discussed in the United Nations. We have not spared any effort to achieve our common goal, that is, to bring a just, comprehensive and lasting peace to the region.

It has become increasingly evident to us that - and this we strongly believe - a solution to this problem is within the realm of reality and that it is possible without resorting to the threat or use of armed force. The Philippines believes that it is vitally important that both Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestine people, be involved in any peace process. Each of them must recognize the other's right to exist in the region. This process of mutual recognition built on mutual trust and confidence will enable them to resolve their differences and learn to live in peaceful coexistence.

The path to peaceful negotiations among the parties concerned has been clearly set out and identified in numerous resolutions of the United Nations, in particular Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). This assemblage of nations which represents humankind has the opportunity to make a momentous contribution to the advancement of world peace and understanding together with the parties concerned. I therefore appeal to the parties concerned to display the necessary political courage and to co-operate with us in this historic endeavour for their own good. It is in the light of those considerations that my delegation will consider and act on any draft resolution that may be presented to this Assembly.

(Mr. Yango, Philippines)

Sir, please convey to His Excellency Mr. Ismat Kittani my delegation's great pleasure at seeing him presiding over this resumed seventh emergency special session. His task is enormous and his responsibility great, but, given his proven wisdom and patience, it is the fervent hope of my delegation that he will lead this session to a positive conclusion.

Mr. MARTINI URDANETA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish):

In view of the unstable, tense situation in the world today, Member States of the Organization are meeting again in this forum to resume the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly in order to continue considering the question of Palestine.

The reason for these meetings is not just a matter of form, nor is it a coincidence; quite the contrary, the Assembly is meeting because of the regrettable situation of constant violence that persists in that important area of the Middle East.

In view of recent events which daily affect international peace and security in that area, the United Nations has spared no effort to see that Israel abides by the purposes and principles of the Charter of this Organization and by the various Security Council and General Assembly resolutions designed to eliminate every act of hostility. At the same time, the international community has repeatedly stressed the importance of finding appropriate ways to bring about a negotiated, peaceful solution to the question of Palestine, which to our mind cannot be attained without recognition of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the people of Palestine.

The delegation of Venezuela, consistent with the ideals that gave rise to this Organization, is taking part in this debate in order to reaffirm its conviction that any act entered upon unilaterally without assessing the whole set of problems of the region will render more distant a just and comprehensive solution of the situation in that vitally important area.

Venezuela does not deem it fit to involve in this matter interests alien to the countries and peoples of the Middle East because that would hamper progress towards a permanent peace, and the latent instability of the region would be considerably increased.



(Mr. Martini Urdaneta, Venezuela)

Venezuela reiterates its clear conviction that in order to overcome the problems we must base ourselves on the following fundamental principles: the right to existence of every State in the area; the right of every State to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; the unacceptability of the acquisition of territory by war; the cessation of the policy of occupation; withdrawal from the territories occupied by Israel in 1967.

Of course, as we said at the outset, the legitimate and inalienable rights of the people of Palestine must be recognized.

Because of that position Venezuela has firmly supported the various resolutions on this subject that have been adopted by the Organization, such as Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973); and General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) and resolutions ES-7/2 and ES-7/3, adopted at the first part of this emergency special session. More recently, Venezuela has also supported General Assembly resolutions and Security Council resolution 497 (1981), whereby it was made clear that Israel's annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights lacks any legal validity.

(Mr. Martini Urdaneta, Venezuela)

With regard to recent events in the region, Venezuela wishes to express its deepest rejection of and sorrow at the sacrilegious acts carried out against the faithful at worship in the Dome of the Rock and in the Al Aqsa Mosque.

Similarly, we condemn recent attacks carried out by the Israeli air force in southern Lebanon and north-east of Sidon, which left dozens of dead and wounded, and acts of violence in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip carried out by the Israeli police authorities.

In closing, we express our conviction that a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East will be possible only if conditions for dialogue are created as the express manifestation of the political will of the parties involved and through the effective application of the machinery available to the international community. To our mind, the recent events in the region in no way favour the establishment of such conditions for peace, which we are sure is the aspiration of the peoples of the Middle East.

Mr. MRANI ZENTAR (Morocco) (interpretation from French): The United Nations, together with its principal bodies, the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as its subsidiary bodies, has never throughout its history accorded so much anxious attention nor devoted so much of its precious time to a single question of national liberation as it has done and continues to do in the matter of the question of Palestine.

One should certainly not conclude that, since habit blunts the senses, the avalanche of recrimination against Israel will soon tire international opinion.

For Israeli aggression against the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine has meant, for the aggressor, on the one hand expansionist action against the neighbouring Arab States, part of whose territories are today still captive as a result of despicable haggling and, on the other hand,

(Mr. Mrani Zentar, Morocco)

an attempt to pervert or eliminate all the symbols and all the Arab features of the Palestinian territories, particularly against the Islamic and Christian Holy Places, embarrassing witnesses to the validity of the rights and the depth of the roots of the original inhabitants of Palestine.

Such behaviour continues to stir up throughout the world justified emotion and revulsion, to such an extent that international peace and security are each day brought closer to the edge of the precipice.

In recent years there has been a catastrophic acceleration of the process established by Israel to realize its colonialist and expansionist goals in Palestine and throughout the region.

The occupation of Arab territories after the six-day war of 1967 was the avowed point of departure for the implementation of the Zionist dream of greater Israel, to the detriment of the Palestinian people, first of all, but also at the expense of the neighbouring Arab countries.

A rapid overview of the grave events which have beset the region since that time is highly instructive: The attempt to set fire to the Al Aqsa Mosque in 1969 by an Israeli, already described then as mentally deranged, eloquently illustrated the avowed intent of Israel to destroy the Islamic Holy Places of Jerusalem in the vain hope of finding or restoring hypothetical Jewish historical vestiges.

More recently, the declaration of Jerusalem as the united and eternal capital of Israel gave rise to such feelings throughout the world that the Security Council unanimously considered it to be null and void and demanded its immediate rescission.

The wanton aggression against the Iraqi peaceful nuclear reactor in Tammuz was, for the entire international community, action that should be, and indeed was, condemned, in that it tended quite simply to prevent an Arab country from gaining access to peaceful modern technology - access which is the duty and right of all responsible and independent countries which, like Iraq, have given proof of their devotion to the United Nations and the principles of the Charter.

(Mr. Mrani Zentar, Morocco)

The recent legislative measures taken to annex the occupied Syrian Golan Heights were, in their turn, unanimously rejected by the international community by application of the basic principle of the non-acquisition of territories by force and the need to respect the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention in the occupied territories.

The beginning of 1982 was marked by a new episode in the implementation of the Israeli plan purely and simply to annex the occupied Palestinian territories - the dissolution of the municipal councils and the dismissal of the elected mayors of El Bireh, Ramallah and Nablus and their replacement by Israeli civilian and military officials, as a stage in definitively restoring those territories to Israeli sovereignty.

The specific threats to the security and territorial integrity of fraternal Lebanon were and still are so real that the question facing the United Nations and foreign ministries is no longer one of possibility, but relates solely to their date and extent, and the wishes expressed no longer are addressed to the Israeli aggressor to renounce its acts of aggression, but to the Lebanese and Palestinian victims to arm themselves with patience, self-control and sacrifice. Finally, there was Easter Sunday, 11 April, when at least one armed Israeli soldier in uniform entered, in the full view of his colleagues, the Holy Mosque of Omar in Jerusalem to sow terror and death and cynically to desecrate the Holy Place of Islam, venerated by all.

That bloody and profane action perpetrated in Jerusalem against an Islamic Holy Place belonging to our most sacred religious patrimony is neither an isolated act nor a chance occurrence. And it is that which makes it so serious. For, since the Israeli occupation of Arab Palestine and the Holy City of Jerusalem, an insistent campaign has been maintained by archaic religious movements, whose influence extends to the spheres of power, with the twofold aim of eliminating the Arab-Islamic features of Al Quds and of bringing about the departure of Arab populations deeply rooted in the Holy City and in the country for more than a millenium.

(Mr. Mrani Zentar, Morocco)

Those attempts caused such resentment throughout the Islamic world that the Moslem community began to close its ranks in order to organize the defence of its common values and to promote an action of greater solidarity to benefit international harmony and peace. I am talking about the creation of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Al Quds Committee, which is the direct outgrowth of that.

The Al Quds Committee, presided over by His Majesty King Hassan II, undertook a remarkable task of bringing about rapprochement and understanding between the Islamic community and other communities, with the explicit aim of making a positive contribution towards building a world of tolerance, peace and human fraternity.

The Holy City of Jerusalem and the cause of the Palestinian people offered a very propitious occasion to manifest international solidarity and common feelings of justice and fairness for peoples which have been oppressed or whose religious interests or feelings of piety have been jeopardized.

(Mr. Mrani Zentar, Morocco)

It is in that context, at a time when the Islamic community, which represents almost a quarter of humanity, was demonstrating such devotion to the most reliable human values and a willingness to co-operate to protect and promote them, that Israeli behaviour both against the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and in the occupied Arab territories, and particularly against the Islamic Holy Places of Jerusalem, constitutes a series of the most intolerable and most irresponsible provocations against that action for peace and concord in one of the most sensitive regions of the world.

I do not want to miss this opportunity to commend the tireless and very laudable efforts of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People on behalf of that fraternal people, and in particular the efforts of its Chairman, Ambassador Sarre of Senegal, to which we owe the convening of this special session that has brought us together today.

In the face of this unrestrained behaviour, supported by extravagant Israeli and non-Israeli financial and military means, the Palestinian people has been fiercely resisting, even shedding the blood of its children and youth, armed with only stones perhaps but also animated by infinite courage and determination. This tenacious struggle by the Palestinian people which has gone on for decades under the guidance of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), its sole, legitimate representative, deserves all our admiration. I should like to assure the Palestinian people and its organization, the PLO, on behalf of the Kingdom of Morocco, its people and its King, of our entire solidarity and support until the total restitution of its inalienable rights to return to its land, to self-determination and to the creation of its independent State on its national territory, and until the liberation of the Holy City of Jerusalem.

The paralysis of the United Nations or its inability to help bring about a rapid, just and equitable solution to the Palestinian problem cannot but imperil ever more each day international peace and security in the region and also in the rest of the world.

(Mr. Mrani Zentar, Morocco)

It is in order once and for all to prevent Israel from receiving encouragement and the means necessary to pursue its aggressive, provocative and expansionist policies that the Member countries as well as the United Nations as a whole must take all the enforcement measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter to safeguard international peace and security when they are so dangerously threatened by behaviour such as that of the Zionist State.

Ms. GONTHIER (Seychelles): Recent events in the Middle East point to an escalation of tension in the area fuelled by a foreign Power whose real motive hardly suggests it to be in the genuine interest of the people of that area.

At the core of the Middle East conflict over the last two decades has been primarily Israeli continued occupation of Arab territories taken largely after the six-day 1967 Israeli war of aggression against the Arab people and annexations.

Secondly, and most importantly, has been the question of whether the Palestinian people will remain homeless for ever, without a national sovereign State of their own.

The international community, through the United Nations, has adopted numerous resolutions affirming both the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to a national homeland and Israeli unconditional withdrawal from all occupied and annexed Arab lands as a prelude for any plausible and lasting peace in the area.

Anything bypassing or rationalizing these fundamental elements of the Middle East question is devoid of reality and wishy-washy, to say the least. To approach the Middle East equation on a piecemeal basis or as a tripartite package is simply to compound an otherwise very clear problem.

The Middle East does not constitute one country or two in the area; nor is one super-Power qualified to determine the fate of several hundred million Arab people in collusion with one or two individuals, however seemingly courageous or statesmanlike.

(Ms. Gonthier, Seychelles)

Israeli-occupied Arab land indeed far surpasses a stretch of land in one sovereign State in the area. It involves other territories of sovereign States in the area still occupied at this hour or recently officially annexed. That is why the so-called Camp David accords of 1979 are not taken seriously by either the majority of Arab people in the area or the international community, because they are simply smacking of the old colonial game of "divide and rule". And it is not surprising that, far from bringing about a comprehensive peace in the area, the accords have achieved nothing and have precipitated catastrophes in the area.

If it does not sound kindly to the authors of the accords, neither does it sound kindly when the accords choose to ignore the principal forces of stability and peace in the area - the struggling Palestinian people.

Foreign Powers with "strategic" interests in the area need to know that their continued presence and their taking "a lead" in the affairs of the Middle East can be assured only if these basic elements in the best interests of the Arabs are taken into account. Otherwise, the Middle East, with its endless lessons not lacking in history, is not an easy "horse" to ride.

The question of Palestine is as old as the United Nations itself. The United Nations has since its inception lived this question, as did the League of Nations before it, because it is one of the questions which demands a just solution and whose continuation constitutes a heavy burden on the conscience of the world. Yes, even in the worst soul, there comes an occasion, however transient, when the conscience speaks. We await that moment.

Today, after almost two years, I address this Assembly again on the same question, during the resumption of the seventh emergency special session with a feeling of deep sadness, frustration and, yes, disillusionment, because I can repeat today without any change what I stated then. If we are to add anything it is to provide additional evidence of Israel's crimes against the Palestinian people inside and outside occupied and annexed territories and its continued challenge of the United Nations and international legitimacy.

The tragedy continues. Unarmed students and other persons are shot dead, holy places of worship are desecrated, elected councils and mayors have been declared illegal, and so on. Neighbouring territories, for example Lebanon and Iraq, are also victims of aggression.



(Ms. Gonthier, Seychelles)

In the Middle East, Israel continues, like its ally the Botha régime in South Africa, to defy international public opinion with impunity by pursuing its expansionist and murderous colonial policy. It is clear that in the case of Israel we are caught in the same toils as we are in the case of South Africa. In other words, because of the many kinds of complicity between Zionism and apartheid only collective enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter stand any chance of leading to a positive result.

As in the past, my country continues to demonstrate its unswerving solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian people in their heroic struggles against the aggressor and invader. The Republic of Seychelles recently won a great victory over an aggressor and invader, and so will the Palestinian people.

Mr. RASOLONDRAIBE (Madagascar) (interpretation from French): As a good many delegations have already emphasized, when it became necessary to reopen the Palestine file, the central part of the Middle East problem, we could have chosen no one better suited than Ambassador Kittani of Iraq to conduct our business. Since he was kind enough to honour by his presence the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, recently held in Kuwait, he is familiar with the reasons for the decision to call for a resumption of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly.

While everyone agrees on the urgent need to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, Israel's policy seems to consist in preventing any real progress in that direction and in maintaining a constant state of tension, if not terror. After the raid upon the Tammuz nuclear facilities, the Security Council and the General Assembly, in turn, had to take up the question of the annexation of the Syrian territory of the Golan Heights, the repression against the inhabitants and the elected officials on the West Bank of the Jordan, as well as the murderous sacrilege committed on Easter Sunday in the Al Aqsa Mosque.

The present debate had hardly begun when the Israeli air force violated the hard-won cease-fire in southern Lebanon, reminding us, unfortunately, of the ever-latent risk of large-scale conflagration which jeopardizes international peace and security. Let us add, in this respect, that the highly advanced militarization of the region accentuates this risk and stresses the irresponsible nature of Israel's escapades.

Serious as it is, the upsurge in tension in the Middle East remains above all the symptom of a deep anomaly - the lack of a solution to the question of Palestine. Indeed, unless this question is settled, together with that of the other occupied Arab territories, the international community can look forward only to a periodic resurgence of confrontation, if not armed conflict, and to being a helpless witness to the inherent limitations of the United Nations peace-keeping operations which have proliferated in the region.

(Mr. Rasolondraibe Madagascar)

This fear, unfortunately, becomes a certainty when we note that by its conduct Israel seems to have chosen deliberately to widen the psychological gap between it and its Arab and Palestinian neighbours. And when we read recent press comments on Israel's stiffening attitude towards so-called territorial concessions, no one can fail to fear the worst as to the future of the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. Without a doubt, the United Nations can and must prevent the irreparable - the annexation of those territories in the name - as we can guess - of the security of the Jewish State. The Organization can and must prevent the violation by one of its Members of the principle which prohibits the acquisition of territory by force. It can and must ensure that Israel withdraws from the occupied or annexed Arab and Palestinian territories.

In accordance with its previous decisions, it can and must guarantee the exercise of the right of the Palestinians to return to the homes from which they were driven out, or to be compensated in accordance with General Assembly resolution 194 (III).

Above all, and at the risk of contravening its own Charter or renouncing its mission, the United Nations must guarantee the exercise by the people of Palestine of its right to self-determination, including the right to set itself up as an independent, sovereign State in Palestine. This implies that no move or solution on Palestine can be valid without the participation of the Palestinian people, represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization, on an equal footing with the other parties.

To say that those principles are in keeping with the Charter is to assert that unless they are respected there can be no just or valid solution. Those who wish to limit the scope of those principles or to delay their implementation assume the responsibility of violating the Charter and international law, of unduly prolonging the suffering of the victims of illegal occupation and of endangering international peace and security.

(Mr. Rasolondraibe, Madagascar)

Quite simply, the notion that a people can buy its safety at the price of an injustice imposed on its neighbour, or neighbours, is a too dangerous notion on which to base peace in the Middle East.

For its part, the Democratic Republic of Madagascar cannot conceive that the interests of any country at all can be placed above the principles of the Charter and justify defiance of United Nations authority. Quite the contrary, because we recognize the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and because we stand side by side with it in its struggle, we cannot be satisfied until that people's rights have been restored and until it has obtained justice and regained its dignity, its freedom, its independence and its sovereignty over the land of its ancestors.

Mr. TRAORE (Mali) (interpretation from French): Need it be recalled that the United Nations was conceived as the most reliable haven of peace that mankind has ever known? The drafters of the Charter knew the price that had to be paid to save the world from apocalypse. In their wisdom and in their determination to preserve peace, they were unanimous in recognizing that, in the absence of peaceful solutions to grave threats to the peace, strenuous specific measures would have to be taken to avert any new outbreak of terror and destruction born of war.

Our Governments accepted and ratified all such measures in adhering to the Charter. The Security Council, during its deliberations on Palestine, ought to take account of this international imperative. The primary responsibility conferred on it - to safeguard and maintain peace - obliges it to do so. In this connexion, the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter should be applicable to any Member State, without exception, that imperils peace.

(Mr. Traore, Mali)

Unfortunately, that has not been the case, and it must be noted that our Organization had barely been created when it had to inscribe on its agenda a most serious item: a breach of the fragile peace which had just been established after terrible years of destruction, suffering and death. That item was the question of Palestine, or to put it another way, the question of the political future of the Palestinians, who had been unjustly sacrificed to rectify another injustice, of which they had not been the cause. In that rectification, furthermore, many of them had made the ultimate sacrifice.

Since that time, the General Assembly and the Security Council have ceaselessly debated a problem the lack of a solution to which nearly brought the whole of mankind to the brink of a new world conflagration seven years ago. And we still have before us the question of Palestine, the question of the fate of the Palestinians, who, tired of political timidity and equivocation, have taken up arms to gain the right to existence enjoyed by other peoples.

As we have said before, the question of Palestine has been on the agenda of the United Nations for a long time; yet exceptional measures have not been adopted to meet a most exceptional situation in a considered, lucid manner.

It would seem rather that the United Nations has lost its proper capacity to oppose with all its strength a further outbreak of violence against a people whose suffering is made known to it every day: the Palestinian people. It would seem that the Organization has given way to a certain fatalism, which is based in part on the myth of maintaining strategic alliances - which are, as is known, fragile because they are born of a specific set of conditions. It would seem that the Organization has decided to be an indifferent spectator, watching the growth of the flames which are now consuming Palestine - and therefore the Middle East - and which are already licking at the security of us all. It would seem that there is a desire to attack the credibility of the Organization.

The unquestioning friends of Israel will bear a heavy responsibility in the eyes of history. We know the price mankind had to pay for its indifference and blindness to breaches of international peace and security. We know the price it had to pay for its lack of resolve and for not having joined together in time to put an end to militaristic adventures.

(Mr. Traore, Mali)

By calling for the resumption of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, the non-aligned countries, through their Co-ordinating Bureau, desired once again to shoulder their international responsibilities and to promote further reflection on the scope and deterioration of a situation whose constant worsening places our future in constant danger. The recent events in Palestine show yet again that notwithstanding its proclamations of peace, the Tel Aviv Government is sticking to its global strategy to push forward the borders of its country, restricted only by its military strength and its own notion of what constitute the limits of its security.

It was in accordance with the guidelines of that strategy that the Golan Heights were annexed, along with Jerusalem, despite the fact that it is the common heritage of mankind. It was in accordance with that global strategy that the Tammuz centre was bombed, although it was designed and built for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. It was in accordance with that strategy that the Municipal Council of El Bireh was dissolved and the Mayors of Nablus and Ramallah removed from office. It was in accordance with that strategy that Israel violated the cease-fire agreement with Lebanon and the PLO by bombing the outskirts of Beirut at the very time when we were beginning the work of this session, which had been convened to find a peaceful solution to the painful situation in Palestine.

There is, alas, tragic logic in the behaviour of the makers of war and the conquerors: the logic of seeking to legitimize the progressive satisfaction of their territorial appetites by invoking imagined threats to their own security; the logic aimed at depersonalizing the populations under their yoke and at trying to obliterate their civilizations - and all this takes place after territorial expansion has been perpetrated in violation of all legal norms.

To cite but one example in the realm of education and culture, Bir Zeit University was closed by the Israeli authorities. Professors including foreigners, were arrested there. And what reason was used to justify these actions, when courses took place there in the same conditions as in any university bringing together young people before they go out to participate in the political, economic and social development of their country? It was simply - quite simply - that young Palestinians were reflecting there on their future and on the future of Palestine. Basically, Palestine was being promoted - as though Palestine had

(Mr. Traore, Mali)

never existed or as if it no longer existed: as though General Assembly resolutions 181 (III) and 194 (III) were nothing but prehistoric memories. In fact, by promotion of Palestine we must understand that, despite occupation, the Palestinians intend to remain faithful to their culture, and that the attitude of the Bir Zeit students is a symbol of the determination of all the schoolchildren and students in Palestine, of all the young people of that country to remain what all of them have never ceased to be: Palestinians.

One of our proverbs in Mali has it that by trampling on a man's feet, by trampling on a man's body, you can do him violence, but you can never rob him of his destiny, that is, of his *raison d'être*. The *raison d'être* of the Palestinian people is the reconquest of their ancestral homeland. That is what they are resolutely and irreversibly engaged on, under the dynamic and far-sighted leadership of their sole and legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization. Their *raison d'être* is fidelity to their ideals and beliefs. As early as 1979 their land was the site of a sacrilegious act which aroused the indignation of all those who respect free choice for all in their approach to extra-human problems. The same kind of act was repeated on 11 April 1982, on a day when Moslems and Christians were worshipping the Creator with the same ardour: the Al Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock were sullied and partially destroyed, and many believers were killed there.

(Mr. Traore, Mali)

This sad record of hatred and bloodshed was lightly attributed to someone who was mentally deranged. However, it was not the bullets of that criminal that cut down the young Palestinians who, with bare fists, expressed their anger in Jerusalem, the anger of their people, that of millions of Moslems who, throughout the world, and in particular in the Republic of Mali, stopped work for one day to warn humanity of the existence and manifestation of a form of dominating madness that is a forerunner of night and fog.

The situation which has prevailed for a long time in Palestine shows, if additional proof were needed, that Israel cannot assure the security of the population which has fallen under its control. It cannot carry out the obligations of the Fourth Geneva Convention, of 1949, relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. The delegation of Mali believes that the United Nations should draw the necessary conclusions.

The resumption of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly has therefore opened in an atmosphere filled with even more dangers for peace. The Charter recommends that, as far as possible, we should search for peaceful solutions to international disputes. The proposals made in this respect are too numerous to count; they are precise and clear: they relate, need we recall, to the recognition and the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, in particular the right to live freely and to return to their homeland, in which they must be the sole master of their political future. They recognize the futility of any attempt to restore peace in the Middle East without Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and without the direct participation of the PLO in peace negotiations.\*

The deliberations of the General Assembly on the Middle East have been enriched by dozens of proposals along the same lines. We note also in this connexion the important statements recently made in particular during seminars on the question of Palestine held by parliamentary groups, by groups of States, and especially the non-aligned countries, whose Co-ordinating Committee met in special session in Kuwait from 5 to 8 April 1982 on the question of Palestine and published a final communiqué at the end of its work containing a programme of action, all the provisions of which are in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations and which only seeks to restore peace in the Middle East.

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\* Mr. Thunborg (Sweden), Vice-President, took the Chair.



(Mr. Traore, Mali)

The restoration of peace in Palestine is, as we know, a sine qua non for the restoration of peace in the Middle East. It is a sine qua non for redressing the present troubled international situation.

The delegation of Mali has many times affirmed the legitimacy of the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people. That struggle derives its legitimacy from the Charter of the United Nations, which recognizes that every people has the right to freedom, self-determination and sovereignty. It draws those rights from international law, which recognizes that every people has the national right to survival, to freedom of expression and to the democratic realization of its profound aspirations. We reaffirm those rights for all those who have forgotten or have never known the horrors of war.

In solidarity with the Palestinian people in its struggle to live in dignity, the people of Mali, its Party and its Government express the firm hope that finally the present session of the General Assembly will unanimously recognize that without a just solution to the question of Palestine it will only have postponed a cataclysm which could engulf us all.

Mr. ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen): We are not at all surprised that both Israel and the United States have strong reservations about the resumption of the seventh emergency special session on the question of Palestine. Obviously, the United States would prefer to have the question of Palestine and that of the Middle East dealt with exclusively in the Security Council, where it recurrently uses its veto power to block even the most reasonable resolutions. Indeed, the United States wishes to diminish the role of the United Nations, and especially that of the General Assembly, where it frequently finds itself estranged from the majority. But, more than that, American diplomacy in the Middle East is conducted with total disregard and even disdain for the United Nations. While posing as an arbiter in the Middle East conflict, the United States is promoting its own strategic interests, which not only coincide with that of Israel but are more often determined by it. It is needless to reiterate once again that American policy towards the Palestinian people is formulated in Tel Aviv, not in Washington. Hence, the United States is not even allowed to deal with or recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Ashtal, Democratic Yemen)

We can understand, then, why the Permanent Representative of the United States is unhappy about the resumption of this session. We can also understand why she could not say a word about the latest Israeli bombardment of Palestinian refugee camps and the innocent civilian population in southern Lebanon: not a word about the dismissal of democratically elected mayors in the West Bank; not a word about the imposition of constraints on the freedoms and rights of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza; not a word about the confiscation of land and the expansion of settlements; not a word about the annexation of the Golan; not a word about Israeli repression and brutality; not a word even about the desecration of Holy Places in Jerusalem. We can understand all that because Israel has become America's frontline in the Middle East, but we must energetically condemn such a big Power that is so insensitive to human suffering and to the political fate of a whole people, the Palestinian people.

In her statement in the General Assembly last week, Mrs. Kirkpatrick highlighted two points: first, the argument that the General Assembly does not contribute to the maintenance of peace in the Middle East -- indeed, she rhetorically asked whether peace was even the goal of this Assembly; secondly, the fixation of American policy on the Camp David formula as a total prescription for peace in the Middle East. To underline this American approach she said: "... we believe that Camp David offers the only viable basis for a settlement that will determine the final status of these territories" (A/ES-7/PV.17, p. 6), meaning the West Bank and Gaza. Thus we are told that the United Nations is not qualified to deal with the question of Palestine, notwithstanding the fact that it was the General Assembly that gave legitimacy to the Zionist State. We are also told that the Palestine question should be relegated to the corridors of Camp David.

(Mr. Ashtal, Democratic Yemen)

Yesterday - 25 April - we witnessed the dead end of the Camp David path, when Israeli forces terminated their occupation of the Sinai, leaving behind American soldiers and a neutralized Egypt. Yet Camp David remains an obsession for the United States. Let us nevertheless ask what Camp David offers the Palestinian people. Firstly, the Palestinian people and their authentic representative, the PLO, were neither consulted nor made part of negotiations that purported to solve their problem. Secondly, the Camp David agreement altogether ignored the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, as well as their political and national rights. Instead, Camp David addressed itself to what is called the inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. And, thirdly, the so-called full autonomy envisaged in the Camp David agreement proved to be a mere mechanism to tighten Israel's grip on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, paving the way for total annexation. Indeed, the recent designation of the so-called civil administration is a step in that direction.

It is obvious, therefore, that the United States stands, not for peace in the Middle East, but for peace for an expansionist Israel. The American approach certainly runs contrary to the verdict of the General Assembly, as formulated in its resolution 3236 (XXIX). If the United States finds itself internationally isolated, along with Israel, it is precisely because it can deal with the question of Palestine only through the Israeli perspective. Gone are the days when the United States could bully the General Assembly and dictate its own resolutions, and the time will come when Israeli arrogance will be shattered by the Palestinian revolution.

Mr. FARAH DIRIR (Djibouti): At this resumed seventh emergency special session, the General Assembly is once again debating the "Question of Palestine". Each time, this debate has taken place against a background of renewed violence and escalation of terror by the Israeli occupation forces in the occupied Arab territories.

I am very confident that, at this difficult moment, the competence of the President of the General Assembly as a great diplomat, his vast experience in the affairs of the United Nations and his deep faith in the ideals

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and objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations will enable this body to discharge its duties in a manner compatible with the principles and the Charter of the United Nations.

The frequency with which tragic incidents are occurring in the occupied Arab territories is very discouraging and, indeed, frightening - discouraging because we have not been seeing within or outside the United Nations peace-keeping forums any encouraging signs for appropriate solutions; frightening because, unless effective measures are immediately taken to prevent further deterioration, we might unfortunately witness the emergence of a new phase in which these serious developments could lead to eventual explosion.

Israel has broken the criminal record of lawlessness by its belligerence towards the Palestinians and other Arab nations. At a time when the international community is alarmed at the mounting international tension in many parts of the world, Israel has chosen to add fuel to the fire by the provocative acts of aggression, renewed escalation of terror and violation of the rights of the Palestinian civilian population perpetrated by Israeli forces on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip.

During the eventful period of the past few weeks, the Israeli forces of occupation have removed elected mayors from their posts, disbanded municipal councils and replaced them by subservient and malleable elements of questionable credibility. Unarmed civilians have been terrorized and schoolchildren killed; torture and arbitrary arrests and detention have been institutionalized; and the emerging order of the day has been a situation in which the Israeli armed settler gangs run amok throughout the occupied Arab territories, inflicting heavy casualties on the lives and properties of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples.

The premeditated atrocities perpetrated by the Israeli forces of occupation have obviously led to the outbreaks of violence and contributed to the worsening of the already explosive situation.

It was regrettable that the Security Council failed to adopt the draft resolution in document S/14943, dated 1 April 1982, in which Israel was called upon to rescind its decisions to disband the elected municipal council of El Bireh and to remove from their posts the mayors of Nablus and Ramallah. Israel was also called upon to cease forthwith all measures applied in the West Bank,

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including Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, and was again reminded that such acts contravened the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.

The failure of that draft resolution was followed by the day-by-day escalation of violence committed by the Israeli forces of occupation against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in the occupied Arab territories.

These atrocities have been highlighted by the shooting and wanton killing in cold blood of two Palestinian civilian worshippers, followed by a shooting spree by Israeli soldiers, who severely wounded over 100 Arab worshippers in the Al Aqsa Mosque, which itself suffered considerable damage as a result of this despicable act of sacrilege.

The desecration of the holy shrine of the Al Aqsa Mosque has hit the Moslem community of the world hard in its soul and inflamed its anger - rightly so, because the Al Haram Al Sharif is a place of special sanctity to Moslems, since it is the first Kiblah and the third place of veneration, after Mecca and Medina, in the Islamic faith and a place where the Prophet Muhammad - peace be on Him - made his celestial journey on his winged steed Al Buraq.

In its outrage the Moslem community of the world denounced in the strongest terms the profane acts of violence perpetrated against the Al Haram Al Sharif. It made the now-well-documented solemn declaration that Wednesday, 14 April 1982, would be a Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People in their righteous and heroic struggle for their inalienable rights to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State of Palestine on Palestinian territory.

This outrage felt by the Moslem community, though peaceful in nature, obviously led to the presentation of the draft resolution in document S/14985, dated 20 April 1982, to the Security Council, in the fervent hope that the Council would this time discharge its responsibilities by taking the necessary action to safeguard the rights of the Palestinian people and the other Arabs in the occupied Arab lands, in a manner compatible with the principles and the Charter of the United Nations.

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Regrettably, however, the Council once again failed to adopt a draft resolution which rightly condemned in the strongest terms the appalling acts of sacrilege perpetrated within the precincts of Al Haram El Sharif in Jerusalem on Easter Sunday, 11 April 1982.

This was another slap in the face for the international community as it fell into line with Israel's intention. It has always treated with contempt all the resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and given them a deaf ear.

None of the resolutions and decisions adopted by the United Nations has prevented Israel from perpetrating open aggression against the Palestinians and other Arab people in the occupied Arab land.

All the repeated appeals and pressure of the United Nations on Israel to bring it to stop its aggressive measures against the Palestinians and other Arabs in the occupied Arab territories appear only to have added impetus to Israel's impudence in committing more crimes.

Whenever the population of the occupied Arab territories has rightly expressed its opposition to the illegal and aggressive measures, the Israeli forces of occupation have in response always resorted to brutal methods of repression designed to destroy the will and determination of the Palestinian people and other Arabs in the occupied Arab land.

The Israeli occupation forces have in their repressive measures inflicted cold-blooded murder on the Palestinians, destroyed their property, displaced them from their homeland, dismissed and degraded their leaders and deported them to alien land, where they have always suffered the indignation of alien status; and in the vacuum that has resulted Israeli settlements have been created.

The Israeli occupation forces have created these new Jewish settlements as a crucial and dangerous element in the fulfilment of the Israeli expansionist policy of converting what had been the occupation of Arab territories into annexation.

In this illegal process Israeli settlers have been enticed to the new settlements from lands far away from the occupied Arab land. These new settlers have been given so-called incentives to develop and protect their new haven, which has been forcibly transferred to them from its

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rightful Arab owners. These Israeli settlers have been armed to the teeth and have been incited against the Palestinian civilian population. Even at this moment we keep hearing the alarming news of fresh promises of the Israeli authorities to establish new Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. What is really happening there is a tragedy in the making.

Zionist Israel has in its defiantly aggressive behaviour towards the Palestinians and other Arabs gone beyond the borders of the occupied Arab territories. In less than one year the Israeli air force has violated the territorial integrity of all of Israel's Arab neighbours by trespassing in their air space. The Israeli air force has bombed the Iraqi nuclear research installation in Osirak, near Baghdad, causing considerable loss of life and property. The Israeli forces have regularly violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. It is only four days since squadrons of Israeli jet fighters blatantly attacked south of Beirut, killing many innocent civilians and causing a considerable number of other casualties and much loss of property. The Israeli authorities have called that vicious attack on the Lebanese and Palestinian people a warning operation. Prior to that barbaric aggression, and in preparation for it, Israel propagated the sinister allegation that the Palestine Liberation Organization had broken the cease-fire. The delegation of Djibouti denounces this relentless Israeli propaganda against the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian people, which is no more than a premeditated design aimed at creating a confused pretext to launch an aggression against the Palestinian Liberation Organization and southern Lebanon. This vicious attack also revealed the Zionist policy aimed at intimidating the Palestinian people and weakening its determination fully to exercise its right to establish its independent State of Palestine in Palestinian territory.

The truth is that whatever actions the Israeli authorities have taken in the occupied Arab land have become extremely provocative in nature and have therefore maintained the volatile and explosive situation in the Middle East.

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The international community has rejected and regards as illegal the sinister Israeli action to annex the Holy City of Jerusalem as the eternal and indivisible capital city of the Israeli régime and to alter the character and status of the Holy City.

The annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights by the Israeli forces was also an irresponsible act of violation of the United Nations principle concerning the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and has been declared to have no legal validity whatsoever.

Whatever action the Israeli authorities may undertake to change the institutional structure, demographic nature and geographic character of the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, is regarded by the international community as completely illegal and rejected as null and void. Israel should desist from its imposition of Israeli laws and jurisdiction on the Arab population in the occupied Arab territories.

The delegation of Djibouti calls upon all freedom- and peace-loving nations to exert concerted efforts in applying economic, political, diplomatic and military sanctions against Israel to ensure that it recognizes the Palestinian rights to sovereignty over Palestinian land, to Palestinian self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State, including sovereignty over the Holy City of Jerusalem.

It is high time that Israel realized that the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict is the Palestinian question, and that unless a final solution is arrived at it will be impossible to bring about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We strongly believe that there cannot be a durable settlement of the problem of the Middle East if the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are denied. We equally believe that no peace settlement in that region can be negotiated without the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole representative of the Palestinian people, as a full partner in all negotiations that directly or indirectly concern the Palestinian people. Only the total withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the Arab territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem, can lead to the establishment of a lasting peace in that region. It is high time that the realities of the Palestinian question dawned in the minds of the Israeli authorities and their ardent supporters.



(Mr. Farah Dirir, Djibouti)

Finally, as the General Assembly concludes its consideration of the question before it, it must shoulder its responsibility to take the appropriate action available to it in the process of safeguarding the principle of restoring peace and security in the Middle East.

Mr. GAUCI (Malta): As this emergency special session draws to its end, what are some of the salient points that emerge from the latest round of discussions?

On the credit side, to my mind, it would be churlish not to recognize the significance of the fact that for the first time in nearly two decades territory illegally occupied by Israel through the use of force has now been returned to its rightful sovereignty through negotiation. Equally, however, we cannot ignore the fact that this restitution was in any case proper and overdue. We also have to make it clear that the act of restitution in itself does not generate the right to compensation by expansion in other illegally occupied territory.

(Mr. Gauci, Malta)

On the fundamental nature of the question of Palestine, however, the scales are dangerously tilted towards desperation and disaster.

This debate is therefore as necessary and timely as the repressive actions that gave rise to it are reprehensible. Those violent Israeli acts can no longer be camouflaged, as they were in the past, since international concern has now been fully aroused. Repetition of details will only dull their impact; yet the loss of life cannot but weigh heavily on our collective conscience.

The dream, of Israel as well as of the Palestinians, has turned into a nightmare. Israel seeks to distract our attention by focusing on events elsewhere; the Palestinians, on the contrary, continue to ask for our help.

This is the pattern of the past; it will also be the pattern of the future if this Organization once again fails to come fully to grips with the situation.

One sobering reflexion is that this emergency special session has resumed at a time when the stakes involved have never been so high. The recent entangling escalation of force and violence in the occupied Arab territories illustrates once again that events in the Middle East possess a tragic dynamism of their own; they will not wait indefinitely for constructive, comprehensive and decisive action. As long as some of the protagonists fail to recognise this fact, we shall continue to face injustice, to face violence and to see the scars of conflict. No peace for the countries involved, no peace for the region, no peace for their neighbours and instability throughout the world: that is the grim perspective ahead.

The latest crisis in the 2,200 square miles of the occupied West Bank is the most intense and significant since the illegal conquests of 1967. It is also the inevitable outcome of the past 15 years of Israeli occupation policy and its repressive denial of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Gauci, Malta)

In the past two years that policy, given its most insidious application by Defence Minister Sharon, has resulted in the cancellation of the 1980 municipal elections, the dissolution of various popular organizations, bomb attacks, dismissals and deportations of popularly elected officials.

In recent weeks the international community has witnessed the widespread use by Israeli troops of live ammunition to disperse crowds, the imposition of a military curfew on more than 50,000 people in a single day, arrests and other flagrant acts of intimidation.

With practically every passing day, Israel establishes more settlements in the occupied territories and strengthens existing ones, thereby consolidating its presence. The Arab population is being pushed back into small ghettos or enclaves; the Israelis are intent on cutting the body of the Arab West Bank to pieces.

Israeli settlers in the West Bank now number some 25,000 to 30,000 persons. But plans are afoot for a further 12 to 18 settlements in the West Bank by 1985. While the homeland of the Palestinian people is subjected to constant erosion, the new settlers represent a broadening constituency which regards the area as an integral part of Israel. The point of no return may have already been reached: a point where political and physical considerations will make withdrawal an extremely elusive operation.

The Israeli Government's self-styled iron-fist policies effectively create a double standard of justice: one law for the Arabs and another for the Jewish settlers in the areas of civil justice, property confiscation, strangulation of the major sectors of the economy, health care and even academic freedom. In the face of such injustice, the Israeli Government recently declared unconcernedly that its new security policy in the West Bank will "continue without demur".

(Mr. Gauci, Malta)

In such circumstances, Israel's offer of personal autonomy is meaningless. It does not go beyond asking the Palestinians to accept the present unjust status quo as being legal and permanent. It is difficult to imagine an offer less likely to be accepted. At the end of the day, the inhabitants of the West Bank face Hobson's choice. Civilian or military administration, autonomy or no autonomy, what they face is continued Israeli rule and extending Israeli colonization of their land - hence their legitimate call for help.

But where is our response? Where, in the words of Anthony Lewis of The New York Times, is the universal outcry against such suicidal Israeli folly? The Security Council remains muted in its decisions, paralysed by inaction. Israel derives encouragement, and waves of its planes recently attacked villages south of Beirut, thereby shattering a fragile nine-month-old cease-fire. Once again, friendly Lebanon has become a synonym for senseless destruction, bloodshed and slaughter.

And yet the path to peace in the Middle East was traced by the United Nations, through its Committee on Palestine, almost six years ago. The historical evidence, highlighted by the most recent events, once again clearly demonstrates that peace simply cannot be secured by subjugation through the use of superior military force. The prescription for peace - a just, democratic and honourable peace - lies in the supervised implementation by the Security Council of the recommendations of the Committee.

At the recently concluded Seminar on Palestine held in Valetta, Malta, a prominent British Member of Parliament observed that the Palestinian case, once stated, is irrefutable. That was the conviction of the Committee when, free from the pressure of immediate events, respectful of the previous decisions of the United Nations, it submitted its recommendations. The members were glad to have them repeatedly endorsed by an impressive majority in the General Assembly.

(Mr. Gauci, Malta)

Our convictions have been verified time and time again, whenever we placed our case before an objective audience, as was the case only two weeks ago. The dispossessed Palestinians, despite their disappointments and their suffering, continue to place their faith for an equitable but peaceful solution in this body - in the United Nations.

The most salient aspect of the Committee's recommendations is that the Palestinians are the only people who have not attained in practice what the international community has authorized in theory; they alone continue to be denied a State of their own, their rightful place among the brotherhood of nations.

In broad terms, those who subscribe to the principles of the United Nations, yet hesitate to accord support to the Committee's recommendations should not fail to consider that implementation of those recommendations does not overlook the legitimate concerns of any State or people in the Middle East.

To be more specific, all nations should also note that the process recommended by the Committee advocates a role for the Security Council, where all the parties to the Middle East conflict are represented, so that no single party will be in the position of having its preoccupations overlooked. On the one hand, the recommendations would utilize the so-far untapped potential of the United Nations to secure justice for the Palestinians; on the other hand, the recommendations would constitute an essential but preliminary requirement for peace in the wider Middle East conflict.

Implementation of those recommendations would thus bring about a triumvirate of benefits: justice, peace and a seminal role for the United Nations in that process.

The present situation surely requires more than a ritual wringing of hands followed by the deafening silence of inaction on those recommendations.

(Mr. Gauci, Malta)

The quasi-unanimous endorsement of the recommendations would therefore be a positive step in the direction of ending the current stranglehold of violence, gradually reversing the trend away from disaster and illegal occupation, and towards peace. It may be late in the day, but recent history provides ample evidence that alternative approaches are unrealistically thin on the ground. The responsibility of the United Nations - the Security Council in particular - in this matter has never been clearer. The key to peace in the Middle East should be firmly grasped and resolutely acted upon.

The representative of Israel has heaped scorn on the Committee, on its members and on its recommendations. I have myself had occasion in the past to take issue with his unfounded accusations and erroneous interpretations. His attitude, though perhaps understandable within the context of Israeli policy, is nevertheless regrettable and shortsighted - because what Malta, as a member of the Committee, has consistently striven to secure is a lasting peace in which Israel will find acceptance among its neighbours. In the words of my Foreign Minister:

"It is to be stressed that at no point in its recommendations does the Committee question the right of any State in the region of the Middle East to exist, or to retain those rights and prerogatives belonging to any Member of the United Nations. What the Committee does stress are the duties and obligations incumbent upon any State in fulfilment of its formal commitments as a member of the international community."

Another Maltese Member of Parliament, at the same Seminar in Valetta, wrote on the human dimension of the question in the following terms:

"The question of Palestine is a complex political problem. We talk about government policies, the play of the super-Powers, the shifting of boundaries, the recognition of rights, the imposition of laws and regulations, and similarly related matters.

"We however tend to forget that besides all this there is the biggest problem of them all - the human problem. In our heated discussions and prolonged negotiations one tends to forget that,

(Mr. Gauci, Malta)

after all, it is fellow human beings who are suffering in any conflict - on whichever side they may be.

"Suffering and deprivation are not made less painful by being 'for' or 'against'. The death of an Israeli soldier is no less painful to his family than the death of a Palestinian soldier is to his family. The psychological impact of war on children's minds is the same be they Israeli or Arab. Any suffering is part and parcel of the sufferings of humanity.

"Whoever is responsible should see to it that there should be no more wasting of time in finding a solution. Time wasted means lives wasted. Civilized countries spend unlimited amounts of money and human effort to save one single life. Why should we behave differently when our challenge is not one human life but hundreds and thousands, perhaps even a few millions?"

This is the answer that we have to provide. European Members of Parliament taking part in the Valetta Seminar have responded to the requirements of the situation in an appeal to their Governments for constructive action. The General Assembly can do no less, and the Security Council will have to assume its responsibilities for the promotion of peace. It is only in that way that the prospects for peace and security in the Middle East can be advanced.

The PRESIDENT: We have just heard the last speaker and thus concluded the debate.

#### PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: I understand that consultations are still going on regarding the draft resolution on the "Question of Palestine" and that it is unlikely that the text can be circulated this afternoon. It is therefore the President's intention to cancel the meeting that had been scheduled for tomorrow. It is now expected that a draft resolution will be circulated tomorrow morning so that the Assembly may meet on Wednesday morning to hear explanations of vote and to proceed to the vote. The Assembly will then also consider the second report of the Credentials Committee.

(The President)

On Wednesday afternoon the Assembly will resume its thirty-sixth session, as announced last Friday, to consider agenda item 57, "Launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development"; and agenda item 60, "United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East"; as well as the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council regarding the enlargement of the Executive Board of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.