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Held at Headquarters, New York,
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President:

Mr. KITTANI

(Iraq)

- Question of Palestine: draft resolutions (A/ES-7/L.5 to A/ES-7/L.7) /57

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The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 5 (continued)

QUESTION OF PALESTINE. DRAFT RESOLUTIONS A/ES-7/L.5 TO A/ES 7/L.7

Mr. MAROVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian) For three months now the boots of the Israeli aggressor and occupier have been trampling Lebanese soil. Tens of thousands of Lebanese have been killed and wounded. Hundreds and thousands have been deprived of their shelter. towns and cities have been destroyed. Palestinian refugee camps are lying in ruins.

These are the results of Israel's bloody aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian people. Its victims have been civilians, both Lebanese and Palestinians, old people, women and children. With the coldbloodness of the fascist butchers the wanton Zionist aggressor is pursuing the mass destruction of people on Lebanese soil.

The new monstrous crime committed by the Israeli military has been the destruction of the Lebanese capital, which is being carried out with cynical contempt for the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the demands of the international community.

The villainy of the Israeli aggressors in Lebanon has aroused the anger and indignation of all throughout the world and has sown new seeds of hatred and hostility in the Middle East. Through its criminal actions Israel has angered, in fact outlawed itself from international society, whose wishes and demands it has unceremoniously and grossly flouted. There is a growing wave of condemnation of the Israeli aggression throughout the world. Louder and louder we hear the calls to put an end to this genocide, to withdraw the troops of the aggressor from Lebanon, to guarantee the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to create their own state.

(Mr. Mardovich, Byelorussian SSR)

There is growing opposition to the acts of Begin's Government in Israel itself, and the impenitent aggressors stubbornly continue to pursue their criminal acts only because standing behind them is the United States, which has always given and continues to give comprehensive military and political assistance to Israel, throwing open the arsenals of the Pentagon and the State coffers. The yearly military and economic assistance from the United States of America to Israel can be calculated in billions of dollars. The Israeli military machine of aggression is literally bursting at the seams with American armaments.

According to facts published in the magazine Time of 16 August of this year, 85 per cent of the fighter planes, 90 per cent of the weapons and approximately half of all the tanks in the Israeli army are of American manufacture. The air and land forces of Israel also rely on missiles which are manufactured in America. Washington provides political support and cover for the aggression of Tel Aviv. It thwarts the efforts of the United Nations to take effective steps against Israel for putting an end to their aggression.

(Mr. Mardovich, Byelorussian SSR)

Under the guise of so-called peace-making efforts, the American Administration has enabled the Israeli aggressor to carry out and to continue to carry out its unsavory business. As the Soviet Head of State, Mr. Brezhnev, quite properly pointed out in his message to the President of the United States:

"The tragedy of Lebanon, and particularly that of the population living in the capital, will be an indelible blot on the conscience of those who could in fact have stopped the aggressor but failed to do so."

Current events corroborate the fact that responsibility for the fighting in Lebanon is borne equally by Washington and Tel Aviv. The aggressor and its protector are now essentially attempting to reap the fruits of the present and all previous usurpatory wars. The leaders of Israel have not concealed their purpose, which is to destroy the vanguard of the Palestinian people, the Palestine Liberation Organization and, first and foremost, its leadership, to decapitate the Palestinian resistance movement, to relegate the Palestinians to eternal banishment and to carry out the plan of so-called Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip - something which would virtually deprive the Palestinian people of its right to self-determination and to the creation of its own national State.

However, the experience gained over decades of aggression against the Arabs, including the aggression against the Arab people of Palestine, suggests that the path of armed confrontation, as well as the path of separate deals, has never led, nor can it ever lead, to a true settlement of the Middle East problem, the essence of which has been, and remains, the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. However, no one can deprive an entire people of its vital rights.

At the present stage, it is a matter of priority to put an end to Israeli aggression against Lebanon and ensure the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from that country. Israel must be forced to implement all relevant Security Council resolutions.

(Mr. Mardovich, Byelorussian SSR)

As the overwhelming majority of delegations that have spoken at this session have already stated, in order to achieve a just and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East it is essential that all concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, make collective efforts towards that end.

In that connexion, the proposal of the Soviet Union to convene an international conference on the Middle East is of real value. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, once again vigorously condemning Israeli aggression and demanding its immediate cessation, wishes to promote the preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. It advocates guaranteeing the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to create its own State.

We wish to say that we stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the valiant and just struggle being waged by the Palestinian people under the leadership of its tried and true vanguard, the Palestine Liberation Organization, in order to achieve the enjoyment of its national rights.

Mr. GHIKAS (Greece) (interpretation from French): My delegation wishes to associate itself fully with the statements made to this Assembly on behalf of the 10 member countries of the European Community by the representative of Denmark in his capacity as Chairman ad interim of the Ten. However, I do feel the need to express, as well, how deeply the people and Government of Greece have been shocked by the extent of the material damage and, even more, by the great number of victims which the Israeli invasion of Lebanon continues to cause, both among the Lebanese civilian population and among the Palestinian civilians who have taken refuge in that country.

The Greek Government has unequivocally condemned this invasion, as well as Israel's obstinate refusal to comply with the repeated decisions of the Security Council calling upon it to put an end to its aggression and immediately and unconditionally to withdraw its troops from Lebanon. This refusal on Israel's part constitutes a further flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, Article 25 of which expressly provides that:

(Mr. Ghikas, Greece)

"The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council ...".

This same refusal has also taken the form of constant violations of cease-fires declared by the Security Council in the Beirut area.

In these conditions it is reassuring at least to note that the tenacious efforts exerted over long weeks to spare the population of Beirut new and further sufferings are finally moving towards a successful conclusion, despite the particularly lethal bombings of recent days which seemed close to destroying those efforts. Let me recall, in this regard, that, desirous of contributing to the restoration of peace, the Greek Government declared itself willing to participate in the multinational force which, under such an agreement, could be dispatched to Lebanon.

If, as we hope, such an agreement is concluded, a first and far from negligible step will have been taken towards restoring peace in Lebanon - a peace which, in conformity with the desires of Lebanon's inhabitants and its Government, could serve to ensure the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

A lasting peace, however, cannot be achieved so long as a just solution has not been found to the Palestinian question. Present events, which are nothing but a particularly tragic repercussion of the Palestinian problem, give further and irrefutable proof of that. It is thus necessary and urgent, parallel with the restoration of peace in Lebanon, to redouble efforts towards a speedy, comprehensive solution to the Palestinian problem.

The position of the Greek Government in this regard is clear and well known: the solution of the Palestinian problem lies in recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and, thus, to the establishment of its own independent and sovereign State, as well as in the right of all States of the region to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

(Mr. Ghikas, Greece)

The Greek Government also feels that the process leading to such a solution can be begun in earnest only with the direct participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Only if that condition is met can all the parties concerned enter into a dialogue capable of leading to a settlement of this conflict which has already taken too great a toll and whose continuation, by threatening peace and stability in the Middle East, poses a very grave and permanent threat to world peace.

Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): The resumption of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly will have proved timely provided that the international community takes this opportunity clearly and vigorously to express its views on the grave events occurring in Lebanon.

For more than two months, a sovereign country Member of this Organization has been brutally invaded and its capital devastated. That country is now the victim of armed blackmail designed to impose upon it a set of conditions in exchange for a precarious peace. These facts constitute a grave threat to the survival of medium-sized and small countries which are exposed to the aggression of those who are stronger in that and other regions of the world.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon is the culmination of an escalation of acts of aggression against the Arab countries of the Middle East and against international peace and security. We have come to such a pass because we have tolerated previous acts of force; and, should we accept this one, there will be no further limits to international impunity.

The State of Israel is carrying out to its logical conclusion the so-called theory of preventive war. No country can adduce the protection of its borders and the defence of its vital or strategic interests as a reason justifying aggression against others. If we were to admit this, we would be derogating from the Charter of the United Nations and opening the door to the indiscriminate exercise of violence as the sole effective means of settling disputes among States. We would thus be undoing decades of progress by the international community and bringing the world to the brink of irreparable catastrophe.

The decisions adopted by the Security Council with respect to this conflict have been ignored and flouted. On 5 June the Council, in its resolution 508 (1982), called for a cessation of military activities within Lebanon and across the Lebanese-Israeli border. The following day, in its resolution 509 (1982), it demanded that Israel withdraw its troops to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon. Both resolutions -- at least formally -- had the support of the great Powers. However, they have not been complied with.

Subsequently, the Security Council adopted resolutions 512 (1982), 513 (1982) and 515 (1982), relating to the protection of the civilian population and indispensable supplies for that population's survival. These provisions too have been violated.

Finally, the Security Council ordered the dispatch of United Nations observers in its resolutions 516 (1982) and 517 (1982), with a view to monitoring the cease-fire, a decision which was confirmed later in its resolution 518 (1982). The Government of Israel not only rejected these provisions but also physically prevented the access of the observers.

Once again the aggressor State has denied the competence of the United Nations and challenged its authority. Israel has decided to act in the territory of other countries as if it were its own and has arrogated to itself the right to exterminate neighbouring peoples. These actions, by their intent and by the manner in which they are carried out, recall the armed acts of aggression and repression practised during the Second World War.

Reference has been made here to the days in which the League of Nations was dissolved because it was incapable of halting a conflict and because of the caution of those who felt that, through silence or through complicity, they could avoid war. The international community must resolutely take a stand today against aggression: it must denounce what is occurring in Lebanon not only as a question of principle but also as a political necessity. Should our tolerance continue, similar events could be multiplied in that and other regions of the world.

In view of the obstinate scorn of one country for the decisions of this Organization, the international community should seek effective ways to face the crisis and to foster a comprehensive and permanent settlement of the question of the Middle East. This settlement could not be based on the elimination of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of its people, let alone be based on the annihilation of the Palestinians as a national entity possessing sovereign inalienable rights.

Once again an attempt is being made to confuse the liberation of a people with the clash of hegemonic interests. Once again an effort is being made to sacrifice the principle of self-determination for the sake of strategic and military dominance.

(Mr. Muñoz Ledo, Mexico)

The Palestinian problem has roots several centuries old. To consider it as a mere by-product of the clash between the super-Powers would be tantamount to subordinating the exercise of sovereign rights to the current international situation. Historical experience has shown that it is not possible to eradicate national liberation movements by force of arms, nor is it possible to bring about the disappearance of a people by genocidal methods. On the contrary, such actions strengthen the world's conscience and the unity of the persecuted people, as well as its determination to be free.

What is occurring in Lebanon should convince us that at the source of such an armed conflict lies our inability to find peaceful ways of steering the economic and political aspirations of developing peoples. The General Assembly should not confine itself to seeking an immediate settlement which would end the tragedy of this aggression. It should go further by formulating comprehensive proposals designed to resolve the Palestinian question and bring peace to the Middle East.

The Palestine Liberation Organization has given proof of its political maturity by accepting the validity of the decisions of our Organization, in particular, those of the Security Council. It has demonstrated its willingness to negotiate, even in the most desperate moments.

(Mr. Muñoz Ledo, Mexico)

Given that attitude, it is possible to undertake joint negotiations on condition that the other parties demonstrate at least a willingness to restore peace and to respect the rights of the States and peoples of that region.

The international community has discussed this issue from every standpoint and the conclusions it has reached over the years are irrefutable. The Palestinian people has the full right to self-determination and to the exercise of its national sovereignty, including the establishment of a Palestinian State. Israel, for its part, has the duty unconditionally to withdraw from all the territories it has occupied by force. Owing to its gravity, the Lebanon crisis should be the beginning of the solution of the problems of the Middle East. It would be illusory for the aggressor State to claim that it has settled the dispute in its own favour through the use of force and that the principles and provisions that have been laid down by the United Nations no longer apply to it.

It would constitute a threat if this conflict were to be considered by the super-Powers as a testing-ground of their achievements in military technology or as an exercise in intimidation designed to improve their positions in global strategic negotiations. We must therefore end the conflict as soon as possible and remain on the alert in order to ensure that this type of military experiment and political exercise will not be practised in other parts of the world.

My delegation shares the deep concern of the international community over the aggression in Lebanon and we offer our resolute support in the quest for solutions that can bring an end to the sacrifice of countless human lives, guarantee the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, restore stability in the Middle East, prevent the proliferation of crises and protect other peoples threatened by aggression in Asia, Africa and Latin America. My delegation shall therefore cast an affirmative vote on the draft resolutions submitted for the consideration of this Assembly.

Mr. ZAINAL ABILIN (Malaysia): My delegation welcomes the resumption of this seventh special session to discuss the question of Palestine. The meeting is indeed timely, as it coincides with a deliberate and premeditated campaign by the Israeli authorities to annihilate the Palestinians. As a result of this brutal campaign, thousands of innocent civilians, including women and children, have been killed. Thousands more have been maimed, crippled or wounded. While a heavy toll has been exacted in terms of lives and property the Israelis, in total defiance of international opinion, further imposed a blockade of west Beirut to terrorize the people and deprive them of basic requirements and necessities. This indeed is terrorism on a grand international scale. The devastation and brutality which characterize this latest Israeli aggression in Lebanon have few parallels in recent history and will be remembered as one of the most barbaric examples of cruelty ever inflicted on man by man. The most tragic aspect of the inhuman episode is the apparent state of helplessness and inaction of this body and the world community as a whole in the face of glaring international delinquency, supported by the sophistication of the most up-to-date war machines.

No amount of rationalization can justify this savagery and cruelty. No amount of arguments, lies and deceits can camouflage this needless criminal act of destruction. We are all familiar with the security arguments invoked by the Israelis in support of their actions in Lebanon and elsewhere. We cannot, however, acquiesce in this naked aggression. Opinions which justify cruelty are often inspired by cruel impulses. There is no denying that Israel's provocation in Lebanon was spurred by its obsession with destroying and wiping the Palestinian people from the face of this earth. Indeed, it is ironical that a people who had itself suffered for generations, particularly at the hands of the Nazis, should want to impose similar suffering upon others.

My Government is watching with deep sorrow and anguish the tragedy unfolding before our eyes in Lebanon. We have strongly condemned the action of the Israeli authorities of openly flouting the principles of the United Nations Charter and of stubbornly persisting in acts of aggression and expansion. We are indignant at the arrogance and insensitivity of the Israeli authorities towards the Palestinians in their quest for a homeland. History has taught us that no people can be subdued for long and that no nation can be occupied indefinitely by another nation. The current setback experienced by the Palestinians

(Mr. Zainal Abidin, Malaysia)

should lead to a firmer conviction in the inevitability of the triumph of their cause. My delegation is therefore confident that the just struggle for Palestinian freedom and rights will ultimately be crowned with success. In this difficult hour, my Government and people have expressed their full solidarity with the Palestinian people in their struggle to restore what is rightfully theirs.

The Israeli action in Lebanon in the first instance is part of a long series of acts of aggression designed to annihilate and uproot the Palestinians from Palestine. In this regard, Israel, since 1967, has blatantly and systematically proceeded to establish new settlements in the occupied territories in a concerted campaign to intimidate the local population. Clearly the object of this campaign has been to consolidate its stronghold over the occupied Arab territories with a view eventually to annexing them. The deliberate perpetuation of the myth of biblical "Judea and Samaria" by the annexation in August 1980 of East Jerusalem, followed by the annexation in December last year of the Golan Heights, provided clear evidence of the carefully hatched nefarious plans. Israel's violation of basic human rights in the occupied territories, coupled with its attempt to obliterate the traditional institutions and values, long engrained in the Palestinian Arabs, further reinforced the Israeli obsession with driving the Palestinians out of the occupied territories, thereby realizing its dream of Greater Israel.

(Mr. Zainal Abidin, Malaysia)

Israeli aggression in Lebanon is intended to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which is the sole, legitimate representative of the people of Palestine. It is part of a continuing series of actions which first manifested itself in the occupation of Palestine and subsequently followed by acts frightening the Palestinians away from their rightful home in the West Bank, Gaza and Jerusalem. Under the guise of security needs, Israel embarked on a policy of expansion into neighbouring Arab lands. No boundaries or sovereign territories are sacrosanct so long as the objective of annihilating the Palestinians is pursued. No refugee camps, under whatever international auspices, would be spared from the Israeli wrath, because under their policy of security the total and complete elimination of the Palestinians everywhere is essential.

Nevertheless, the Palestinians have shown their tenacity and capacity to counter the Israeli design. Their nationalism, self-pride and patriotism do not permit them to surrender. Thus we see a continuing series of acts of aggression against Arab lands, now in Lebanon and later on in other neighbouring Arab States, with the Israelis holding on to the fruit of aggression until the so-called question of Israeli security is settled. Only yesterday we heard the Israeli representative underlining Israel's intention to perpetuate its hold on Lebanon.

The Palestinian question therefore lies at the very heart of the quest for Middle East peace and stability. We will not succeed in resolving the Middle East problem unless we recognize the centrality of the Palestinian problem to the whole Middle East equation. Peace can be obtained only if all parties to the conflict appropriately address themselves to that question. The key to the solution will be found once Israel undertakes a complete, total and unconditional withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, restores the inalienable rights of Palestinians to return to their homeland, and recognizes their rights to self-determination and national sovereignty.

The United Nations has on many occasions reaffirmed those rights. It has called for the implementation of the recommendations made by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

(Mr. Zainal Abidin, Malaysia)

The question of Palestine has remained continuously and intractably on the agenda of the international community. Regrettably, none of this has been effective in alleviating the problems faced by the Palestinians. The international community has been reduced to a state of helplessness where it can only express anger and indignation at the stark aggression committed against the Palestinians, who 35 years ago were promised a homeland but today continue to be uprooted.

While many nations today loudly proclaim their commitment to the principles of freedom, democracy and the pursuit of happiness, some, with equal vigour, acquiesce in and abet the commission of Israeli acts of aggression by willingly casting their veto to bloc any resolutions which designed to condemn and highlight Israeli acts of aggression in the Middle East. They deliberately make available billions of dollars worth of arms to assist in such acts of aggression. Those nations, as they invariably exercise powerful influence on Israel, must impress upon that country the need not to persist in international hooliganism and to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other countries, particularly its neighbours, and to be sensitive to the requirements of other people, such as the Palestinians, in their aspiration for a homeland. If those countries fail for some reason or other to exercise this option at their disposal, then the burden of guilt must also be shared by them.

The holocaust in Lebanon is an object lesson to all of us.

From the ashes, death and destruction of Beirut a new spirit of vigour and determination to fight for the right cause will emerge. My delegation therefore welcomes the initiative taken by some Arab countries to accept the Palestinian heroes who have by way of example shown us what bravery means. Those valiant fighters have won for themselves our renewed respect. Let us hope that out of this latest incident there is today a growing understanding and appreciation of the problems faced by the Palestinians. This growing realization will generate a new momentum which, I am convinced, will ultimately sweep the Palestinians to victory.

(Mr. Zainal Abidin, Malaysia)

The Israeli reign of terror will not lessen the commitment of the Palestinians to their rights and freedom. Neither will their evacuation destroy their determination to have a homeland. The slaughter and butchery committed by the Israelis on the Palestinians have served only to strengthen their desire to restore the rights of which they have been robbed. Far from being cowed, I am confident that the Palestinians will continue the battle in pursuit of their struggle for an independent, sovereign State of Palestine. In this, the Palestinians have the full and undivided support of the Government and people of Malaysia.

The evacuation of the Palestinians from Beirut and Lebanon to other Arab countries will not in the long term contribute to a comprehensive and durable solution of the Middle East problem. The evacuation is only a temporary measure for the solution of a very serious problem. Cognizance must be taken of the Palestinian grievances if peace in the Middle East is to be achieved, or else peace in that unfortunate region will continue as ever to elude us.

Mr. CORREA da COSTA (Brazil): We are once again faced with a situation in the Middle East to which we cannot remain indifferent. We cannot in the present circumstances fail to express our deep concern at the series of violations of international law perpetrated by the Israeli Government; neither can we remain silent as one deadly blow after another is directed against a nation whose ties of friendship with my own country have been closely interwoven by succeeding generations.

It is our duty, therefore, to condemn the actions which have been victimizing countless civilians in Lebanon, including children, women and elderly people. It is our duty, furthermore, to seek solutions which will put an end to the present state of affairs and restore a just and lasting peace to the region.

(Mr. Correa da Costa, Brazil)

Let us, however, not be misled; the situation in Lebanon is one of extreme gravity. Thousands of innocent lives have been lost; a peace-loving nation has been put through the ordeal of having helplessly to watch itself bleed. international law has been flagrantly and systematically violated, while decisions sanctioned by the international community have been ignored. The moment has come, we believe, for the use of force to give way to reason; the moment has come for moderation to replace violence and destruction.

Each renewed outbreak of violence in the Middle East only underlines the pressing need for a solution to the Palestinian problem. The present crisis dramatically illustrates this point. It is the Brazilian Government's stated opinion that there can be no just and lasting peace in the Middle East so long as the rights of the Palestinian people to return to Palestine and to self-determination, independence and sovereignty have not been effectively dealt with. It is disquieting to think that the atrocities that have taken place during the past two months could have been avoided had the need for a solution to this fundamental question been recognized at an earlier stage. Unfortunately, shortsightedness has once more prevailed over wisdom to the detriment of all parties involved and of humanity at large.

We shall continue nevertheless to insist on the need for recognition of those basic Palestinian rights, as well as on the right of States in the region to exist within internationally recognized boundaries. The observance of those two points, along with Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territory and participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the peace negotiations are indeed prerequisites for a comprehensive settlement of the dispute. We strongly believe, in short, that no lasting solution will be possible unless the right of all the peoples in the region to live in peace is duly recognized and that only through respect for the principles of international law and internationally sanctioned decisions can that objective be attained.

Mr. ZENTAR (Morocco) (interpretation from French): The international community has in the last few weeks been passing through one of the most tragic, most depressing and most distressing periods in its history, when a small peaceful and hospitable country well-known for these qualities - Lebanon - fell victim to a savage, wanton and unbridled invasion and

(Mr. Zentar, Morocco)

a sorely tried, afflicted and valiant people, the Palestirian people, underwent a barbaric aggression whose avowed aim is its extermination pure and simple and the destruction of its fierce will to resist the genocide with which it is constantly threatened.

Whoever has seen the Israeli planes diving relentlessly and indiscriminately day after day on Lebanese towns and villages, striking particularly savagely at Beirut and refugee camps, spewing from every orifice what human technology has conceived as the most lethal and most inhuman weapons, is now fully aware of the sinister reality of zionism in the Middle East.

Whoever has seen the onslaught of Israeli tanks on Lebanese urban centres, leaving in their tracks death and the ruins of proud edifices and of the shanties of the poor who in their innocence were overtaken by this murderous wrath; whoever has seen the deluge of fire let loose by the Israeli army on the densely populated parts of Beirut harbouring hospitable Lebanese and Palestinian refugees, ousted from their homeland by almost 40 years of Zionist hatred, will have understood that the comparison of Zionist doctrines with those of nazism, of which the Jews were the principal victims, is far from an exaggeration and that the lesson of the holocaust has served rather as a sinister model to the Israeli high command.

When, furthermore, the deluge of bombs is combined with a blockade that has halted the supply of such elementary goods as medicine, bread and even drinking water intended for the anonymous and afflicted civilian population, when the Israeli war machine can with impunity ignore and maintain a clear conscience in the face of the bitter revulsion of mankind as a whole, one can well say that the cup is indeed full and flowing over and that it is high time that the United Nations shouldered its responsibilities to their full extent in order to stay the criminal Israeli hand and to render, once and for all, justice to the Palestinian people, which has been stripped of its most elementary rights.

Since the British Mandate over Palestine ended, the Israeli leaders have constantly and obstinately pursued the achievement of apparently piecemeal objectives which have never been understood on their over-all context, but the end purpose of which cannot have escaped those chiefly concerned in this matter: the Palestinians themselves.

(Mr. Zentar, Morocco)

For decades now, the national Palestinian movement has tried, not always successfully, to denounce the real Zionist plans.

While Israel accepted the United Nations partition plan of 1948 which at the same time gave birth to Israel itself, the Zionist State has never admitted the corollary to its own creation - that is, recognition of a Palestinian State in Palestine to receive the original Arab majority of that territory.

What appeared to be merely a temporary weakness on the part of Israel, dictated by expediency, was in fact a fundamental credo of the Zionist doctrine, a fact which has been amply demonstrated in all the ensuing events which have transpired in an ever more tragic, bloodier and more dangerous way for international peace.

Essentially the fundamental Israeli objective, to which all others are subordinated, is the gradual eviction of the Palestinians - eviction from their houses, their lands; loss of their identity and condemnation to exile and to fragmentation in any other society which wishes to receive them and, in the case of reluctance or resistance, their annihilation and destruction.

Such a process began, in fact, at the grass-roots level at Deir Yassin, the Palestinian Oradour-sur-Glane, with the massacre of hundreds of innocent villagers on orders from Begin.

There then followed confiscation, theft, expulsion of the Palestinians from their best Palestinian agricultural lands, and physical and intellectual terrorism carried out against the populations which had been forced into exile, presumably for their salvation, in neighbouring Arab countries and beyond.

(Mr. Zentar, Morocco)

The tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956 and the devastating six-day war in June 1967 were even more advantageous occasions for Israel to carry out administrative and territorial modifications on a major scale, both with respect to the Palestinian people, whose national territory was completely occupied, and vis-à-vis their Arab neighbours.

As the difference between occupied Arab territories, annexed Arab territories and finally Arab territories made part of Israel seemed insignificant, it was no embarrassment to Israel when it cavalierly moved on to Jerusalem, the Golan Heights and the West Bank of the Jordan, where the fateful evolution of events is proceeding under the most fallacious pretexts, starting with the abusive installation of settlements, which are flourishing in an alarming way there, and the removal of the elected Arab mayors.

Arab and Islamic Jerusalem, in particular, has undergone various operations designed to mask, obliterate and destroy everything that gave it its exceptional character as a venerated Holy City, dear to the hearts of hundreds of millions of Muslims, since the town itself was finally declared the united and eternal capital of Israel.

Then came the barbaric invasion of Lebanon which, under various pretexts, which we cannot even remember any more, was aimed at two well-determined ends:

Firstly, Israel aimed to take the war out of Israeli territory by removing it as far as possible into Arab territory.

Secondly, Israel aimed to continue undermining the Palestinians' will and capability for resistance, which, far from weakening under repression, had, in fact, been further strengthened in exile under the banner of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole representative of the Palestinian people and the essential spokesman if a solution is to be found to the Palestinian problem.

(Mr. Zentar Morocco)

But the zeal exhibited by Israel in achieving these two objectives to the detriment of the fraternal Lebanese people, which is thus unjustly paying a heavy tribute, has surpassed all imagination and left all mankind aghast.

Events, militarily speaking, are undoubtedly at present in favour of Israel and for a very good reason: the Zionist war machine has the benefit of the best that can be offered by the most sophisticated arsenals in existence.

This piling up of corpses and ruins, the new departure of the Palestinians and their fighters into exile will not solve, either for Israel or for the international community, the root problem, any more than it was resolved by the preceding military expeditions of Israel.

It has been said that the memory of people is ever-lasting and infallible, but that of young people and children, particularly when they have been wounded in their hearts and souls, can also be merciless.

Whoever has seen the endless rows of young prisoners, under the eyes of the Israelis with their guns, the countless wounded and deformed, sexless and ageless, who have been languishing, completely uncared for in precarious shelters, has understood why the criminal conduct of Israel, far from bringing it closer to its outrageous designs, has simply exacerbated the differences and polarized the situation.

The Palestinian people, headed by the Palestine Liberation Organization, will undoubtedly emerge from this sore test greatly enhanced in terms of the prestige surrounding peoples who are fighting for a just cause and who, without having yet achieved victory, have never despaired.

The central problem in this crisis remains that of restoring the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in its national territory and its right to create its own independent and sovereign State.

Unless an equitable and just solution is found to the Palestinian problem, peace can never be restored in this region, despite the sinister military capabilities of Israel.

(Mr. Zentar Morocco)

Israel must immediately comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, particularly those which were unanimously adopted in recent weeks demanding the withdrawal of Israeli forces to the international frontiers of Lebanon, the cessation of all activities in the territory, and the full and complete restoration of the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of Lebanon.

His Majesty, Hassan II, King of Morocco, who, since the very outset of this aggression has been personally closely following the development of events in the territory of Lebanon, has been persistently seeking contacts, both at the Arab level to resume the Arab summit conference in Fez and, at the international level, to bring about an immediate cessation of the Israeli aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian people, and the unconditional withdrawal of the occupying forces from all of the territory of Lebanon in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council and the expressed will of the entire international community.

This emergency special session of the General Assembly must therefore energetically reaffirm its virtually unanimous position on the need to restore respect for the independence, territorial integrity and full sovereignty of Lebanon, and also ensure the restoration of, and respect for, the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, particularly its right to create an independent and national State in its own territory, in close co-operation with the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people.

Mr. MASOUD (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic). It is a privilege for me, Mr. President, to attend this emergency special session, resumed under your presidency, and I take this opportunity to congratulate you personally on your election.

The Government of my country has appointed me to represent it in this emergency special session, and I feel that it has given me responsibilities to carry out in very difficult circumstances, for two reasons:

(Mr. Masoud, Saudi Arabia)

First, the circumstances during the last two months have been both painful and dangerous in the Middle East as a result of the terrible, swift and barbarous aggression unleashed by Israel and its allies against an Arab State Member of this Organization, into the very heart of the capital of that State, where more than 30,000 Arabs have been killed, most of them women, children and the defenceless. There has been widespread destruction of towns and villages as well as of the Palestinian refugee camps. Many thousands of women and children have been wounded and made homeless and are living in camps reminiscent of the Nazi concentration camps. That situation continues today.

The premeditated destruction and genocide carried out by the Israeli armed invaders - which Israel has referred to as its defence forces, but in fact Israel is already well defended and has no need to defend itself - has brought about a bloody and painful situation with its acts of destruction and genocide against southern Lebanon and the Palestinian and Lebanese civilians, who have been mercilessly bombarded from the land, the sea and the air. They have been deprived of their homes, and camps, hospitals and schools have been destroyed. A comprehensive blockade has been imposed. That whole process is designed to annihilate that people and to prevent those who survive from demanding their right to self-determination or even the right to a dignified existence.

Israel has trampled upon all the Security Council resolutions which call for Israel to cease hostilities and to lift the blockade. Israel has defied the will of the United Nations and of the entire international community.

We are deeply concerned about the very fate of the United Nations owing to its inability to carry out its decisions. I must say that the abusive use of the right of veto is the most dangerous tendency in the international Organization today. The right of veto, reserved for themselves by the permanent members of the Security Council, was intended to be used only in the very exceptional cases which could have dangerous consequences for international peace and security. There is no doubt that those who drew up the United Nations Charter did not intend the right of veto to be applied in cases such as this, in cases involving flagrant Israeli aggression against a neighbouring State,

(Mr. Masoud, Saudi Arabia)

without justification, for the purpose of expanding Israeli hegemony over Lebanon and carrying out genocide against the Palestinians.

We have never been deceived by the statements of the Israeli leaders that they do not wish to retain a single inch of Lebanese territory. Their statements have been contradicted by their own actions. The Palestinian people since 1947 has suffered from Israeli aggression and has been expelled from its territory on the orders of Begin and Sharon. In 1967 Israel said that it did not aspire to a single inch of occupied territory. That statement was immediately followed by aggressive manoeuvres which were obviously aimed at the occupation of the West Bank and annexation of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. Everyone is well aware of the fact that Israel and the Begin Government are very swiftly carrying out a widespread programme of settlements and hampering the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). Begin has not hesitated to call the West Bank "Judea and Samaria", disregarding the rights of the Palestinians who lived there for thousands of years. The leaders of Israel themselves have said that the aim of the invasion was to establish a buffer zone of no more than 30 miles in Lebanese territory. That was the justification for the barbarous invasion by Israel that has lead all the way to Beirut.

The Israelis, already with Palestinian blood on their hands since the time of the British Mandate, know only one method, that is, ruthless force, and they know that the assistance which they receive and the forces that they possess are greater than those of the Arab States. They also know that they will continue to be able to rely on military support, thanks to their alliance with the United States.

That situation is deeply disturbing. It has enabled Israel to proceed with its flagrant aggression against Lebanon, without the slightest justification, since it possesses an arsenal that enables it to threaten peace.

Israel's argument that the invasion was necessary in order to defend Galilee is groundless. In the course of the 10 months prior to the invasion there was a cease-fire in force which the Palestine Liberation Organization scrupulously observed. It is very strange indeed that at the time when the PLO was observing that commitment - and all the information available confirmed that the commitment to respect the cease-fire was being complied with during those 10 months

(Mr. Masoud, Saudi Arabia)

despite Israeli provocations and continued bombardments .. Israel had already been mobilizing its forces on the Lebanese border months before the invasion. When Israel found no better pretext for carrying out its aggressive actions, it linked that operation to the attempted assassination of the Israeli Ambassador in London, although it had been stated that those arrested in that assassination attempt actually intended to carry out a similar attack against PLO representatives in London.

The Palestinian people has been the object of discrimination and massive dispersal at the hands of Israel. Israel has been and is defying the resolutions of this Organization. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia cannot stand idly by in the face of such dangerous developments in the Middle East. Israel's aggression and denial of the Palestinians' legitimate rights led to the creation of the PLO.

After the United Nations established the State of Israel, after Israel declared that it was a peace-loving State and would comply with all the resolutions of this Organization and after it made certain promises to this Organization, Israel refused to comply with General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 1948, which called upon that State to permit the Palestinian people to return to their towns and villages and to provide them with just compensation.

Aggression and injustice continue today, and the only difference is that now Israel, through its aggressive actions and blackmail, has succeeded in arming itself to the teeth so that it can impose the law of the jungle. Israel has been defying the world community for 34 years and has been disregarding and defying this Organization, which established that Jewish State.

The international community cannot disregard the military support which Israel is receiving and which enables it to pursue its aggression against neighbouring and non-neighbouring States. Those highly sophisticated weapons have enabled Israel to interfere even in the affairs of the United States, with which it has strategic agreements. Israel has even gone to the extent of adopting positions which are contrary to the interests of the ally which supports it.

(Mr. Masoud, Saudi Arabia)

The Palestinian people remains the direct victim of the presence of Israel, that outlaw State which continues to engage in every form of persecution, inflicting virtual martyrdom upon its victims, be they Palestinians or the inhabitants of neighbouring regions or refugee camps. This is being done deliberately by Israel. Indeed, Israel is bringing the world back to the Dark Ages of history when the principle of aggression and genocide prevailed, and when, during the Second World War the Nazi and Fascist régimes pursued a policy which was denounced as a war crime by the victors of the Second World War.

We know what zionism has in common with nazism, for it is now being practised against the Palestinians, as well as against peoples of other Arab territories, both occupied and unoccupied. Israel is pursuing the people of Palestine wherever they are, with a view to exterminating them and erasing the traces of the original crime it committed against them. It has premeditatedly bombed civilian quarters, schools and hospitals; it has prohibited the press from entering those areas and has been censoring all information emanating from them. In addition, Israel has been prohibiting the supply of electricity, water, food and even air to those areas. It has prevented Western and Arab doctors from entering those sectors and has indeed dug a grave for all the inhabitants of Beirut.

After destroying towns in the south, Israel has proceeded to destroy the remaining civilian refugee communities in order to prevent the survivors from returning to the rubble of their homes.

In the course of its invasion of Lebanon, and by imposing a blockade on the Palestinians in Lebanon, Israel has defied international law and custom, as well as the decisions of the Security Council calling for its unconditional withdrawal, for a cessation of all military operations, for compliance with the provisions of the Hague Convention of 1907, and calling upon Israel to enable United Nations forces to enter the region militarily occupied by Israel and to lift the blockade of Beirut.

(Mr. Masoud, Saudi Arabia)

The acts committed by Israel in Lebanon and in Palestine are war crimes and justify trying the leaders of Israel for their perpetration. There was no justification for the bombing of civilian settlements in southern Lebanon or in Beirut. Its sole objective was to kill as many of their inhabitants as possible. The deliberate and premeditated act of genocide against innocent civilians is a war crime, and cannot be called otherwise.

In the course of the last hour before the intervention of the President of the United States with Begin, the Israeli forces released thousands of bombs upon the communities of Beirut, causing untold damage far exceeding anything that one sees on the television screen. Israel continues to act by force alone. As we are all very well aware, Israel resorted to this invasion of Lebanon to exterminate the Palestinian people and put an end to the PLO for no other reason than to undermine world efforts to bring about a settlement of the Palestine question and the Middle East issue, at the very core of which is the Palestinian people itself.

The Palestinian people has inalienable rights recognized by the General Assembly and by the world community as a whole. That people will make no concession with respect to its rights, despite all the efforts to exterminate it. Those efforts can only strengthen the determination of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples to increase their resistance. The Palestinians, together with their friends in Lebanon pitted against aggressors armed with the most destructive weapons, continue to resist unshakeably, even though they are less numerous and less well-armed than the aggressor. The Palestinian people will persevere in its well-known resistance to its enemy; it will continue to resist these invaders and aggressors.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, cognizant of its responsibilities and convinced that efforts must be made to solve the problem endangering the Middle East as a result of the Zionist entity's atrocious act of aggression that has wrought unprecedented destruction, is today closely watching the implementation of Security Council resolution 518 (1982), which was adopted unanimously. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia requests that the world community - notably the permanent members of the Security Council - raise its voice here in the United Nations to demand respect for the decisions of this world body reaffirming the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to a homeland of its own.

(Mr. Masoud, Saudi Arabia)

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia reaffirms its faith and deep-rooted belief that peace and stability can be brought to the Middle East region and to the world as a whole only through a just, comprehensive, equitable settlement of the Palestine question - one which will guarantee the rights of the Palestinian people to return to its homeland and establish a State of its own. We are prepared to play our role in the reaffirmation of these rights and in the restoration of peace and security to the Middle East.

Mr. SOMOGYI (Hungary): Ever since Israel unleashed its unprovoked massive aggression against yet another sovereign Arab State and Member of the United Nations - Lebanon - the Government and people of Hungary have continued to follow with the greatest concern the tragic events that have steeped that country and its capital in blood. We are deeply concerned at both the loss of life and the casualties which have occurred, as well as at the possible far-reaching consequences of the rapidly deteriorating situation in that region of the world.

I do not think words can adequately describe the endless destruction and the untold sufferings the hostilities have inflicted on innocent peoples. In the course of shellings and bombardments people are being killed indiscriminately: women, children and elderly alike, citizens who have nothing to do with the war. Israel's large-scale invasion, using ground, naval and air forces, is a horrible crime of genocide against the Palestinians and the people of Lebanon. Towns and villages have been destroyed, Palestinian refugee camps have been devastated, thousands have remained without shelter. The blockade of Beirut left the city's population for a long time without food, water and sufficient health care.

(Mr. Somogyi, Hungary)

This new escalation by Israel of the war it has been waging for decades against the Palestinian people and against neighbouring Arab States has provoked universal indignation, abhorrence and condemnation on the part of world public opinion. The resumption of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly is a reflection of this deep alarm and concern felt by the overwhelming majority of the international community in the face of the ongoing Israeli armed aggression.

In the past 10 weeks the Security Council has adopted a series of resolutions calling for an immediate cessation of military activities within Lebanon and across the Lebanese-Israeli border; demanding unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli military forces to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon; calling on all concerned to extend full co-operation to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL); calling upon all the parties to the conflict to respect the rights of the civilian populations and to refrain from all acts of violence against them; calling for the restoration of the normal supply of vital facilities, particularly in Beirut; demanding that the Government of Israel lift immediately the blockade of that capital city; repeatedly confirming and renewing the demand for an immediate cease-fire; demanding that Israel co-operate fully in securing the effective deployment of United Nations observers; censuring Israel for its failure to comply with these resolutions; and so on.

However, Israel, acting in its traditionally cynical manner, has not only failed to comply with these Security Council resolutions calling for the implementation of provisions aimed at halting the conflict but also unleashed wave after wave of attacks and escalated terror in an attempt to realize its widely publicized aim to achieve the "final solution of the Palestinian problem". This ever-intensifying act of aggression, which was planned in the course of previous months, is yet another manifestation of the Israeli attempt to perpetuate and escalate its expansion in the territories of the Arab States, thus destabilizing the region and threatening international peace and security. This policy is in flagrant violation of the generally accepted fundamental principles of international law, the most elementary norms of the international code of conduct, the Charter of the United Nations and relevant United Nations resolutions.

(Mr. Somogyi, Hungary)

Israel has done everything it could to abort a political solution and even resorted to violence. Tel Aviv has elevated terror to the level of official Government policy, neglecting the effects on human beings of what it is doing. Thus thousands of innocent civilians - Lebanese and Palestinians alike - have been killed or wounded in pursuit of ambitions deriving from hatred and expansionist aspirations. The aim of the current aggression is further to destabilize Lebanon and to disperse the Palestinian people - which has already been displaced and uprooted from its homeland -- to intimidate that people and break its will and determination to fight for its rights, physically to annihilate the Palestine Liberation Organization, the vanguard of this struggle, and to compel the Arab States to renounce their lawful aspirations and accept an imperialist diktat.

These terrorizing and intimidating acts can in no way be justified. They blatantly violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and subvert the search for a peaceful solution of the Palestinian issue, thus impairing any chance of attaining a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East crisis. It is our firm conviction that the irresponsible political course the Israeli Government has been pursuing for years is not only detrimental to that region and the world as a whole but is also tragic for its own country and people.

It is no secret to anyone that Tel Aviv would not be able to pursue its expansionist policy and that this current act of aggression could not have taken place without the consent, encouragement and support of the United States. It is all too well known to everyone here that Washington - still rejecting the principle of self-determination for the Palestinian people - considers Israel to be an indispensable major strategic ally in realizing its own ill-conceived aspirations in the Middle East. That is clearly demonstrated by American attempts to cover up for its protégé and to prevent the condemnation of Israel and the taking of effective measures against it in the Security Council, as well as by the manner in which Washington handles the whole issue, trying to infiltrate into Lebanon under the pretext of solving the crisis.

The international community must not limit itself to expressing sympathy and mourning the thousands of innocent victims of this aggression. The United Nations can no longer remain on the sidelines, because its effectiveness

(Mr. Somogyi, Hungary)

and authority are being challenged and because its prestige is at stake. In conformity with the letter and spirit of the Charter, the Security Council should take effective measures immediately to halt the aggression and to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people; it must also ensure that its resolutions are complied with. The General Assembly should also raise its voice to defend the peoples that are victims of the Israeli aggression and to restrain the aggressor.

The key to the success of joint efforts lies in the unity of all peace-loving forces: at this critical stage, the common goal should prevail over differences. Unanimity in the Security Council - which bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security - is also a basic requirement. But unacceptable concessions in respect of principles must not be the price for this unity; it is to be achieved and maintained on the basis of condemning and isolating the aggressor.

Urgent steps must be taken in order to put an immediate end to the Israeli siege of Beirut and the Israeli aggression against Lebanon in order to halt all hostilities and secure the withdrawal of all Israeli forces from that country, thus safeguarding Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity and ensuring the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Only thus would we pave the way towards an over-all settlement.

Conflicting motives and interests cannot be reconciled by bombs and missiles; a comprehensive, just and lasting solution cannot be attained by force. Respect for the right of Lebanon to live in peace and for the right of the Palestinian people to live in peace within an independent State of its own are prerequisites for Israel's oft-mentioned security and its right to live in peace, within internationally recognized and guaranteed boundaries, together with all the nations of the region.

Peace can be achieved only through collective efforts: it can be restored only within the framework of an international conference with the equal participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and by taking into account the fundamental rights and vital interests of all the participants. A comprehensive

(Mr. Somogyi, Hungary)

settlement should be formulated on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967 and on the exercise of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish its own sovereign State in Palestine.

Hungary's full solidarity with the Palestinian people remains unchanged. We whole-heartedly support their just struggle, as we support all initiatives and efforts aimed at bringing about a just and lasting solution to the long-outstanding question of Palestine, which is the core of the whole Middle East problem. It is in this spirit that the Hungarian delegation welcomes the suggestion made to advance to 1983 the date of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, originally scheduled for 1984.

Mr. LIPATOV (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): This session has resumed its work at a time when the attention of the international community is riveted on the tragic events in Lebanon. More than two months ago Israel committed a further criminal act of aggression against that small Arab country without seeking to conceal that its purpose was the destruction of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the establishment in Lebanon itself of a régime compliant to Tel Aviv. As a result yet another Middle East war has erupted, the fifth over the last 30 years.

From the statements made by the representative of the PLO and other speakers and also from news that is constantly reaching us from the field it is clear that the aggressor is carrying out a monstrous act of genocide in Lebanon. This is the only word which can be used to describe the activities of an aggressor whose troops are calmly and deliberately annihilating the Arab people of Palestine, who were previously stripped of their own land and their own homes by the selfsame Israel, and also the peaceful inhabitants of Lebanon, showing no mercy to anyone, neither women and children nor old people. The Israeli military have left hundreds of thousands of dead and wounded, hundreds of thousands of homeless in Lebanese territory: they have devastated towns and villages and demolished Palestinian refugee camps. The ruling circles in Israel are attempting to solve the Middle East problem, at the heart of which lies the Palestinian problem, in their own way, that is, by the method of total annihilation by submerging the Palestinian people, fighting for its freedom and independence, in a blood-bath. The leaders of this so-called democracy term their monstrous crimes the "Peace for Galilee" operation, talking airily about the need to establish so-called zones of safety, completely overlooking the fact that what is taking place is the grossest possible violation of the norms of international law and, first and foremost, of the principle of respecting the sovereignty and independence of other States. However, speakers here have quite appropriately compared this villainy with the crimes of Nazi Germany.

It is perfectly obvious that the wanton and reckless policy pursued by Israel could not be carried out with such braggadocio were it not for the direct assistance and patronage which it receives from a major imperialist Power. The bloody events in Lebanon are the direct result of the policy pursued by the United States of turning the Middle East into its own military and political beach-head and its

attempt to take over the wealth of that area, particularly oil. All this is explained away by talk about so-called protection of vital interests. The United States has always regarded Israel as its main bulwark in the Middle East and forged with it a special relationship last year by signing the memorandum on strategic co-operation.

All this could not fail to spur the Israeli ruling circles on to new aggressive sorties against neighbouring peoples and has enabled them to keep the Arab territory seized in 1967 and to flout the legitimate right of the four-million-strong Palestinian people to set up their own State. The money which the United States has invested in the Israeli military machine and in the sophisticated weaponry which is supplied to them is designed not only to further general strategic purposes in the region, but also to enable them to test the latest models of American armaments. It is well known that the Israeli military has made considerable use against the valiant defenders and the civilian population of besieged Beirut of such savage inhumane weapons as napalm, fragmentation, cluster and phosphorus bombs.

As if this were not enough, chemical weapons have also been employed and quite recently the so-called vacuum bomb was used. All these means of destruction have borne the inscription "Made in USA".

The serious and critical situation which has developed in the Middle East calls for forthright and expeditious steps by those who cherish peace. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, in this connexion, would like to support the efforts of the Security Council which have been aimed at putting an end to the bloodshed in Lebanon and at ensuring the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the aggressor's troops. At the same time, quite justly, we are indignant at the activities of those who constantly do not balk at torpedoing the adoption of decisions which would ensure the implementation of Security Council resolutions. By acting in this way the United States is in fact providing political cover for the aggressor. Therefore the just condemnation should also be levelled against the protector who bears equal responsibility with Tel Aviv for the banditry in Lebanon.

(Mr. Libatov, Ukrainian SSR)

The Lebanese adventure of Israel and its accomplices once again brings up the very acute matter of the need for a just and comprehensive Middle East settlement. As the experience of recent decades has shown, the path of armed confrontation and the path of separate deals cannot yield a settlement to the problems of the Middle East. We are profoundly convinced that they can be resolved only as a result of collective efforts on the part of all parties concerned, including the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It was precisely for this purpose that the Soviet Union put forward its proposal on the convening of an international conference on the Middle East.

The people of Soviet Ukraine, and indeed all the Soviet people, firmly condemn the wanton banditry which is being committed by the Zionists, condemn this criminal aggression and support the Arab people of Palestine which is waging a valiant battle for its right to live in security, to independent development and to the establishment of their own State. All people of goodwill express their solidarity with the Arab people of Palestine and with Syria and Lebanon and with all those who have fallen victim to Israeli aggression.

Recent events in Lebanon have once again demonstrated that a settlement of the Middle East problem brooks no delay. Our delegation considers that the present session should make its own constructive contribution thereto.

Mr. DJALAL (Indonesia): My delegation welcomes the resumption of the seventh emergency special session on the question of Palestine at this critical juncture and amidst the growing concern of the international community at the grave developments taking place in Lebanon. For the last two months the world has watched with anger and consternation the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the merciless attack against the Palestinian people on a scale never before known in history. We were shocked at the toll in human lives, especially among the civilian population, and the incalculable destruction caused by the massive invasion of a peace-loving neighbouring State.

The aggression against Lebanon and the magnitude of the damage caused, both in human and material terms, have already reached legendary proportions and have rightly bewildered the international community. That invasion has no doubt been prompted by Israel's determination to annihilate the political and military leadership represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), so that the question of Palestine will for ever lose its meaning and relevance.

With regard to the tragedy that has befallen Lebanon, my Government has watched with pain and sorrow the suffering inflicted on its people and the Palestinians and strongly condemns Israel's aggression against them. Early in the invasion my Government demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli forces. We call upon this session to express its indignation in no uncertain terms at the unparalleled merciless action and to reaffirm Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Further, we express to the Lebanese Government, which wants to live in peace and harmony with its neighbours, our unswerving support in its darkest hour. This Assembly must demonstrate its collective determination to achieve Israeli withdrawal from all Lebanese territory and to secure international assistance for the victims of the invasion in order to mitigate the sufferings of those hapless people.

As I stated earlier, the aim of the Israeli aggression is to destroy the national identity and aspiration of the Palestinian people and their sole, legitimate representative, the PLO. The aim is, undoubtedly, to deprive the Palestinians of their leadership in their struggle to resist the continued occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza and in their efforts to establish a

(Mr. Djalal, Indonesia)

State of their own. For years Israel has tried to achieve this end by occupying Palestinian territories followed by repression, but these efforts have been frustrated. The so-called operation for peace in Galilee was a misnomer to conceal a pretext; and, through its invasion and occupation of Lebanon, Israel has mounted a campaign aimed at nothing less than the total liquidation of the Palestinian cause and its legitimate representatives. That is also the reason and motive behind Israel's refusal to heed the calls for cease-fire and the cessation of all military activities.

Indonesia condemns Israel for its attempts to annihilate the PLO, the nationalism and patriotism of which cannot be extinguished, despite the temporary setback that it is suffering. Moreover, it is clear that the problem of Palestine cannot be resolved through the annexation of occupied territories or through the creation of illegal settlements in those territories. The Palestinians, like all peoples, must have a homeland of their own. They must exercise their right to self-determination and to establish a State of their own in their homeland. We therefore reiterate our call for the recognition and full exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to independence and sovereignty and to participate in any negotiations which will lead to determining their future.

It is a delusion to think that by decimating the PLO the aspirations of the Palestinian people to achieve their legitimate rights can also be destroyed. Just as in the past, today the PLO remains the soul and conscience of the Palestinian people, and this fundamental fact cannot be changed by force of arms. Despite the aggression, the Palestinian aspiration for a homeland will emerge stronger than ever and the objective of an independent State will not disappear. Israel must therefore finally face the Palestinian problem and change its policies in the occupied territories. Thus, the only hope for peace out of this death and destruction is for Israel to accept Palestinian sovereignty in the occupied Palestinian territories. It is inconceivable that people who have undergone the sad and tragic experience of exodus should themselves inflict the same fate upon another innocent people by uprooting it from its homeland. We are confident that the Palestinians will stand steadfast against overwhelming odds and prevent a new Diaspora from emerging.

(Mr. Djalal, Indonesia)

Unfortunately, by its action Israel has once again repudiated all peaceful avenues for achieving a comprehensive solution and continues to defy the overwhelming views of the international community. It is relevant to note that, while Israel has defied our Organization, the PLO has accepted the relevant United Nations resolutions on the Palestinian question.

Let us also take note that the Security Council during the past two months either adopted unanimous resolutions - which have not been implemented owing to Israel's complete disregard of them - or resolutions and decisions were rejected because of the frequent misuse of the veto power.

In conclusion, the recent chain of tragic events has once again demonstrated that the question of Palestine remains at the heart of the conflict and that without a solution to that question there can be no just and lasting settlement in the Middle East. How many more wars should take place before Israel and its supporters realize that the Palestinian issue is the core of the conflict in the Middle East? We therefore join with those States which have called on Israel's friends to adopt a more rational and even-handed policy towards the Middle East question as a whole and the independence of the Palestinian people in particular. Furthermore, we must mount a concerted drive to convince them that they must join with the international community in enforcing the imposition of sanctions. My Government, as always in the past, remains ready to support the measures that this session will adopt to make Israel cease its policy of attempting to destroy the Palestinian people and immediately and unconditionally to withdraw its forces from Lebanon and all the occupied Arab territories.

Mr. NOWAK (Poland): The seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly has resumed its work in particular political conditions: the ominous sounds of Israeli aggression against Lebanon, against the Palestinians and the Lebanese people are reaching these chambers at full strength; they are clearly audible here. Before our eyes are also the dramatic scenes of the

(Mr. Nowak, Poland)

besieged city, the ruins of Beirut, the streets full of the dust of war, gun-smoke and cluster-bomb fragments, and the streets systematically destroyed by the brute force of Israeli aggression. There is the plight of the Palestinian people and the Lebanese people, the plight of the civilian population - an enormous humanitarian problem.

It is obvious that the recent developments show that the conflict, having been escalated to new dimensions, threatens peace and security in the entire region.

We have presented our point of view on the problem of Palestine on various occasions, both in the past and recently, in the General Assembly and in the Security Council as well. We have confirmed our consistent line of strong support and admiration for the staunch and heroic struggle of the Palestinian people and its sole, legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). We have condemned the continued escalation of Israeli aggression. We have expressed our indignation and strong condemnation of the crimes perpetrated by the aggressor.

(Mr. Nowak, Poland)

Today we should like once again to reiterate our unswerving stand for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem: for a strict implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to freedom, independence and sovereignty and to establish a State of its own: and for a genuine and lasting peace -- which can be the only real guarantee of security for all peoples in the region.

Let there be no doubt that a lasting peace in the Middle East is not possible without the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people. Those who think otherwise, because of their present preponderance in the battlefield, are entertaining illusions over the long term, for it is not possible to crush and break a people whose heroism has been proved and whose tenacity has been tested more than once.

Recent tragic developments show us again and forcefully the basic truth about the Middle East crisis. First, the Middle East crisis cannot be resolved without a just solution of the Palestinian problem. Secondly, there can be no solution to the Palestinian problem other than a final international guarantee of the rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to their own State. Thirdly, naked military strength, the favourite political instrument of the Israeli Government, cannot erase the Palestinian problem. It cannot erase the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian nation. It cannot provide any solution since the solution can be reached only through negotiations among all those interested, including the representative of the Palestinian nation - the PLO.

In the decision to move the PLO fighters out of Beirut we see an important gesture of goodwill on the part of the Palestine Liberation Organization to stop the enormous sufferings of the civilian population at the hands of the Israeli war machine.

The Polish Government joins the international community in its desire to see a speedy end to the insane barbarism of the Israeli army in Lebanon. We demand that Israel, a Member of this Organization, comply with the recommendations of the Security Council contained in its relevant resolutions.

Together with the entire international community, we demand that the principles and norms of international law cease to be violated by Israel. The

(Mr. Nowak, Poland)

unconditional withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from all Lebanese territory must be carried out immediately. Lebanon should have an opportunity to restore its sovereignty over its whole territory, including that controlled by the so-called de facto forces. The territorial integrity of that country should be guaranteed and protected. An end should be put to Israeli aggression against it.

The Israeli policies of aggression and creeping annexation of the occupied territories carried out with the support of its strategic ally show, however, very clearly that the international community is faced with the real danger of a prolonged Israeli occupation of Lebanon. Such a development would only add to an already highly explosive situation in the region which threatens conflagration at any moment.

The world has seen the culmination of the latest Israeli act of aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

Israel's years-long policy of annexation of the occupied Arab territories - the Arab part of Jerusalem, the Golan Heights and the West Bank - and its policy of destruction and genocide have extended to include the territory of Lebanon.

There is a need for a strong reaction on the part of the international community. Alarmed over the worsening of the situation in the Middle East and most seriously concerned over the continuation and intensification of the military activities of Israel, the General Assembly should adopt an appropriate resolution in the interest of peace in the region and of the just cause of the Palestinian people.

Mr. SIBAY (Turkey): The General Assembly of the United Nations for the third time this year alone is meeting in an emergency special session to consider once again the question of Palestine, this time in conjunction with the tragedy of Lebanon. While, on the one hand, this demonstrates clearly the deep and serious concern of the international community over the fate of the Arab people of Palestine and the future of Lebanon, on the other hand, it is a telling and most unfortunate testimony to the persistent failure of the international community to resolve the question of Palestine which lies at the very heart of the Middle East problem.

(Mr. Sibay, Turkey)

With its invasion of Lebanon and its continuing siege of Beirut, Israel has brought great devastation there and immense suffering to the inhabitants of that country, both Lebanese and Arab Palestinians. Thousands have died and many more - men, women and children - have been maimed and rendered homeless.

The people and Government of Turkey have been intensely grieved by the human and material losses inflicted upon the inhabitants of Lebanon by the Israeli aggressors. Turkey is sparing no humanitarian effort to alleviate the suffering of the Lebanese and Arab Palestinians and calls on all States and appropriate international agencies to help heal the wounds of the Lebanese and Arab Palestinians.

The last time we spoke from this same rostrum we stated that the international community must be uncompromising in the definition of its ultimate objective concerning Lebanon. For the Government of Turkey, this goal was and continues to be the full restoration of and assurance of respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries. The people of Lebanon should be enabled to determine their own future without external pressure and interference; Lebanon must be the country of the Lebanese and it should be able to live in peace and security with its neighbours. One fundamental requisite for the solution of the problem of Lebanon is the total withdrawal of Israeli forces.

Turkey supports those initiatives that are designed to restore the integrity of Lebanon and to make possible the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from that country.

The tragic events in Lebanon have also conclusively proved once again the inextricable link between the question of Palestine, on the one hand, and any and all other dimensions of the Middle East problem, on the other.

(Mr. Sibay, Turkey)

This is the meaning of what might by now appear to be a truism because it has been repeated so often, but what is in fact a central concept in the definition of the Middle East conflict, namely, that the question of Palestine constitutes the core of the Middle East problem. As we have done so many times before, we reiterate our firm conviction that there can be no just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East unless and until the legitimate national aspirations of the Arab Palestine people, in particular the right to self-determination and the right to establish their own independent state, are met and become fully realized.

The inalienable rights of the Arab Palestinian people and their determination to exercise them will not and cannot be weakened, much less eradicated, through Israeli policies of aggression, suppression, annexation, and of illegal settlements. Israel has nothing to gain from the use of force against the Arab Palestinians; such blind policies will only serve to intensify the resistance of the Arab Palestinian people.

We believe that recent events in Lebanon have heightened awareness of the Palestinian issue and the urgent need to resolve it on a just and lasting basis. We hope that this wider international realization of the necessity to create those conditions under which the Arab Palestinian people can freely exercise their national rights will gather momentum and strength. It is for this reason too that the International Conference on Palestine which will be held under the auspices of the United Nations assumes all the more importance.

The Government of Turkey sincerely hopes that the tragedy of Lebanon come to an end. Turkey also hopes that immediate and concrete steps can now be taken toward the realization of the inalienable rights of the Arab Palestinian people. Israel should no longer be allowed to defy the unanimously adopted resolutions of the Security Council and ought to be induced to demonstrate its readiness for enduring peace in the area by recognizing the reality and urgency of the Palestinian question and the legitimate national aspirations of the Arab Palestinian people.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.