



UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY



PROVISIONAL

A/ES-7/PV.29  
23 August 1982

ENGLISH

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Seventh emergency special session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Wednesday, 18 August 1982, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. KITTANI (Iraq)  
later: Mr. LIPATOV (Ukrainian SSR)  
- Question of Palestine: draft resolutions (A/ES-7/L.5 to A/ES-7/L.7) 57  
(continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 5 (continued)

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

The PRESIDENT: This afternoon we shall continue and, I hope, conclude the debate on the agenda before the emergency special session.

Three draft resolutions, in documents A/ES-7/L.5, A/ES-7/L.6 and A/ES-7/L.7, were circulated this morning. It is my intention to proceed to the vote on those draft resolutions at our meeting tomorrow morning.

Before I call on the next speaker in the debate I should like to announce that the following countries have become sponsors of the draft resolutions.

First, as regards draft resolution A/ES-7/L.5, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Chad, Congo, Cuba, Ethiopia, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Jordan, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sudan, the United Arab Emirates, Yemen and Yugoslavia have become sponsors.

As regards draft resolution A/ES-7/L.6, Chad, Congo, the German Democratic Republic, Grenada, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, Jamaica, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Madagascar, Malta, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sao Tome and Principe, Sudan, Tunisia, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Viet Nam and Yemen have become sponsors.

Finally, as regards draft resolution A/ES-7/L.7, Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Grenada, Guyana, Iraq, Jordan, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen have become sponsors.

Mr. AMEGA (Togo)(interpretation from French): First of all, I should like to express my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you, Mr. President, conducting the business of this resumed emergency special session of the General Assembly. Since your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, you have had one of the busiest years in the Organization's history. During this particularly heavy year -- with sessions of the General Assembly -- you have sufficiently proved your competence, your wisdom and your impartiality; these, again, are a guarantee of the success of the work that we are doing now.

At the outset the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly was convened to consider the question of Palestine, but no one can remain silent at the tragedy which is now going on in Lebanon and which is the latest unfortunate development in the Middle East crisis, at the centre of which is of course the question of Palestine.

In other words, these two matters are closely interrelated, and it seems timely for us to forewarn those who might be tempted to take the effect for the cause, because in any matter of dialectics the principal may be perceived as the secondary and, conversely, the secondary may become the principal factor. Let there be no mistake: here the cause, the principal factor, is the question of Palestine that some determinedly conceal behind the secondary aspect of the Middle East crisis. It is important to concentrate on the cause and find a proper solution for it.

On 6 June 1982, after intensive preliminary bombardments from the three branches of the armed forces and using as an excuse the attempted assassination of the Israeli Ambassador in London, the Israeli Army wreaked blind vengeance by invading southern Lebanon, in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, the principle of the non-use of force in international relations, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, thus claiming to ensure peace for the populations of Galilee. But very quickly the declared objectives of Israeli intervention were superseded and what was presented at the outset as a defence operation, limited in space and time, rapidly assumed the dimensions of a holocaust. Thus,

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

this vengeful operation of the TSAHAL (Israeli Defence Forces) was quickly transformed into total war, not only the longest that Israel has had to wage but also the most deceitful.

For Israel, under the pretext of dismantling the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), it is a matter of eradicating all Palestinian life in Lebanon. Thus the systematic massacres were carried out in Palestinian refugee camps, hospitals, schools and districts said to shelter Palestinian combatants. We have heard talk of genocide - and it is not too strong a word. My delegation wonders how the State of Israel, whose people during the Second World War suffered the worst humiliations and odious crimes committed against the human race, could be so irrational as to commit the same excesses. We do not understand, and any search for an explanation confounds us, since we believe that the State of Israel is based on the teachings of Mosaic law.

The Security Council, the guarantor of international peace and security, has not remained inactive. At the beginning of the aggression it unanimously adopted resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) calling for the immediate cessation of hostilities in south Lebanon on both sides of the Israeli-Lebanese frontier and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. Israel did not implement those resolutions and hostilities continued in the field, so the Security Council adopted resolutions 511 (1982), 512 (1982), 513 (1982), 515 (1982), 516 (1982), 517 (1982) and 518 (1982) - all, except two, unanimously. For its part, the General Assembly at its resumed emergency special session on the question of Palestine adopted resolution A/ES-7/5.

That succession of resolutions clearly shows the serious concern of the Security Council in the face of a conflict the escalation of which was extended not only to the northern limits of Lebanon but also to the life of peaceful civilians, both Lebanese and Palestinian. The mass media have depicted all the horrors thereof.

Thus my delegation has unreservedly condemned the invasion of southern Lebanon by Israel. Today again it condemns unreservedly the continuation of that aggression in disregard of Security Council resolutions and in view of the many innocent human lives lost and the considerable destruction caused.

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

Until recently, Israel, which seemed to have definitively chosen the military option - in other words, the final assault on west Beirut which is under siege - remained deaf to the protests of the international community and the many peaceful demonstrations, including those in Israel itself, calling for an end to hostilities and a search for a political solution of the crisis. Its idea was that the total elimination of the Palestinian nucleus and the dispersal of those of the Palestinian people who remained was really going to restore peace to Galilee. That was to disregard the principle of the sociological dynamic according to which it is easy to suppress a people and those who remain, but it is difficult to suppress ideas which will be transmitted to future generations with greater force. The history of the Jewish Diaspora can teach us much about that.

For a few days, however, we have seen glimmers of hope. Indeed, it seems that, in the light of the protests of the international community, which has made clear that it will not accept the extermination of the people of Palestine and, on the other hand, as a result of the untiring efforts and pressures of its main ally, Israel is no longer giving priority to the military option and is willing to seek a political solution. The last cease-fire seems to be holding, and all the parties have agreed to the plan proposed by Mr. Habib, the United States emissary, with a view to putting an end to the crisis. My delegation hopes that all the parties will implement the plan in good faith to ensure respect for Lebanon's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

After the forthcoming evacuation of Lebanon and the deployment in Beirut of the multinational peace-keeping forces, the question of Palestine will not however be solved, nor will peace be completely established throughout the region.

It is therefore difficult to erase from the mind of the Palestinians the idea to which they have rallied since the end of the last world war, namely, that they have a right like every other nation to a homeland and an independent State. In an article which appeared in Le Monde Diplomatique,

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

No. 341 of August 1982, an analyst, Eric Rouleau, wrote:

"Palestinian nationalism has continually grown and intensified  
Its vitality demonstrates its indestructible nature."

That analyst continued:

"The rout of Yasser Arafat and his friends from Beirut will not  
necessarily mean the end of the PLO... which enjoys internationally  
a prestige unknown by any other national liberation movement,  
even at the height of its struggle."

(Mr. Amega, Togo)

Therefore it would be wise to take the most historically just position, as does the Government of Togo. We recognize the right of all States in the region to existence, to live in peace within safe and internationally recognized boundaries. We recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, in particular its right to self-determination and to the establishment of a sovereign and independent State.

On this basis we feel that a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the region will be possible only when an international conference has been convened where all the parties directly involved in the Israeli-Arab conflict, namely, Israel, the Arab States and the PLO, will mutually recognize each other even at the cost of agonizingly reviewing their initial basic positions. Africa supports such a proposal. The European Community said the same thing when, at Venice in June 1980, it requested that the PLO be associated with all negotiations. Recently, internationally eminent persons such as Mendes France, Nahum Goldmann and Philip Kluznick advocated a settlement based on mutual recognition of the Palestinian and Israeli peoples. The congratulations openly addressed by Chairman Yasser Arafat to those eminent persons are symptomatic, it seems to me.

The international conference should seek ways of implementing in its entirety General Assembly resolution 181 (1947), adopted in November 1947, which provided for the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish State and a Palestinian State.

Before concluding, I should like to take this opportunity to express to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, my delegation's satisfaction at the untiring efforts he has made and will continue to make in order to facilitate a peaceful solution to the crisis in Lebanon and, on behalf of my delegation, to repeat its total support for the moves he has made under the mandate entrusted to him by the Security Council in many resolutions.

From this rostrum I should once again like to appeal to all the parties directly concerned in the Middle East conflict to show wisdom, moderation and tolerance so that, in the rather near future, the Jewish and Palestinian peoples can live in brotherhood. In this respect, the recent overtures of the Chairman of the PLO, Mr. Yasser Arafat, towards Israel provide an opportunity, to my delegation's thinking, that should be seized.

Mr. TRAORE (Mali) (interpretation from French): For years the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has constantly warned the international community of the grave danger that the progressively deteriorating situation in the Middle East, and in particular in Palestine, presents for peace and international security. Successive resumptions of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly and the almost constant meetings of the Security Council in recent months on this matter reflect a reality that is both moving and distressing.

Unfortunately Palestine has become even further engulfed in blood and the horror of indescribable sufferings. It is assuming dimensions which have never before to the same extent shaken the very foundations on which the aims and principles of the Charter of this international Organization were so solidly built.

The constant mobilization of international public opinion by the Non-Aligned Movement in order better to convey the nature and real scope of the national liberation struggle being waged by the Palestinian people, and the specific proposals made to find a peaceful resolution of a situation whose continuation must necessarily lead to a generalized conflict, are based on this fundamental concern, which is a permanent feature of the Movement, to act relentlessly in order to safeguard peace.

The programmes of action and the recommendations on the situation in Palestine, adopted as a result of the emergency sessions of the Non-Aligned Movement which were held in Kuwait and in Nicosia and at the recent ministerial session held in Havana, as well as those proposals which were put forward some time ago by the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, all based on the Charter, are designed to give legitimacy to the existence of the Palestinians as a people, a people which belong to a nation that cannot be denied by history and which have survived the tribulations of inter-State relationships.

The seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly has resumed its work because the situation in the Middle East, and in particular in Palestine, is reminiscent of the days of generalized conflicts. The wording of the item on the agenda, for want of an appropriate expression, cannot really reflect



(Mr. Traore, Mali)

or describe the hell in which the Palestinian fighters and the population of west Beirut are living or the policy of the Government of Israel which has long been pursued in order to erase from the world map a whole country, namely, Palestine, to annihilate an entire people, that is, the Palestinians, and to enmesh in its political and economic web a sovereign State and a founding Member of the United Nations - Lebanon.

In participating in this discussion, it may occur to some to dwell once more on the insults which the Government of Israel has constantly proffered to this international Organization in disregarding with impunity the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council on the commitments which every State party to the Charter has contracted to respect. In this particular instance, it is simply a question of recognizing the Palestinian entity, the inviolable right of the Palestinian people to live in peace, like all other peoples in the world, under a form of government that they alone have chosen.

Israel is not complying with the resolutions of the international Organization and unfortunately, and this is the greatest tragedy, it does not seem that things are going to get any better. Its response to each of the resolutions has taken the form of defiance and arrogance, because it is assured of impunity, and of an accompanying escalation of violence, the terrifying pictures of which reach us every day from Lebanon and other occupied Arab territories.

Therefore the question is quite simply whether the United Nations Charter has not become a mere piece of paper, a Charter which, we should recall, was conceived and drawn up at a time when the forces of hatred and the denial of the rights of peoples to liberty and to the attainment of their national destiny in peace and harmony had been crushed.

(Mr. Traore, Mali)

Essentially the question is whether the United Nations has established a scale of values, some of which involve its prompt action, whereas others appear to it to be unimportant matters, unimportant, that is, because they would not affect its credibility or affect its determination to preserve future generations from the calamities of war, poverty and indignity.

The settlement of the Palestinian issue, in other words the recognition of the Palestinian fact, the Palestinian reality, and the exercise by the Palestinian people of its national rights, has been universally recognized as the only possible solution which will restore peace in the Middle East. We have already had occasion to recall from this very rostrum that the political upheavals in the Middle East have four times already almost brought mankind to the brink of perdition.

Successive sessions of the General Assembly on the Palestinian situation, the almost uninterrupted meetings of the Security Council held on the same matter these last months, have borne witness to the fact, as the representative of the PLO has recalled from this rostrum, that the United Nations is continuing to hold aloft the olive branch which may, however, fall on the ruins of the Middle East; and that would dash the legitimate hopes of all of mankind for security and for a better future.

The word "peace", this quintessential requirement for our survival, is unfortunately bandied about in a number of statements made by Member States which, in fact, use it only as a propaganda instrument, because their daily actions contribute to endangering it constantly.

The operation Peace for Galilee, which was initiated by the Government of Israel, must be seen in this latter context, as must also the practices which have scorned all humanitarian norms vis-à-vis civilian populations in the conflict areas, attacked, with the use of armed forces, the peace-keeping system established by the United Nations and threaten the very existence of a Member State, Lebanon.

The expansionist policy of the Government of Israel should not be dwelt on at too great length. The delegation of Mali in this respect will confine

(Mr. Traore, Mali)

itself to recalling the statement which we made, on 5 February 1982 at the ninth emergency special session, on the situation in the occupied Arab territories, and at the thirty-sixth regular session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine, to the effect that "it is easy to see that the purpose sought by the Tel Aviv leaders is purely and simply territorial expansion in a series of concentric circles: today Palestine, then the drive towards the Dead Sea, and tomorrow the neighbours of Israel".

Since then Israel has extended its boundaries to the Golan Heights and to the territory of Palestine, which has nevertheless been recognized as such by the United Nations. This gross violation of the national rights of the Palestinian people and of the norms of international law is doomed to failure whatever the excesses resorted to in order to force the Palestinian people to give up the physical and cultural heritage which it inherited from its forefathers.

The PLO, while affirming the unshakeable will of its people to resist Israeli aggression, has nevertheless made a permanent contribution to the search for negotiated solutions to the Palestinian crisis. To wage war when certain of victory and, at the same time, to offer peace out of respect for the norms of international law is indeed unusual. That is not the privilege of a non-existent people, of a band of terrorists and, still less, of a people which accepts to build its future on hypothetical humanitarian hand-outs.

Thus the United Nations has once again reached a turning-point in its history. The decisions it will have to take at the end of this session's work will show whether it continues to be equal to its international responsibilities by basing its action on the relevant provisions of the Charter concerning threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression.

The Government of Israel intends to destroy the PLO physically and politically, which is a euphemistic way of saying that it seeks to apply the "final solution" to the existence of the Palestinian people. But it is only a people itself that can effect its own destruction. The relentless hostility of Tel Aviv towards the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and the failure of the Peace for Galilee operation bear witness to the fact that the use of weapons will only forge Palestinian national unity still further and stiffen its determination to regain its homeland.

(Mr. Traore, Mali)

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(Mr. Traore, Mali)

According to the statements which have been published by the Government of Israel in official documents they indicate that the Peace for Galilee operation is to be directed against the PLO.

However, the actual state of affairs is quite different.

The moving accounts which have reached us from West Beirut, which has been under a state of seige for many months now, are not only a picture of the Palestinian fighters who have been given over to the furor of Israel's military, but their authenticity and their historic value stem precisely from the fact that they were published by sources of information, most of whom do not seek to disguise their sympathy for Israel, whatever be its expansionist excesses and its blind failure to realise one dazzling reality that Palestine is firmly attached to its own existence.

Men of peace and courage have compared West Beirut with the sorely tried cities of the last world war. The present existence of Palestinians has brought to their minds the pathetic fate of the Wandering Jew and the ignominious tragedy visited upon the Jewish people during that war. Our advanced civilization would perish were it to agree with such errors being repeated. It is, therefore, a very encouraging sign that the peoples of the entire world, including the Jewish people, have risen up against the attempts which have been made by the Israeli Government to exterminate the Palestinian people and the population of West Beirut. There are more and more people who are now seriously thinking about the ever growing danger of the out and out militarization which the State of Israel is practicing and the detrimental consequences which may flow from it for international peace and security.

The operation Peace for Galilee is, it has been suggested, only aimed at the Palestinian fighters, but in that case what nightmare is haunting us when, for example, we read in one of the reports of the International Committee of the Red Cross that in the Al Ansar Camp the prisoners taken by Israel include among them adults and, if you please, children.

(Mr. Traore Mali)

The fact is also that the Palestinian military targets which Israel claims to have destroyed are in fact hospitals, schools, refugee camps, those camps whose geographical situation is known to everyone, which are the final refuge of the Palestinians who were expelled from their homeland and which, however, have been systematically bulldozed to the ground. It was also perhaps for military reasons that the Israeli military authorities refused to comply with the instructions given by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) to bring foodstuffs, water and medical assistance to Tyre, to the refugee camps and elsewhere, as indicated in the report of the Secretary-General in document S/15357. Undoubtedly it is also for military reasons that the population of west Beirut has been deprived of water, food and medical care.

Therefore, the Peace for Galilee operation is simply aimed at the physical and political annihilation of the PLO. The meaning of the military invasion - the undeclared war which was carried out against the Republic of Lebanon by the Israeli battalions - is beyond comprehension.

Thus, as the days pass, despite mollifying declarations, the Israeli dream of a Greater Israel is becoming a reality thanks to practices which even include attacks on the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations.

Indeed, in the report of the Secretary-General, to which I have just referred, reference is made to the "difficulties" created by the Israeli forces to the freedom of movement of UNIFIL, which was not allowed to enter Tyre. Reference is also made to the forced interruption of the logistic activities of the helicopter unit belonging to that Force. Reference is also made to "incidents, in which Israeli military personnel forced entry into UNIFIL installations, destroyed UNIFIL checkpoints, fired close to UNIFIL positions or blocked roads in the UNIFIL area of deployment." (S/15357, para. 8)

That is far from being simply a war waged against the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, that is, the PLO.

(Mr. Traore, Mali)

There will never be any "final solution" to the existence of the Palestinian people. The only final solution, in view of its patriotic struggle, is that it will regain its national rights in accordance with the numerous recommendations made by men of peace, democratic organizations and the United Nations itself.

Implementing those recommendations is our duty now.

Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (interpretation from French): When the Assembly adjourned on 26 June last, after adopting a resolution calling, among other things, on Israel to comply with Security Council resolutions, no one had any illusions as to the outcome of a measure endorsed by a large majority of the international community. Again the arrogant and impenitent attitude of the Israelis triumphed over law and justice, while its traditional ally was engaged in unprecedented diplomatic activities to secure in one way or another the objectives of the Peace for Galilee operation. It is sad and indeed ironic to note that aggression has paid off, that Israel's defiance of all the resolutions and decisions of the Security Council concerning the invasion of Lebanon was not challenged and finally that Lebanon, innocent civilians and the Palestinians were the sacrificial lambs.

The fundamental principles of the Charter and of international law have repeatedly and purposely been flouted by Israel, which now poses as the redresser of wrongs and boasts about what it would like to have known as its attack against international terrorism as being successful. It states that it is even ready to guarantee the sovereignty, territorial independence and integrity of a new Lebanon. The confusion was carefully orchestrated, with the result that the Palestinian cause is increasingly lost from sight. That situation is all the more unacceptable since the United Nations is being denied any active role in the Middle East and since Israel intends to impose its solution, based essentially on barbarous repression, aggression, genocide and high-handedness, unfortunately with international imperialism as a tacit accomplice.

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

The limits have been exceeded for some time and, despite the salutary reactions of most Western countries, we wonder who, besides Israel, benefits from pushing the United Nations into the background, from the annihilation of the Palestinians and from placing Lebanon in an uncomfortable position vis-à-vis the common aspirations of the non-aligned countries and the countries of the third world in general. We have heard talk of a strategic alliance, of a global strategy of imperialism designed to undermine and paralyse regional and international organizations, and yet some are surprised that the third world, far from doing nothing, is hardening its attitude and seeking alternative solutions.

In this regard, the question of Palestine is an acid test. The evacuation of the Palestinian forces from Beirut and Lebanon cannot be regarded as the beginning of a solution, because once that evacuation is completed the crisis in the Middle East may become worse. Some are already talking of the possibility of an "Israeli peace". But politically a peace based on the denial of the rights of a people is inconceivable and justifies the action of the parties concerned in protesting against such an undertaking. They are reacting to it with all the means available to them, and quite clearly that will merely contribute to perpetuating the Arab-Israeli confrontation.

Furthermore, regardless of the unkind remarks made in various places about the countries that are to receive the evacuated Palestinians, we must not forget that we ourselves here decided that they have the right to return to their homes and possessions in Palestine. That point is not negotiable, and any loophole or attempt to avoid its implementation for security or any other reasons cannot be countenanced. It is up to the United Nations to see that the obligation entered into - and we say again, the obligation entered into - with respect to the Palestinian people, as a result of a decision based on principles of justice and equity, must be fully and promptly honoured.



(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

Another aspect of the present problem which particularly occupies my delegation's attention is that it is immoral and contrary to international law for the United Nations to lend itself, directly or indirectly, to an operation which would tend to reward Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian people. It is logical to condemn it and to demand that Israel withdraw unconditionally, particularly since the presence of other foreign troops is essentially a matter of Lebanese, not Israeli, sovereignty.

It is all the more logical, in view of Israel's persistence in violating our principles and in view of its refusal to fulfil its obligations under Article 25 of the Charter, for relevant provisions of that Article to be applied to it. That is why we deeply regret that the United States of America prevented the Security Council from calling on Member States to refrain from supplying Israel with any weapons or military aid until the final withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory.

In this respect I would venture to recall that on 9 August last, on the initiative of the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, an appeal to this effect was made to all States by the 30 African Heads of State who met in Tripoli, Libya.

The last point on which we should like to dwell at this stage concerns the need to find, as quickly as possible, a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the problem of the Middle East in accordance with our Charter and with General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. Truth to tell, the United Nations in recent years has had to face a barrage of acts of provocation designed to undermine its authority and credibility - acts of provocation which took the form of the conclusion of separate agreements, imposed solutions, or pure and simple aggression. We cannot leave the Middle East indefinitely to piecemeal impulsive ventures or moves. It is time to convene an international conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations. Let it, however, be clear that an over-all peace in the region, above all, presupposes the full exercise by the people of Palestine of its inalienable rights in Palestine, together with participation, on an equal footing, of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in its capacity as sole, legitimate representative of the people of Palestine.

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

During this statement, I have purposely confined myself to three aspects of the question under discussion - namely, the future of the Palestinians in Palestine, sanctions against Israel and the convening of an international conference on the Middle East. This is not a full analysis, but that does not in any way mean that we have abandoned our positions of principle or our solidarity with the people of Palestine and Lebanon. These positions have repeatedly been made clear, particularly after the invasion of 6 June 1982. But this time, in view of recent developments, we wanted to highlight the obligation incumbent upon the United Nations to promote and to defend the interests of the Palestinian people on the same footing as those of peoples under foreign or colonial domination.

It is no longer a matter of encapsulating the question of Palestine in a network of resolutions which some are quick to contest, condemn or ignore on the flimsiest excuse. We have a programme of action for Palestine. The Charter, after all, gives us the means, in practical and effective ways, to see that our demands are met, and at any time we can establish the appropriate machinery for concerted, decisive action. It would be sufficient, perhaps, to make certain people understand that the interests of the United Nations are one with the interests of regional international peace and security, and that these take precedence over what are usually called the vital or strategic interests of some States, planned in time and space but without necessarily taking account of the common good. The obligation we are talking about is an imperative one which must not be made subordinate to any realpolitik. It is up to us to assume our responsibilities. It is up to the people of Palestine to call us to account. Indeed, that is only just.

Mr. JOHNSON (Benin) (interpretation from French): The resumption of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine, in the opinion of the delegation of the People's Republic of Benin, once again demonstrates the ongoing concern of most States Members of the United Nations at the serious situation prevailing in the Middle East, a situation which has worsened since June of this year as a result of the new barbarous aggression carried out by the State of Israel against the peoples of Lebanon and Palestine.

(Mr. Johnson, Benin)

Yes, for more than two months now, we have been witnessing a new onslaught launched by the Tel Aviv régime, which, in total disregard of all rules of international law, decided politically and arbitrarily to occupy part of the national territory of the sovereign State of Lebanon. The invasion of Lebanon by the Israeli forces is the most cynical form of international terrorism used by Israel as an instrument to accelerate the implementation of its campaign to exterminate and annihilate the Arab people of Palestine.

The aggression committed by Israel against Lebanon falls, without a doubt, within the framework of the campaign to which I have just referred, since it is characterized by the massacre of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians in Beirut and by the more and more obvious intention of the Israeli authorities indefinitely to prolong their territorial occupation of Lebanon, despite the many appeals made to it by the international community.

Need one recall that, since Israel began this new high-powered attack on Lebanon, the Security Council, in its efforts to find a just and immediate solution to the problem, voted on several resolutions calling upon Israel to halt its aggression against Lebanon and to withdraw its forces to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon.

Unfortunately, Israel disregarded all of those resolutions, most of which failed to be adopted thanks to the veto exercised by a permanent member of the Security Council whenever it was a matter of condemning the Israeli régime for its acts of aggression.

(Mr. Johnson, Benin)

Consequently, Israel, assured of the unconditional support of its ally, demonstrates an arrogance seldom seen in international relations, trampling underfoot the decisions of the Council, the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies designed to make it see reason.

Indeed, this negative attitude of the Israeli régime has been reflected in some of its crimes and acts of aggression, which are still fresh in our minds, namely, Israel's decision in 1980 to make the Holy City of Jerusalem the eternal capital of the Zionist State; the attack against the nuclear research centre at Tamuz; and the annexation of the Syrian territory of the Golan Heights.

To all that is added the present invasion of the city of Beirut. It is therefore necessary for the countries members of the Security Council to see to it that this important body of the United Nations is made more effective so that its resolutions can henceforth be respected.

This lethargy deliberately imposed on the Security Council does not allow it to play its full role as defined in the United Nations Charter, particularly in Article 24, paragraphs 1 to 3.

That is why my delegation welcomes once again the initiative of the Non-Aligned Movement in calling for the resumption of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine.

Thus, the General Assembly still has before it the question of Palestine under Articles 12 and 14 of the Charter. Article 14 states that:

"Subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations."

In other words, the General Assembly, in view of the prerogatives conferred upon it by the Charter, in our eyes remains the competent body for taking decisions concerning the establishment of peace and security throughout the world.

(Mr. Johnson, Benin)

That is why the General Assembly should not confine itself to merely condemning the acts of aggression of Israel but should contemplate measures designed once and for all to prevent such acts which endanger peace in the Middle East.

My delegation wishes to state that it shares the views expressed by many previous speakers at this rostrum vigorously denouncing and condemning the aggressor.

We are convinced that a genuine solution of the problem of the Middle East lies not in the invasion of Lebanon or the withdrawal of the PLO combatants from Beirut but, rather, in the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and in the establishment of its own land of a free Palestinian State.

Ready for revolution; the struggle continues.

Mr. DE SILVA (Sri Lanka): The seventh emergency special session has been resumed for the third time this year for reasons which require no repetition here. When, in the two previous resolutions adopted by the resumed session it was decided to adjourn rather than close this session, the question was asked as to why this unusual procedure was being followed. Events have proved that those who called for the second, and now the third, resumption of this emergency special session were not wrong in their assessment, namely, that plans were afoot to apply what might be described as the "final solution" to the question of Palestine by annihilating the Palestinian people and its leadership as represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization. That plan is now being executed. We speak again in this resumed session because this is still the only forum where we can voice our views and it still does represent the international community, however helpless it may appear.

Insisting that all this is in furtherance of its own security, Israel, which occupies Palestinian territory in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and Syrian territory in the Golan Heights, has now decided to extend its strategy of security by invading yet another country, Lebanon, a State Member of this Organization. It is now over two months since the invasion of Lebanon commenced, since the United Nations Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) was contemptuously

(Mr. De Silva, Sri Lanka)

brushed aside and since Lebanon's capital, Beirut, has been under siege. The devastation and loss of life which Israel has wrought in the process leaves us all shocked and, unfortunately, immobilized. The Security Council resolutions demanding a cease-fire and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon are treated with callous disregard. Even the humanitarian relief which other belligerents allow in time of war is being denied to the civilian population of Lebanon, both Lebanese and Palestinian. And while all this lasts, while this carnage continues, as publicized in the media, and while nine Security Council resolutions have not been complied with by Israel, we have had to look on, seemingly helpless.

The Government of Sri Lanka has condemned the Israeli aggression in no uncertain terms. It has called for the immediate withdrawal of the forces of aggression. Together with the other members of the Non-Aligned Movement, we have expressed our solidarity with the Palestinian people and their representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, in their struggle for the attainment of their inalienable rights. We have expressed our solidarity with the Lebanese people in this hour of trial when their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity have been ruthlessly violated.

We urge the international community to act firmly and meaningfully to bring relief to the many thousands affected by this aggression. It is our conviction, however, as we have consistently stated before, that peace, security and a durable peace in the Middle East are not possible without a just solution to the Palestine question - the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, the right to national existence and the right to a homeland.

Peace in the region cannot be achieved by the use of force or aggression. A lasting peace can be achieved only through a negotiated settlement in which all parties to the conflict are represented. The eviction of the Palestinians from Lebanon or, for that matter, from any other region by force gives no assurance of peace. In any negotiated settlement, the participation of the representative of the Palestinian people, namely, the Palestine Liberation Organization, which has been recognized by the Assembly as well as by a large number of Member States, is essential. It is futile for Israel to expect to live in peace and within secure boundaries if the Palestinians are denied their right to national existence. If it can do no more, let this Assembly at least demonstrate that the international community is united in this resolve.

Mr. PRADHAN (Bhutan): We are meeting at a time when the situation in the Middle East is grave and serious. We have been appalled and shocked by the unwarranted use of military force by Israel in Lebanon and, particularly, the heavy shelling of Beirut. The indiscriminate use of force has resulted in the loss of countless civilian lives, including those of women and children. Buildings and other valuable properties have been damaged, destroyed or razed to the ground. Humanitarian problems have acquired gigantic proportions. Only time will tell when Beirut and the remainder of its population can recover and start leading normal lives. It will nevertheless be a long time before the scars and the wounds of the survivors are healed, if ever.

(Mr. Pradhan, Bhutan)

Israel cannot solve its problems with its neighbours by such use of military might. It cannot continue to ignore the cries of the international community and world opinion. It cannot defiantly and totally disregard the resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly - the very organizations that sanctioned its own existence. The international community must not allow any Member of this Organization to benefit from the gains acquired by the use of force. If we do so we shall be creating a very dangerous precedent for the strong to prey on the weak.

My delegation is of the opinion that this is the time for the international community once again to condemn the use of force in the settlement of disputes and to ensure that those who attempt to extract concessions or make various gains by use of force do not succeed. We must also reiterate our commitment to bringing about a just solution to the question of Palestine. My delegation would therefore now like once again to state that we continue fully to support the establishment of a sovereign and independent State of Palestine. This we believe can be accomplished only when Israel, in accordance with relevant Security Council and other United Nations resolutions, withdraws from all Arab and Palestinian territories that it has occupied since 1967. The people of Palestine have a right to return to their homes and properties. Israel cannot continue to deny this right or change this right through the use of force.

My delegation would also like to take this opportunity to express its heartfelt sympathies to the Government and the people of Lebanon for the loss of life and for the damage they have suffered during the last two months. It is the duty of the international community to ensure that the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon is not diluted in any manner. At the same time all Israeli forces should be withdrawn as early as possible so that the Government and the people of Lebanon are left to reconstruct their nation. In this respect, my delegation has been heartened by the fact that some agreement is being hammered out which may at least put an end to the present bloodshed and destruction. We also hope that Israel will heed the voices of reason and change its attitudes. It would be in its own long-term interests if it attempts to resolve the problem of Palestine in a manner which is peaceful, fair and just.



Mr. KALINA (Czechoslovakia) (interpretation from Russian): The large-scale Israeli aggression against the sovereign independent State of Lebanon which has met with sharp condemnation throughout the world from the very outset of this ongoing Lebanese tragedy earned the decisive condemnation of the Government and the people of Czechoslovakia. Therefore we fully supported the idea of resuming this emergency special session which was convened at the initiative of the non-aligned countries at a critical time for the fate of the Arab people of Palestine. As has already been emphasized in this Assembly, the Israel "Peace for Galilee" operation has beaten all previous records for barbarity and cruelty. The fact is that what has been happening for more than two months in Lebanon is nothing else but out-and-out genocide. Just as German Nazism during the Second World War attempted to exterminate whole nations, including the peoples of Czechoslovakia, Israeli Zionism is cynically and ruthlessly carrying out a calculated step-by-step extermination of the Palestinian people. Whole towns and Palestinian villages have been razed to the ground and in their place the Israeli military has swiftly set up Hitler-type concentration camps, with barbed wire.

Against the background of the deliberate bombing of the civilian population, the use of barbaric means of human destruction such as fragmentation and phosphorus bombs, the bombing of hospitals and clinics, there is every ground for charging Israel with war crimes, as have been condemned by international law. I do not need to list the entire range of Israel's crimes, including those it has perpetrated in the last two months against the Palestinian people and the civilian population of Lebanon, thus turning the Middle East into one of the most dangerous sources of international tension, a real threat to international peace and security. Begin's Government has once again shown the entire world the true face of its Zionist policies, at odds as it is with the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and the norms of international law. This undoubtedly must be described as a policy of aggression and expansion, terror and genocide, towards all Arab States and peoples which the leaders in Tel Aviv have already elevated to the rank of State policy.

What was stated by the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Soviet Socialist Republic on 8 June of this year is still true of the present situation. It was further emphasized by the leaders of the Czechoslovak delegation during the resumed emergency special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in June:

"The Government and people of Czechoslovakia strongly condemn this new aggression by the Israeli military against Lebanon and the Palestinian people, which the Government of Israel would not have dared to carry out without the agreement and support of world imperialism headed by the United States of America. This aggression is a direct result and consequence of the so-called peaceful Camp David settlement, which American imperialism and world Zionism have persistently tried to impose on the Arab countries and the people of Palestine." (A/ES-7/PV.23, p.47)

Nor do we harbour any doubts that the massive Israeli aggression against Lebanon is a pre-planned operation which was carried out with the active connivance and consent of the United States. This consent, which was an outcome of the American-Israeli strategic alliance, was clearly demonstrated in the Security Council when the delegation of the United States cast its veto and thus blocked the adoption of a draft resolution which demanded that the minimum steps should be taken against the aggressor so that it should immediately withdraw its troops from Lebanon. Essentially, the United States comprehensive military, political, economic and diplomatic support given to its strategic ally is intended to consolidate the fruits of Israeli aggression against the Arab States in order to maintain and step up the United States military presence in the Middle East, an area which it has declared an area of its global strategic interests.

(Mr. Kalina, Czechoslovakia)

The present session has also clearly shown that the armed aggression against Lebanon has intensified Israel's isolation and that of its ally in the international arena. It is further corroboration of the fact that it is not by separate deals or overt aggression that a solution to the Middle East crisis can be found. The sooner this reality is recognized by Israel the better it will be for its own people.

Our fundamental position on Israel's aggression against Lebanon and essentially on the Palestinian problem as a whole, which is after all the core of the Middle East crisis, was clearly stated at the meeting of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the President of the Czechoslovak Soviet Socialist Republic, Gustav Husak, with the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the President of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev, in the Crimea on 30 July of this year, as follows:

"There is not, nor can there be, any Middle East settlement by Israel's annexing Arab territories and waging a war of extermination against the Palestinian people, separate deals and machinations. The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia demand that an immediate end be put to Israel's aggression in Lebanon and that the barbaric siege of its capital, Beirut, be raised. They support a sound and just political settlement of the Middle East crisis, one which would take account of the rights and legitimate interests of all peoples in that part of the world."

Such a settlement, we are profoundly convinced, can be achieved only through the collective efforts of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations, which demand the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; that an opportunity be afforded to the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent State; and that the right of all States and peoples of that area

(Mr. Kalina, Czechoslovakia)

to an independent and secure existence be ensured. In the light of that, we support fully the innovative Soviet proposal on the immediate convening of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all the interested parties, including the PLO.

In conclusion, I should like once again to assure the delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, headed by the leader of the Political Department of the Executive Committee of the PLO, Mr. Farouk Kaddoumi, who made a very weighty statement at the present session, that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will continue to strengthen its relations of friendship on all fronts with the Palestinian people and its sole, legitimate representative, the PLO; and, together with other progressive forces in the world, will continue actively to support their just struggle for the implementation of their inalienable rights. For that reason, our delegation will support any resolutions emanating from the present session designed to promote the cessation of Israeli aggression and to find a just solution to the Palestinian problem by establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

Mr. OULD DAH (Mauritania) (interpretation from Arabic): The General Assembly is obliged once more to convene an emergency special session to discuss the barbaric actions of the Zionist entity. After the shelling of the non-military nuclear Iraqi installation and the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, Israel is again escalating its vicious aggression against the Arab nation by waging a war of annihilation and dev station against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. In spite of the numerous victims involved and variety of strategic aims, the main and permanent purpose of the Zionist policy is always the same, namely, the occupation of the largest possible area of the Arab territories, the annihilation of the Palestinian existence, the extermination of the Palestinian people and the dispersal of the survivors. What is happening today in Lebanon - unprecedented in history - is but a chapter of that Zionist scenario.

(Mr. Ould Dah, Mauritania)

The convening of the current session of the General Assembly at the request of the Non-Aligned Movement and the major change in the position of some States which, in the past, were known to support the Zionist enemy show that the international community has become aware of the fact, repeatedly declared by the Arabs, that Israel's actions and methods are no longer detrimental to the Palestinian people and the Arab nation exclusively. Israel, by its intransigence, terrorism and fascism, constitutes a danger to all human values and civilization.

Threats to morality and values are not as dangerous as the violation of the divine injunctions that forbid such action. Is there any danger to humanity worse than the burning of children and schools, the murder of patients in hospitals and depriving the elderly of water and warmth? Is there a danger to human civilization greater than wiping out cities and installations which are the fruit of decades of toil?

If the entire international community is unanimous on the fact that Nazism was an evil which sought to take humanity back to the Dark Ages and the age of barbarity, can anyone find a difference between the actions of Nazi Germany in Warsaw and other cities and what the Zionists are doing today in Beirut and other Lebanese cities?

(Mr. Ould Dah, Mauritania)

Recently mankind sacrificed scores of millions to avert the evils of nazism. Should Israeli Zionism be allowed to persist in its blood-letting and viciousness until it leads mankind into a more deadly catastrophe to the extent that modern lethal weapons of destruction enable it to do so?

The unconditional qualitative and quantitative support that the United States of America provides to Israel and its continued protection of Israel by placing its right of veto at Israel's disposal are the two main factors that encourage Israel to persist in its aggressive policy against the Palestinian people and the Arab nation. It is truly regrettable that the United States has not found a way to bridge the wide gap between its position and its declared responsibility for the maintenance of peace, democracy and human rights in the world. Can anyone argue that American planes, American weapons and American technology enabled Israel to perpetrate the massacre of Beirut? Without them what would Israel amount to before the valour of the Lebanese and Palestinians? Has not steadfast Beirut taught the Israelis an unforgettable lesson, as the heroic leader Abu Amar said? Beirut, in spite of the barbarity of the modern military technology that was viciously inflicted on it, has remained and will remain steadfast in the face of the forces of evil and destruction, a symbol of the Arab nation and of the whole civilized free world, a symbol of man's heroism in the face of his enemies - fascism and terrorism - and a testimony to the will of peoples is invincible and will inevitably triumph. Although Israel murdered scores of thousands of civilians in Lebanon and destroyed buildings, burnt installations and farms, it has not been and will not be able to achieve its desired aim of eliminating Palestinian resistance and annihilating the Palestinian people.

Let the United States cease for one year, for one month, or even one week to pit its military strength against the Arab and Palestinian peoples and we shall see what Israel would be. What would Israel be in face of the heroes of Deir Yassin, Al-Karamah, Sidon, Tyre and Beirut? It is nothing without the United States of America and its support. It is truly strange that Israel should be armed, supported and protected in its murder and devastation - in the name of defending liberalism, democracy and equality. After this, what people on earth can feel sure about adopting liberalism and democracy if the advocates of this doctrine do not relinquish these outrageous fascist practices which mar the pages

(Mr. Ould Dah, Mauritania)

of history and cast dark shadows of doubt and disappointment over all past and present accomplishments in the field of mankind's freedom and dignity?

It has become obvious, as proved by recent events in Lebanon and as has been repeatedly stated in United Nations resolutions, that the Palestinian problem is the essence of the Middle East conflict. What demonstrates that this is so and not merely a political slogan is the fact that any attempt to solve this conflict which is not based on that premise has failed ignominiously. From the beginning of the Geneva Conference through the Camp David accords, all such efforts have been expended in vain because the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was not a participant. It has become quite obvious that it is impossible to resolve the Palestinian problem without including the Palestinian people under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

The situation in fraternal Lebanon and that of the Palestinian resistance require more concrete action and have received the attention of the international community which is focused on this current session, and they await specific resolutions that will restore the situation, deter the aggressor and give the victims their rights so as to protect the credibility of United Nations resolutions and support the constructive role of the United Nations in international relations.

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania feels that any resolution adopted by our Assembly should include the following elements, to which the Under-Secretary-General of the Arab League referred in his statement the day before yesterday. First, Israel must terminate its aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian people. Secondly, Israel must withdraw immediately and unconditionally from all Lebanese territory in order to guarantee the security, independence and sovereignty of that fraternal Arab country. Thirdly, the General Assembly must call upon Israel to withdraw from all occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem. Fourthly, Israel should be held responsible for all human and material losses and for payment of compensation in full. Fifthly, the PLO shall be supported and assisted as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Sixthly, sanctions shall be imposed, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, against the Israeli aggressor.

(Mr. Ould Dah, Mauritania)

I do not want to conclude without expressing from this rostrum the admiration, respect and full solidarity of the Government and leadership of Mauritania to the fraternal Lebanese and Palestinian peoples whose heroism has become an undying symbol of man's ability to resist Nazi fascism in its most hideous form, a symbol which will last forever, not only among Arabs but over the entire globe, for mankind in its continuous struggle throughout history against the forces of evil and destruction.\*

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\* Mr. Lipatov (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic). Vice-President, took the Chair.



Mr. MUNIZ (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): We are meeting again in the resumed seventh emergency special session of the United Nations on the question of Palestine at the request of the non-aligned countries, in accordance with the decision taken by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the member countries of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement who met at Nicosia from 15 to 17 July this year.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon, which began on 2 June and which gave rise to this session, brought about a situation which has already lasted more than two and a half months, wreaking destruction on the capital of Lebanon owing to the intensive bombardment of that beleaguered city by the Israeli troops. This tragic situation has caused thousands of Palestine and Lebanese victims, many of whom are civilians, innocent women and children.

Paragraph 1 of Security Council resolution 512 (1982) and earlier such resolutions, which call upon all parties to the conflict to respect the rights of civilians, to refrain from all acts of violence against those populations, and to take all appropriate measures to alleviate the suffering caused by conflict, have remained ineffectual.

Successive blockades of Beirut, in disregard of the most elementary principles of humanitarian laws recognized by the international community as a whole, aggravated this already highly tragic episode in the Middle East crisis.

It was necessary for the Security Council to adopt resolution 513 (1982) which, in operative paragraph 2, calls further for the restoration of the normal supply of essential facilities such as water, electricity, food and medical provisions, particularly in Beirut. Similarly, resolution 515 (1982), in operative paragraph 1, demands that the Government of Israel lift immediately the blockade of the city of Beirut in order to permit the dispatch of supplies to meet the urgent needs of the civilian population and allow the distribution of aid provided by United Nations agencies and by non-governmental organizations, and particularly the International Committee of the Red Cross.

(Mr. Muñiz, Argentina)

The slight notice taken of these appeals has been the subject of the most serious concern on the part of international public opinion.

Neither were the resolutions adopted by the Security Council from 6 June to 12 August implemented. We are witnessing therefore an express violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter, in respect of territorial integrity, political independence and the national unity of Lebanon; and this may well have unforeseeable consequences not only for the stability of the region but also for international peace and security.

It is in the light of all the foregoing that the international community as a whole vigorously and energetically reacted in the hope that these appeals from the Security Council would be immediately heeded, and that thus the way would be open to restoring peace throughout Lebanon. Thus far I have given the background to this emergency session of the Assembly. In the light of the circumstances, my delegation feels it necessary to state once again the clear lines and fair-mindedness of the Argentinian position on the Middle East crisis and, in particular, now on the question of Palestine before us.

There are many reasons for my country's position. First, there is the awareness of the dangers to international peace and security of the continuation of an unresolved situation. Heightened awareness, if such were possible, in view of our own experience. Subsequently, there is our solidarity with the sufferings of all the peoples in that region throughout many long years, peoples with which Argentina feels united because of our communities of Arabic and Jewish origin.

Hence, Argentina has maintained an unswerving position of principle which it has adapted to the requirements of the changing situation in the region.

As successive Argentine delegations in previous sessions of the Assembly have stated, a just and lasting solution of the question calls for:

First, recognition of the inalienable rights to self-determination and independence of the people of Palestine and their right to establish themselves as a sovereign State.

(Mr. Muñiz, Argentina)

Secondly, the right of all States in the region to exist and to live in peace within secure and internationally recognized boundaries.

Thirdly, the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, together with its withdrawal from the territory of Lebanon, in accordance with Security Council resolution 518 (1982) and earlier resolutions.

Fourthly, Israel as the occupying power, is not allowed to carry out administrative acts designed to consolidate and perpetuate their unlawful presence and holdings. In particular, the setting up of settlements in occupied territories is an obstacle to peace.

Fifthly, recognition of a special régime for the Holy City of Jerusalem, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 303 (IV).

Sixthly, with regard to the question of Palestine as such, since 1947 we have, by our voting and in our statements, supported a negotiated solution to the disputes in the Middle East which would provide fairly and justly for the rights of the Palestinian people. We have stated time and again that these rights must be freely exercised by the Palestinian authority which would have full competence over its territories and all the natural resources therein. We also state that the right to self-determination and independence includes inherently the right of representation and freely to decide one's future without conditions or terms that are incompatible with the spirit of the United Nations Charter. Similarly, the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the representative of the Palestinian people, must be a party to any negotiations which would lead us to a prompt and definitive settlement.

In this same context, Argentina has given and will continue to give its support to initiatives, such as that of convening an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations, which will make it possible to find practical means for achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions.

Mr. AL-ALFI (Democratic Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): This seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly is resumed in conjunction with Israel's invasion of the territory of valiant Lebanon in violation of international norms, resolutions and decisions. That barbaric invasion is inflicting heavy loss of life; there are scores of thousands of dead and wounded and hundreds of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians are displaced and homeless. Houses and installations have been destroyed and entire cities have been laid in ruins - Tyre, Sidon, Damour and Beirut.

Today, after more than two and one half months of the siege of Beirut and the perseverance of the Lebanese and Palestinians in resisting the Israeli aggressor in the face of extreme destruction, murder and the crimes perpetrated by the forces of aggression, the resumption of this session gives rise to doubts as to the results that can be expected of it in view of the numerous resolutions that have already been adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. This session is a critical test of the ability of the United Nations to take the necessary steps to deter the aggressor and to prevent it from reaping any rewards from its aggression. It is an attempt to protect the principles of the United Nations Charter which the Israeli war machine is striving arrogantly and persistently to undermine.

Israel's action in invading Lebanon and in escalating its aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinians is part of the Zionist-imperialist scheme designed to eliminate the Palestinian resistance and existence, to terminate the political role of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people and to implement the autonomy conspiracy in the occupied territories. It is also aimed at undermining the unity, sovereignty and independence of Lebanon, at bringing pressure to bear upon Syria and at weakening its role for the purpose of imposing the Zionist-American settlement plan in the Middle East region. That plan is incompatible in its approach and essence with the interests and aspirations of the peoples of the Arab nation.

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Democratic Yemen)

The devastation and destruction visited by the Zionist enemy upon Lebanon reveal the racist nature of the aggressors, which is part and parcel of the Zionist entity, an entity based upon racist theories which have only brought destruction upon mankind, theories which disregard all human values and resolutions of the international Organization and for which the only precedent is that of the Nazi practices, which were condemned by the Nuremberg Tribunal. That is especially true since those crimes are being committed against peace and against civilian populations and are aimed at carrying out massacres and the displacement of civilians.

Israel, with the full support of the United States, has been showering the Palestinian and Lebanese people with tons of destructive bombs and continues flagrantly to engage in terrorism in full view of the entire world. The blood that is flowing today in the territory of Lebanon is the blood of the victims of the Zionist aggression, who have been destroyed by cluster and incendiary bombs -- women, children and the elderly have been murdered -- all of which reveals the aims of the Zionist enemy, namely, the annihilation of the Palestinian people, a people whose struggle is acknowledged in the entire world.

By committing those brutal acts of aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, Israel has added another crime to the series of criminal acts that it has committed with the support and assistance of the United States. They are aimed at the annihilation of the Palestinian resistance, the partition of Lebanon and its transformation into an entity subservient to the Zionist entity. The hateful actions undertaken by Israel against the Palestinians can only be interpreted in terms of the strategic alliance between the United States and the Zionist enemy.

Since its inception, Israel has played a leading role under the strategy of imperialism and is considered a cornerstone of the policy of imperialism in the region. In keeping with that policy, American imperialism has striven, and is still striving, to develop Israel and to transform it into an arsenal replete with various types of sophisticated American weapons and to increase

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Democratic Yemen)

the scope of Israeli action, as has been amply demonstrated by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

The plot against the Palestinian revolution and against Lebanon is but one chapter in the comprehensive scenario of conspiracy against all the Arab peoples. The dangers involved in the Zionist-American policy in the Arab region are increasing every day, since the schemes of the American Administration and its protégé occupy a permanent place in the transformation of the Arab region into a link in the military structure of imperialism, with the aim of imposing United States economic and political hegemony and plundering the wealth of the peoples of the region.

Events and developments have proved that American imperialism supports Israel in its aggression and provides it with financial, political and military assistance, as an integral part of the universal imperialist régime and as a base, tool and strategic ally of American imperialism in the region.

It is not strange that the United States should mask its face by appearing in the guise of a mediator at a time when it is considered to be a full accomplice of the Israeli aggressor in the realization of its expansionist aspirations.

It is high time for the international community to assume its responsibility to put an end to the policy of expansion and aggression pursued by Israel with the full support of American imperialism and to deter the arrogant Zionist aggressor who enjoys shedding the blood of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

It is high time for the conscience of the world to awaken and to take action to end such horrendous bloody arrogance and the massacres that are perpetrated by Israel against the Palestinians and the Lebanese. We call upon the international community to rise to its historic responsibility at this critical time and to confront and foil the Zionist-imperialist scheme.

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Democratic Yemen)

The talk in imperialist circles about the withdrawal of the Palestinian forces from Beirut is in itself a camouflage of the Israeli military occupation of Lebanon. It is the Israeli occupation of Lebanon that should be terminated, and we should work for the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of Israeli occupation forces from Lebanese territory.

After the failure of the Security Council to assume its responsibility of maintaining international peace and security because of the obstruction by the United States through its abuse of the veto to encourage the Israeli aggressor, the General Assembly is called upon to put an immediate end to the Israeli aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, to effect the full and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli aggressor from Lebanese territory, and to provide full support for the Palestinian Arab people, under the leadership of the PLO, to restore its inalienable national right to return to its homeland, exercise self-determination and establish independent statehood on its national soil, Palestine.

The General Assembly is called upon to assume its responsibilities by putting an end to the racist Zionist crimes against humanity, to bring their perpetrators to trial and to impose against Israel because of the crimes it has committed against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, as well as the rest of the Arab peoples, the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

The plots hatched by Zionism, supported by American imperialism, will not stop the Palestinian march or the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people for the liberation of its homeland, for self-determination and for independent statehood on its national soil under the leadership of the PLO, its sole, legitimate representative. The Palestinian masses have proved that by their will and determination they are stronger than all conspiracies.

Democratic Yemen declares that it cherishes and takes pride in the heroic stand of the Lebanese and Palestinian masses, which today are standing up to the Zionist forces of oppression and making sacrifices to achieve final victory. We salute the steadfastness of the combatants, who constitute a bulwark against the Zionist invasion and the might of the expansionist colonialist war machine.

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Democratic Yemen)

Democratic Yemen lends full support to the Palestinian revolution and will always stand by the cause of the Palestinian Arab people, since it is the central link in the struggle of our Arab peoples against Zionism and imperialism.

In conclusion, we affirm that the Lebanese and Palestinian people no longer need to identify their enemy. The children who for years bore the scars and pain of bombings by American-made Israeli warplanes have grown up and are today fighting in Lebanon to defend themselves and their homeland - indeed, to defend their very right to life. No matter how many thousands of victims fall, they have sons and grandchildren and faithful friends. If the massacre of Deir Yassin created new waves of combatants, the new Zionist massacres in Lebanon will create other generations of combatants whose just cause will not die but will inevitably be crowned with victory.

Mr. KITTIKHOUN (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (interpretation from French): Precisely as our Assembly is meeting for the third time this year, holding an emergency session to deal with the undeniably burning question of Palestine, Beirut, the ill-starred capital of Lebanon - an independent and sovereign country and Member of the United Nations - is foundering in the ashes which are but one of the terrifying results of the Israeli invasion. This is a case of outright genocide against an innocent civilian population, unmatched in this century since the atrocities of Hitler.

The hail of fire and steel which has been indiscriminately unleashed by the Israeli soldiery throughout Beirut has wrought destruction on all sides: crumbling office blocks; huge yawning bomb craters; walls pock-marked with bullets; cars and convoys bogged down in pot-holed streets, and so on and so forth.

These deliberate, typically Zionist acts of brutality carried out in complete contempt for all the humanitarian resolutions of the Security Council, acts which have already taken a toll of more than 60,000 dead - 95 per cent of whom were civilians, with women and children making up 70 per cent. Those victims, plus the more than 600,000 who have been rendered homeless, seem to be part and parcel of the desire of the leaders of Israel, with the complicity



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

of its all-powerful ally, to intensify their campaign to annihilate the Palestinian people and, more specifically, to deprive it of its vanguard, its sole, legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In the teeth of these reprehensible and unjustifiable acts which the world has witnessed with indignation, the Palestinian people, under the leadership of its sole, legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, has offered brave resistance and has shown itself more firmly resolved than ever in this extremely critical stage of its glorious struggle against the forces of aggression and occupation. By refusing to submit to any degrading policy to which imperialism and zionism would subject them, the Palestinian fighters have thus demonstrated their firm determination to struggle, and their unshakeable will to win.

Judging by the facts which have constantly confirmed this, we have not the slightest doubt Israel's ferocious acts in Lebanon are co-ordinated by the United States Government, which has given its assent to the inhuman, bloody crimes that have been visited upon the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

The world has thus been able to discern, for example, that the escalation of aggressive activities on the part of Tel Aviv followed on the heels of the visit to Washington of the Israeli Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Shamir, and that the visit of the Minister of Defence, Mr. Sharon, the day before the start of the present massive invasion, made it possible for the latter deliberately to command his troops to invade Lebanon - not to speak of the irksome vetoes which the United States never balked at casting in the Security Council in order insolently to oppose any act likely to bring Israel to book or to tarnish its reputation, which has been so unfortunately glorified in recent days by its total adherence to the language of force - the language of bombs and explosions - thus defying all norms and most elementary principles of law and of human morality.

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

Is this not a clear case of perceptible, if not perfect, co-ordination - or, at least, a case of endorsement - on the part of the American Administration - of the policy of expansion and genocide pursued by the Zionist leadership?

The American Administration, in the eyes of all right-minded people, could have put an end to the Israeli aggression, which has already gone beyond the pale; but it is quite obviously failing to do so, and for the simple, dismal reason that it does not wish to fail in its own objectives, which, even by the admission of Israeli Minister Shamir, coincide exactly with those of Tel Aviv.

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

To give but one example, obvious proof of this lies in the fact that President Reagan's merely raising a disapproving finger and harshly criticizing the Israeli bombings of 12 August last was sufficient reason for Prime Minister Begin to call an urgent meeting of his cabinet to reassess his policy; following that meeting, it was observed that the Israeli army had in fact refrained from carrying out any further and misguided attacks against west Beirut.

Faithful to its strategic alliance with Israel, and in giving its approval to this extraordinarily distressing spectacle, the Government of the United States is not pursuing just one exclusive goal of achieving the withdrawal of the Palestinian fighters - a goal which the mass media, controlled by the United States and Israel, are constantly and loudly publicizing while carefully refraining from making any reference to the essence of the problem, namely, the withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon and the exercise of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. Its dark and ruthless plans are also aimed at placing the entire Middle East region within its economic, political and military grasp. In order to promote this crafty goal of hegemony, the American Administration has cheerfully condoned all the acts of violence and brutality committed by Israel, which, under the pretext of guaranteeing its own security, has not shrunk from any crime, even the current bases - and most heinous crimes the world has known since the end of the Second World War.

This Zionist blindness with its shame and ignominy, which has provoked a storm of protest and condemnation throughout the world, must cease immediately. Should this inhuman exercise, launched with arrogance and effrontery by Israel, which enjoys the unwavering support and assistance of the United States in all fields, reach its objective, the world would be faced with a very grave and distressing situation whereby imperialism, by means of all sorts of tactical sleight-of-hand, including the self-awarded role of mediator, would be able with impunity to make use of its aggressor tool to do what it pleased, even going so far as to perpetrate reprehensible crimes against peace-loving and law-abiding peoples - the Palestinians and the Lebanese - in order to find a solution tailored to its own requirements.

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

The international community, which has publicly ostracized Israel and its trans-Atlantic protector for their acts of savagery committed against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, is aghast at the fact that Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), among others, on the current situation in the Middle East have remained dead letters. However, there is every reason to believe that, given the world's growing awareness of the essence of the problem, with the ensuing moral uplift, given the extremely elevating prospect of the militant solidarity of all peace-loving peoples throughout the world with the martyred people of Palestine and given the very determination of that people to struggle shoulder to shoulder with other Arab peoples, the world will never let itself sink into apathy towards the law of the jungle in international relations which has been introduced by imperialism in the shape of Israel.

The need for a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East conflict is becoming ever more obvious. That necessarily requires the participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people. In this connexion we should like to reaffirm our support for the proposal of the Soviet Union on the convening of an international conference on the Middle East, a proposal which is particularly timely at this crucial moment in the conflict in this region which is the nerve centre of the world.

In these critical circumstances, my delegation would like, on behalf of the Lao Government and people, to take this opportunity to reaffirm our unreserved support for the struggle of the Palestinian people, under the determined leadership of the PLO, its authentic and legitimate representative, as well as of other Arab peoples for the recovery of their fundamental national rights.

Mr. MAITAMA-SULE (Nigeria): The grave situation in the Middle East has become a perennial item on the agenda of this Assembly. For the third time this year alone, we are meeting in our seventh emergency special session to examine the serious danger which the extremely grave situation in the Middle East poses to international peace and security. We have on several occasions in the past had justifiable cause to express the utter dismay and concern with which Nigeria views the Israeli policy of military aggression in the Middle East. The catalogue of Israeli military attacks and territorial expansion by force of arms is a long one. It is not necessary to recapitulate to this Assembly Israel's acts of infamy against the Syrian Arab Republic, Iraq and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). But Israel's ongoing barbaric and genocidal attacks on Lebanon, and its brazen attempt to exterminate the PLO and the Palestinians in that country, have aggravated the situation further. The blood-bath in Lebanon, which was so vividly portrayed in the world's mass media, has understandably heightened the existing tension in that region.

What justification can there possibly be for the carnage inflicted on the population of Beirut by the Israeli army? The bombing and strafing of civilian centres in Beirut caused heavy casualties in terms of civilian lives, including children. The destruction which Israel has inflicted on Beirut, the considerable loss of lives, many of them children, and the unleashing of psychological warfare by the Israelis on Beirut have helped in arousing the conscience of the world to the propensity of Israel for wanton and naked aggression. No one who saw mothers fleeing to the hospitals with their badly wounded babies in their arms could have been immune to the suffering inflicted not only on the Palestinians but on the people of Lebanon as well.

(Mr. Maitama-Sule, Nigeria)

In extenuation of its heinous crime against the people of Lebanon Israel has, as usual, cited the presence of the PLO in Lebanon and the necessity to compel its total withdrawal from Lebanon. This is an extremely dangerous doctrine which should be rejected with utter contempt by this Assembly. Even Nazi Germany, which, ironically, Israel now seeks to emulate, did not carry its genocidal policy against the Jews that far. There can be no greater prescription for international anarchy and disorder than the inadmissible doctrine now being advanced by Israel that in the exercise of its right of self-defence it can invade its neighbours' territory at will and bomb and strafe innocent civilians. Whatever doubts anyone in this Assembly may have had about Israel's real intentions the vicious and barbaric slaughter of children in Beirut will have dispelled those doubts.

We have had innumerable debates in this Assembly to condemn and decry Israel for its military aggression against its neighbours. Israel has responded time and again to these condemnation by resorting to even more brazen and murderous attacks on its neighbours and the PLO. Every time it has launched a military attack and invasion against its neighbours it has sought to justify such an attack on the grounds of ensuring its national security. The expressed will of the international community, as reflected in the several resolutions adopted by this Assembly, is being defied persistently and arrogantly by Israel. The encouragement and support which Israel continues to receive from the United States is a great disservice to this Organization which, according to its Charter, was established to save mankind from the scourge of war. As we have been reminded, the danger which Israeli aggression now poses to this Organization is reminiscent of the events which led to the destruction of the League of Nations. Then it was Abyssinia, an African country, that was the innocent victim of aggression by Fascist Italy. Today it is Lebanon and the Palestinians that are innocently being bombed and strafed by Israel. Then, as today, those who had responsibility for calling Mussolini to order refused to do so for narrow-minded national interests. Today, as then, the consequences of a failure to act are too ghastly to contemplate.

(Mr. Maitama-Sule, Nigeria)

It is time that we in this Assembly impressed upon Israel, as well as its collaborators, in no uncertain terms that we have a stake in the maintenance of international peace and security. A clear message from this Assembly must go forth to Israel and its collaborators that we shall not sit by idly and allow the world to be plunged into war by Israel's reckless and irresponsible aggression against its neighbours. We must rise in unison and say to Israel that enough is enough. This endless slaughter of children and other innocent victims by Israel must stop forthwith.

We in Nigeria have often stated our position and views on this crisis very clearly. First, following the establishment of a cease-fire in Lebanon, the Israelis must withdraw their forces immediately and unconditionally from Lebanon. Secondly, Israel must be held responsible for all the human and material loss that it has inflicted on Lebanon. Israel must be made to pay dearly for its reckless and wanton aggression against Lebanon. Thirdly, this Assembly must continue to uphold the right of the people of Palestine to self-determination through the establishment of a free and democratic State. Fourthly, we must reaffirm our recognition of the PLO as the sole and authentic representative of the Palestinian people. Fifthly, this Assembly must continue to support and assist the PLO in bringing about the establishment of a Palestinian State.

In addition, Nigeria is convinced that the exclusion of the PLO from any negotiations which aim at bringing peace to this troubled region is an exercise in futility. Any initiative in this regard would be meaningless without the inclusion of the PLO in the peace process.

The conditions that I have enumerated are the minimum that can lead to a durable peace in the Middle East. We in Nigeria are convinced that peace cannot be attained through the use of force by Israel in the Middle East. The PLO and the Palestinians may have lost a battle. But there can be no doubt about the ultimate success of their war of liberation. The Israeli aggression has been counter-productive. Even Israel's traditional friends are now beginning to have second thoughts about Israel's real intention and they are weighing the cost to themselves of supporting and collaborating with the Israeli aggression. We must exert ourselves in order to prevent a major conflagration that could easily lead to another world war. Time is not on our side. Now is the time to act to prevent such a war and I do hope we shall act now.

Mr. ADAN (Somalia): When the emergency special session on Palestine met for the second time last April the vast majority of Member States joined in condemning Israel for the escalation of its illegal, aggressive, expansionist and increasingly oppressive policies. The consensus was that those policies were aimed deliberately at frustrating the exercise of their rights by the Palestinian people. But even then it was becoming apparent that Israel's policies went beyond the denial of human rights and political rights. Today, as we continue to witness the devastation of Lebanon, the siege of Beirut and the massacre of thousands of innocent Palestinians and Lebanese, there can be no doubt that Israel's intention is the elimination not only of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) but also of the Palestinian people whom it represents.

Over the past two months the world community has watched with shock and disbelief one of the most brutal and cold-blooded examples seen in recent times of the massacre of a civilian population. And what is the excuse for the bombardments which included refugee camps, hospitals and residential areas among their military targets? We are told that Israel needs to achieve security. It is a familiar excuse and we have heard it in the past with every escalation of Israel's violations of international law. We heard it at the beginning of the present crisis when Israel claimed to be carrying out a limited operation to secure its borders. That limited operation, as we know, became the military occupation of a sovereign State and the demolition of its cities.

Israeli censorship has been effective to some extent in keeping from the news media and consequently from the international community the dimensions and the full horror of the slaughter in Lebanon, but what we have seen is terrible enough. If such barbarity is necessary for Israel's security, then we need to ask the question: "Why is Israel insecure?" The evidence of the past three decades indicates that Israel is insecure for the same reason that all usurpers and all who seek to impose an alien domination in others are insecure. Israel is pursuing a chimera if it hopes to achieve security through injustice, inhumanity, aggression and illegal annexation. History shows that the fruit of such policies and actions can only be intensified bitterness and hatred and prolonged tension and conflict. In the case of the Middle East the determination of the Palestinians throughout the area to achieve nationhood in Palestine has undoubtedly been strengthened by the current crisis.



(Mr. Adan, Somalia)

The world community has long been unanimous in asserting that there can be no peace in the Middle East without a just solution of the Palestinian question. In recent weeks we have seen Israel's version of a Middle East peace - the peace of the mass graves of men, women, children and babes-in-arms cruelly torn apart by vicious anti-personnel cluster bombs. This attempt at a "final solution" of the Palestinian problem demands the severest condemnation of all Member States and resolute action by the Security Council.

The world community is faced here not only with a question of simple justice or humanitarian concern but also with maintaining the force of international law and the validity of the decisions of the United Nations. Israel's increasingly tyrannical policies as an occupying Power, its outright or creeping annexation of Arab territory, in particular its attempt to change the status of Jerusalem, and its acts of military aggression have been condemned repeatedly by this Assembly and in the Security Council. All the United Nations resolutions on these questions have been met with typical Israeli intransigence, and we have already seen that Israel remains obdurate, insensitive and unrepentant in spite of the world-wide revulsion caused by its most recent violations of international law and of the norms of civilized behaviour.

It is gratifying that in the past six weeks the Security Council, acting with an impressive degree of accord has four times demanded the withdrawal of all Israeli forces from Lebanon. My Government believes that Israel's complete and unconditional withdrawal is essential as a first step towards resolving the present crisis. We also appreciate the efforts now being made by Ambassador Habib to bring an end to the hostilities, and we hope that those efforts will succeed. However, the tragedy in Lebanon remains as glaring evidence of Israel's destructive capacities, of its contempt for the decisions of the United Nations, and of its readiness to threaten both regional and international peace and security as it pursues its expansionist and genocidal policies.

(Mr. Adan, Somalia)

The Security Council, which is charged with the responsibility of dealing with threats to international peace and security, must deal effectively and speedily not only with the current crisis but also with the more fundamental aspects of the Middle East question. In the view of my Government the essential elements of a Middle East peace are the recognition and active promotion of the right of the Palestinians to statehood in Palestine and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war. Furthermore, it is essential that in any peace process the Palestinian people be represented by their legitimate leader, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The tragic situation in Lebanon points once again to the necessity for the Security Council to assume responsibility for setting the Middle East on the path to a comprehensive settlement. The eminently just and reasonable solutions for so long promoted by the United Nations remain the only effective basis for a just and lasting peace in the area.

Mr. ALEXANDROV (Bulgaria): More than two years have elapsed since the seventh emergency special session on the question of Palestine started its work. During this time-span, unfortunately, no progress whatsoever has been made towards the solution of this problem. Resolution ES-7/2, adopted by the General Assembly on 29 July 1982, which reaffirmed the proper ways and means for the settlement of the Middle East conflict and the Palestinian question, has been blatantly disregarded by Israel. Its Government openly and insolently defied all appeals by the international community aimed at stopping the bloodshed and turmoil in the area.

On the contrary, the summer of 1982 saw the culmination so far of the Israeli policy of terror and repression against the Arab people of Palestine. The plight of this tormented nation acquired new dramatic dimensions. The Middle East powder-keg is on the verge of explosion.

The criminal invasion of Lebanon by Israel gravely destabilizes the situation in the Middle East and threatens a crisis on a global scale. The atrocities perpetrated by the Israeli intruders remind one of the most staggering crimes committed against humanity. Almost all the preceding speakers rightly compared them to the barbarities of the Nazis and drew our attention to many

(Mr. Alexandrov, Bulgaria)

striking similarities between the so-called final solution policies pursued by the Third Reich and the present rulers of Tel Aviv - the latter, having authorized the slaying of tens of thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese men, women and children, shamelessly boast of their readiness to destroy Beirut totally and to exterminate its population.

The Israeli leaders, like their notorious predecessors in this walk of life, still cherish hopes of changing the course of history by means of racist incantations, blitzkrieg tactics and concentration camps. But they and those who support them have gone too far in their defiance of world public opinion. They find themselves in total isolation, which is most convincingly demonstrated by the ongoing debate. The valiant resistance of the Palestinian people is foiling their schemes and makes them hesitate about the future course of action. The prospect of a gross moral and political setback is haunting them now.

Against that background some clumsy propaganda tricks are being put into operation, as a smoke-screen for the endeavours to help the aggression achieve if only marginal success. Certain familiar and ill-famed versions of so-called crisis diplomacy have been reactivated and masqueraded as a genuine concern for peace and humanity. The real aim of this shuttle, however, has nothing to do with the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the region. The objective of this manoeuvring is to eliminate the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) - the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people - and all other parties disagreeable to Washington and Tel Aviv from the solution of the conflict. It is designed also to legalize politically the military results of the aggression, to induce by "diplomatic means" the capitulation of the Palestinian movement, to help establish in the final analysis imperialist-Zionist domination of that region.

The most irrefutable evidence of the real motivation of this policy is the continuing massive financial and military aid by the United States for Israel and Washington's stubborn striving to protect the aggressor from the adoption and enforcement of the measures envisaged under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. From the beginning of this year, the United States has repeatedly used

(Mr. Alexandrov, Bulgaria)

its right of veto, thus preventing the world Organization from taking action to restrain the aggressor consistent with the unanimous view of the international community. This undisguised collaboration with Israel amounts to an official endorsement of the policy of genocide and destruction by the Government of the United States of America.

(Mr. Alexandrov, Bulgaria)

The complicity of the United States Administration in this grisly affair is highlighted by still another episode in the unfolding crisis. The already critical situation in the area was further aggravated last July by the news of certain United States preparations for direct military intervention in Lebanon. Needless to say, such a manifestation of the strategic alliance between Israel and its United States ally could have fatal, irreversible consequences for the peace and security of the Middle East and of the whole world.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria addresses the issue under discussion both from the viewpoint of its vital national interests and as a question of principle. Owing to its geographic situation, Bulgaria is deeply concerned over the mounting danger of war in its proximity and has constantly stated its sincere wish that a just and comprehensive peace settlement be reached in that troubled area. At the same time, our people and Government firmly uphold the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty, including its right to create a State of its own.

In pursuance of this stand, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is rendering and will continue in future to render active political and material support for the just and heroic struggle of the Palestinian people, whose self-denial and gallantry have won world-wide recognition.

It is the considered view of the Bulgarian delegation that the solution of the Palestinian problem and the settlement of the Middle East conflict are inseparable from the realization of the aforementioned historical, political, legal and humanitarian imperatives concerning the situation in that region. A key prerequisite for a genuine settlement of the protracted confrontation in the area is the total withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories and the guaranteeing of the security and sovereignty of all States in the Middle East.

Taking into account the complexity of the problem, our delegation shares the opinion that the needed solution can be achieved only by collective efforts if all interested parties participate in the negotiating process on a just and equitable basis. The best instrument for reaching a just, durable and mutually acceptable agreement could be a representative international conference for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem.

(Mr. Alexandrov, Bulgaria)

What is needed for the immediate restoration of peace and the creation of conditions conducive to the successful solution of the various problems to the benefit of everybody is a sober and responsible approach, transcending emotions and short-term considerations. As the President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Jivkov, recently stated,

"It is of the utmost importance that the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council should be fully implemented without delay, the blockade lifted from Beirut and its destruction halted. The Israeli troops must withdraw from Lebanon without setting any conditions, and the independence, unity and sovereignty of Lebanon must be guaranteed."

The Bulgarian delegation reiterates its willingness to co-operate with all Member States for the achievement of the aforesaid goals, in conformity with the noble principles and purposes of the United Nations.

Mr. SALLAM (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): Since 4 June 1982, the racist Israeli forces have been occupying Lebanese cities and towns and holding the capital of Lebanon, Beirut, under siege despite repeated Security Council resolutions demanding the immediate and total withdrawal of the invading Israeli forces from Lebanon.

We listened recently to the efforts to reach agreement on ways and means for evacuating the courageous Palestinian fighters from what remains of Beirut, the Lebanese capital, which was destroyed by the artillery of the racist Zionists and whose civilian population suffered casualties, as if that event were the only thing that the world community was interested in to bring about peace in Lebanon, in Palestine and in the Middle East.

As to the withdrawal from Lebanon, where can the Palestinian fighters go? This does not seem to be important to Israel since its goal, that of occupying most of Lebanon, including its capital, has been achieved through an inhuman pretext, namely, the evacuation of the commandos of the Palestinian revolution and the Arab Palestinian fighters of Arab Lebanon. Where, however, are the Palestinians to go after Lebanon? Will Israel accept the return of those Palestinians to their towns and villages in Palestine? Naturally this is unacceptable in the eyes of the Zionist racist nazis. They believe that those commandos should

(Mr. Sallam, Yemen)

go to another Arab country, other than Lebanon, so that having occupied Lebanon Israel could then occupy this new country under the pretext of evacuating the Palestinians from it; thus Israel will always be able to find some justification for occupying a neighbouring State, under the pretext of leading them to conclude a peace treaty under the threat of retribution. Thus racist Israel will continue to threaten one Arab State after another with a view to imposing its unjust conditions upon neighbouring Arab countries.

At present, the Israeli army, with the assistance of the United States of America, has become the sole military striking force in the Middle East without any competition. With the acknowledgement of United States military and non-military leaders, headed by a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the Israeli army has become the third largest military force in the world after those of the United States and the Soviet Union. Thus the Israeli army can at present do what it wants in defiance of the international community, that is to say, the Security Council, which has repeatedly rebuked the aggressor and urged it to desist. We must also recall here the use of the veto by the United States.

The Zionist entity was created in 1948 for the humanitarian purpose of creating a peace-loving Jewish State in which Jews and Arabs could coexist and enrich the world with their humane co-operation. The Jews were a suppressed people who had been subjected by the Nazis to the most barbaric crimes.

(Mr. Sallam, Yemen)

The world Zionists, however, exercising their domination over the Jewish people have created a terrifying monster, Israel. The United States of America has given Israel all possible assistance but is no longer capable of controlling it. The terrifying monsters are leaders such as Sharon, who should be tried as war criminals. These leaders are haunted by their dark past, and as Begin has said, they are fighting in Lebanon as if it were the last bastion of the Nazis in Berlin.

These individuals are now applying precisely what they learned from their Nazi teachers, repressing those who welcomed them and allowed them to live in their land of peace at this crucial time in their history.

The Israelis have established nazi concentration camps in Lebanon, and have prevented the civilian population, including women and children, from receiving necessary medical supplies, food and water, subjecting them to the most atrocious and barbaric forms of persecution.

Do the Israeli leaders believe that acting in this manner they can win acknowledgement of their right to existence in the Middle East. The use of all means of extermination against the Palestinian and Lebanese people, aimed at terrorizing the people of this region and compelling their leaders to surrender by force, will lead nowhere.

These procedures have been used in the past by other forces and they were unsuccessful. These forces have, in fact, disappeared together with these barbaric methods and the Arab people remains in Palestine as a proud people. A peace that is not based on justice is not true peace. The present surrender is temporary and the people can later reconstitute their forces and struggle for the recovery of their lost rights, regardless of how long they must wait for this to occur and regardless of the sacrifices involved.

If the Israelis wish to live in peace in their land and within internationally recognized borders, they must, first of all, acknowledge the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people whose period of persecution has lasted long enough, including their right to self-determination, and the establishment of an independent State in their own homeland, and also recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.



(Mr. Sallam, Yemen)

The tragedy of Lebanon has shaken the entire world and the States Members of this Organization, in particular the major powers, especially the permanent representatives of the Security Council, including the United States, are in duty bound now to recognize the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. They must enter into an immediate dialogue with the PLO in order to prepare for peace negotiations for a peace conference that should be convened, in which all the parties concerned should participate, including the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The delegation of the Arab Republic of Yemen appeals to the great Powers, headed by the United States of America, to rise to their full responsibility and to honour their commitments in keeping with the Charter and not let this or any other opportunity of establishing a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East to slip right through their fingers.

Mr. ABADA (Algeria) (interpretation from French): In mounting this rostrum for the third time in five months for the resumed emergency special session on the issue of Palestine, an Algerian delegation cannot conceal its apprehension at having to deliver yet another statement.

Given the massacres which have been carried out in Beirut for over two months, given the pictures of the destruction of densely populated neighbourhoods, given the premeditated openly declared genocide carried out in broad daylight and brought to us by the mass media the world over, here in this forum, a meeting place, a place for expressing oneself and a place for action of the international community, we begin to doubt the usefulness of words, since they have lost all meaning because of the persistence of unpunished crimes and the provocative arrogance of the Zionist aggressor, who has been assured of every protection within our Organization itself.

Since the hour calls for action and decision on the part of the international community, we would feel remiss if we were simply to proclaim from session to session the same professions of faith. We would feel remiss, because we are very much afraid that on the Palestinian question the United Nations may become a scrap-heap for worn-cut verbiage, for scuttled principles, for ignored appeals and for solidarity reduced to impotence.

But even if we realize the ineffectiveness of our Organization - ineffectiveness which has been deliberately promoted - we must constantly testify for and speak up for those who are dying, those who are suffering, those who are struggling and attempt, in spite of the disenchantment which may overcome us, to reaffirm that justice should be done for a people which has been despoiled, pursued and whose annihilation is planned.

(Mr. Abada, Algeria)

For obvious reasons, here more than elsewhere, we must raise our voices and be more demanding - first of all, because the United Nations is at the root of the Palestinian tragedy and thus bears prime responsibility for this painful problem which it created by a decision, fraught with baleful consequences, that bestowed on Zionist terrorist organizations a land taken from its legitimate inhabitants. That decision set the Palestinian people on the road to exile, and it is this same road which now passes through Beirut and which tomorrow might continue in other directions if the momentum of accomplished facts is not broken.

Here more than elsewhere, we must raise our voices and be more demanding, because the United Nations bears the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. It cannot, without denying its very reason for existence, sit back and see itself reduced to impotence. For 34 years, the Palestinian problem has been at the heart of events which are causing upheaval in the Middle East and jeopardizing international peace and security. This is something the international community has solemnly acknowledged.

That truth is all too dangerously evident at a time when occupied Lebanon is being subjected to the fury of Israeli bombings because it shelters Palestinians.

Finally, the United Nations is still the best place in which the victim can appeal to the international community, inasmuch as the perpetrator of these crimes is right here in this Organization. The indictment of the Zionist aggressor has continued for decades, but the aggressor's present activities in Lebanon, particularly in Beirut, unmask him more clearly now than ever not only before world public opinion but before Israeli public opinion as well.

The rationale behind Israel's expansionism shows it to be the stark cruelty of an uncompromising occupier deliberately striking at a civilian population and subjecting it to an inhuman siege by way of reprisal, in contempt of all humanitarian standards.

In an attempt to make Beirut an immense ghetto in which to contain and destroy Palestinian resistance, the Zionist army and leaders cannot conceal the fact that they are guided by the same genocidal policies as the Hitlerite executioner.

(Mr. Abada Algeria)

Similarly, this is the place in which to assign full responsibility to those who support criminal Zionist action, who guarantee Israel impunity and even encourage it in carrying out its strategy of domination. There is no denying the fact that the United States has contributed significantly in recent months to creating the conditions for Zionist aggression. Despite the claimed successes of present United States mediation efforts, we are struck by the supreme fraud of that country posing as a mediator between its own strategically which has invaded and destroyed an independent State - a Member of our Organization - and another party to the conflict, the Palestine Liberation Organization, with which it refuses to deal.

This is a strange mediator, indeed, who transmits an outlaw's conditions to ensure they are complied with by the victims, to ensure that, after the bombings, peace of the grave will reign.

This political crime is intended to make us believe that the departure of the Palestinians from Lebanon is a step towards peace - just as yesterday one would have had us believe that, with the Camp David agreements and the rallying of one Arab country, sure progress would be made along the path to peace in the region, when, in fact, conditions were created for the present escalation of Zionist aggression.

Today just as yesterday, the problem of Palestine remains with us, as does, therefore, the problem of peace and security throughout the region. We can never overemphasize that there can be no peace and stability until an end has been put to the tragedy of Palestine.

Through its sacrifices and heroic combat, the Palestinian people, under the leadership of its sole, legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, has convinced the international community that only the exercise of its inalienable national rights, including its right to statehood in its own homeland, will restore peace to the Middle East.

Consequently, it would be vain, illusory and dangerous to call into question, under duress, the universal consensus which emerged on a solution to the Palestine issue and to believe that a new dispersal of the Palestinian people would in any way help to restore peace.

**Mr. BHATT (Nepal):** The present crisis in Lebanon which began with the massive military invasion by Israel has caused us deep concern and anxiety. Soon after the invasion began, His Majesty's Government of Nepal described the unilateral Israeli action not only as a violation of the accepted norms of international law and the principles of the United Nations but also as a grave threat to peace in an area already under considerable tension. Nepal joined other peace-loving countries in demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon.

The situation in Lebanon has shocked the conscience of the international community; yet the tragedy continues. Israel has utterly disregarded the repeated demands of the Security Council for an immediate cessation of hostilities and an unconditional withdrawal of its forces from all parts of Lebanon and has, indeed, continued its military action, laid the western part of Beirut under siege and even advanced into some parts of the city. It has rejected the deployment of United Nations observers to monitor the situation in and around Beirut. This massive assault has brought about untold destruction, devastation and death and has caused human sufferings on a massive scale for both the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

Nepal expresses its profound grief and sympathy to the Government and people of Lebanon and to the Palestinian people over the tragic loss of innocent lives and over the deprivation and displacement this war has caused to the civilian population.

Such actions cannot be condoned, and my delegation deplores them in the strongest possible terms. The Israeli invasion is a flagrant violation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Lebanon. Nepal once again reiterates its call on Israel to withdraw from Lebanon, in accordance with the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. We earnestly hope that once this is secured national reconciliation will soon be achieved in Lebanon, leading to an effective restoration of Lebanese sovereignty over the whole of Lebanon.

(Mr. Bhatt, Nepal)

The violation of Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity is in itself a problem of enormous magnitude. At the same time, however, it has brought the question of Palestine into sharp focus. The current Israeli military action has wreaked havoc on the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. A lasting settlement of the long-drawn-out Middle East tragedy cannot be divorced from a permanent solution of the Palestinian problem. Nepal has strongly supported the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish an independent homeland. No structure of lasting peace in the Middle East can be established unless the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination is recognized and the Palestinian people, represented by their sole representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, is allowed effective participation in over-all peace negotiations.

Nepal welcomes the current peace initiatives, especially the one launched by the United States, to bring an end to the bloodshed and destruction in Lebanon and expresses its earnest hope that this mission will succeed. We look forward to the development of a formula which will lead to a settlement of the continuing tragedy in Lebanon, in keeping with the wishes of its Government and people and free from outside interference. As a troop contributor to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), we reiterate once again our total commitment to that goal. At the same time, we expect the peace framework to be broad enough to encompass and facilitate the achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Such a formula will have to ensure the early and full implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and also be broad enough to honour the commitment of the international community regarding the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. To that end, we strongly urge all parties concerned to exercise maximum restraint and to display mutual goodwill and accommodation for the sake of a lasting solution to the Middle East problem.

Mr. ELMER (Sweden): The aggression committed by Israel in Lebanon has been repeatedly condemned by the Swedish Government. The indiscriminate terror bombing and shelling of west Beirut has been a particularly reprehensible feature of Israeli tactics. My Government emphatically condemns such practices. The population of the city has been subjected to cruel deprivation and large numbers of civilians have been killed or maimed, whereas the ostensible target of Israel's weapons, the PLO forces, have apparently remained relatively unscathed.

The requirements in terms of humanitarian assistance are immense. Various United Nations agencies, as well as other international organizations, are achieving remarkable results in their efforts to meet the needs of the suffering population. Continued generous support of their efforts by member Governments is of the essence. Israel must permit access to west Beirut for the necessities of life and allow the unimpeded distribution of aid by international agencies.

A final stage seems to have been reached in negotiations regarding the evacuation of PLO soldiers from Beirut. In the information media, attention has been concentrated on these negotiations to the point where the impression is being created that, once an evacuation agreement is ensured the present crisis will be essentially resolved. My Government fervently hopes that the immediate crisis in the area of west Beirut and the ordeal of its population can soon be brought to an end. Beyond that, however, much remains to be done before the crisis in Lebanon created by the Israeli invasion can be resolved. First and foremost, the unanimous and repeated calls by the Security Council for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces must be implemented. The contempt displayed by Israel for those legally binding decisions of the Council is deeply disturbing. That open contempt, along with the similarly contemptuous treatment by Israel of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) - which was, after all, established with the consent of the parties - creates the impression that Israel seeks wilfully to subvert the authority of the United Nations.

Beyond the present crisis in Lebanon, there remains the broader problem of the Middle East, the core of which is the national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to a State of their own.

(Mr. Elmer, Sweden)

Time and again experience has shown that political problems are not amenable to solution by the use of force. We believe that it is becoming increasingly evident to Israelis as well as to others that the invasion of Lebanon has not brought the fundamental problems and contradictions of the Palestinian question any closer to a solution.

On the contrary, there is reason to believe that the recent Israeli actions in Lebanon, besides being illegal and contrary to all humanitarian principles, will also further complicate the search<sup>9</sup> for a lasting solution to the problem of the Middle East.

In conclusion, I should like to say that my Government expects of this resumed emergency special session a demonstration of the broadest majority possible in support of a resolution that will constitute a constructive contribution towards the elusive goal of a lasting peace in the Middle East.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.