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Seventh emergency special session

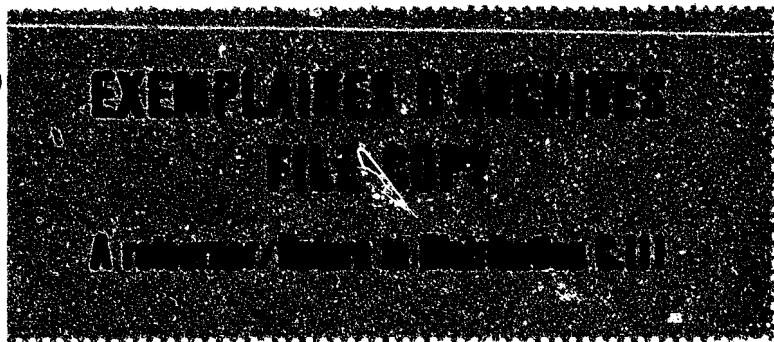
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 28 July 1980, at 3.30 p.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. SALIM	(United Republic of Tanzania)
later:	Mr. SHEDOV (Vice-President)	(Byelorussian SSR)
later:	Mr. TOMASSON (Vice-President)	(Iceland)

- Question of Palestine /5/ (continued)



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80-60156/A

The meeting was called to order at 3.55 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 5 (continued)

QUESTION OF PALESTINE: DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/ES-7/L.1, A/ES-7/L.2)

Mr. BHATT (Nepal): Mr. President, I should like to convey our deep satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the important deliberations of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly. My delegation is convinced that, with your wisdom, skill, impartiality and perseverance, you will guide this session to a fruitful conclusion.

The question of the Middle East has been the subject of extensive debate in the United Nations almost since its beginning. With the passage of time, the problem has become more complex and, in spite of numerous attempts within the United Nations and outside it to solve the problem, a satisfactory solution has eluded the international community. The goal of finding a comprehensive and just settlement acceptable to all parties concerned still seems difficult to achieve. At times, it appears that a certain movement in the right direction has taken place. The peace treaty between Egypt and Israel is one example of such a partial step, which could ultimately lead ultimately towards settlement of other aspects of the problem.

However, present events do not indicate immediate prospects of comprehensive and lasting peace in that area. On the contrary, actions by Israel have aggravated the already tense and complicated situation. In spite of the repeated calls by the United Nations for Israel to vacate the Palestinian and other Arab territories, Israel continues its occupation of those territories. The settlement policy of Israel in occupied territories in opposition to United Nations decisions is totally unacceptable to us. All actions of the occupying Power to change the legal and demographic character of those lands are illegal. We deeply regret the legislative steps initiated in the Israeli Knesset that seek to alter the status of Jerusalem. The move by the Israeli Government to transfer its offices to the eastern part of Jerusalem can make only a negative contribution to an already explosive situation. All such actions are illegal and contrary to United Nations decisions and cannot be condoned.

(Mr. Bhatt, Nepal)

The question of Palestine is the crucial element in any comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem. No lasting peace can be achieved in the area unless it is just and acceptable to all. The Palestinian people have waged a long struggle to establish an independent and sovereign nation of their own in their homeland. This is their inalienable right as a people. They are the concerned party to the dispute and their participation is essential in any settlement that seeks to bring peace and stability to that area. The Palestine Liberation Organization is the sole representative of the people of Palestine. This is the reality, and any structure of peace built without their participation will inevitably collapse. We believe that the declaration of the nine members of the European Community issued on 3 June 1980 is a constructive step in this direction.

The position of Nepal on the situation in the Middle East has been presented on various occasions in this forum. I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate these principles in brief. First, Israel must withdraw from all territories occupied since June 1967. The principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force must be upheld. Secondly, the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to establish their separate State must be recognized. Thirdly, every State in the region has the right to live in peace within recognized and secure boundaries, free from threats and acts of violence.

The conflict in the Middle East has defied solution for far too long. The situation continues to remain grave and thus to threaten international peace and security. Nepal firmly believes that only through peaceful means and a constructive dialogue between the parties concerned can a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the area be achieved. We earnestly hope that the present deliberations in the General Assembly will make a positive contribution to the achievement of this goal.

Mr. DIEZ (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, my delegation is very happy to see you presiding over this emergency special session of the General Assembly. We extend to you our warmest congratulations.

The overwhelming support demonstrated for the convening of this emergency special session testifies unquestionably, in our opinion, to the fact that Member States have now recognized the need to renew efforts to find a just and lasting solution to the problem of Palestine, which is the crux of the whole Middle East conflict. It is also recognition of the fact that the continuation of the crisis in Palestine and the vicious cycle of violence deriving therefrom constitute a growing threat to peace in the region and throughout the world.

The declaration issued last June in Venice by the Foreign Ministers of the European Community on the situation in the Middle East is without any doubt an encouraging sign in regard to the willingness of the overwhelming majority of Member States to work for peace in the Middle East, basing themselves on a realistic approach that takes into consideration all the aspects of the problem.

The people and Government of Chile share the concern of the international community and have frequently expressed their position on this problem, which, moreover, puts to the test the effectiveness of all the means possessed by this Organization.

Chile considers the following elements to be essential bases for any comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem: first, Israel's withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem; secondly, the right of all the States of the region, including the State of Israel, to live within secure and recognized borders; thirdly, the full and effective exercise by the Palestinian people of all their inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination and national independence and the right to establish a sovereign State; fourthly, participation by the Palestinian people, associated with the Palestine Liberation Organization, in all the efforts and negotiations towards establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

(Mr. Diez, Chile)

Chile has traditionally supported the right of States to negotiate bilaterally and to subscribe to the agreements that they regard as relevant. In this particular case, we welcome the peace initiatives in the region. However, we would point out quite clearly that since we believe that the question of Palestine is the central element of the Middle East problem, any negotiation, if it is to be effective, must cover all the aspects of the issue, including the effective exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights.

We believe firmly that a lasting peace in the Middle East can only be based on justice and goodwill: accordingly, we have rejected Israeli policies in the occupied territories, the construction of settlements and the clearing and annexation of occupied Arab territories, including East Jerusalem.

With regard to the Holy City of Jerusalem, we reiterate our view that it is necessary to agree on an international status that would ensure that the Holy City is accessible to all the religions. We are greatly concerned about attempts to change the status of Jerusalem unilaterally, and we repeat our position that a special status for the Holy City should be an integral part of an over-all settlement of the Middle East problem.

We would recall the following words spoken from this rostrum by His Holiness Pope John Paul II:

"I also hope for a special statute that, under international guarantees - as my predecessor Paul VI indicated -- would respect the particular nature of Jerusalem, a heritage sacred to the veneration of millions of believers of the three great monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam". (A/34/PV.17, p. 16)

The future of Jerusalem cannot be ensured if we do not take into consideration those words spoken by His Holiness.

It is only the political will to find a just solution, as well as consistent negotiations, that can bring peace - the peace that will come closer as each and every one of the parties involved demonstrates full understanding and takes into account not only its own interests but also the interests of all the peoples of the region and of the whole world in the Holy Land, which is so much a part of all of us because of our spiritual and religious links with it.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Assembly of the following additional sponsors of the two draft resolutions before us:

Draft resolution A/ES-7/L.1 and Corr.1: Afghanistan, Cape Verde, Grenada, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania and Uganda.

Draft resolution A/ES-7/L.2: Bangladesh, Nicaragua and Viet Nam.

Mr. HASHIM (Malaysia): Statements made in this august Assembly from the beginning of this emergency special session have emphasized and reconfirmed one incontrovertible fact - the injustice and the suffering that the people of Palestine has undergone for the last three decades as a result of Israeli aggression and disrespect for the principles of international law and the unwillingness of the super-Powers to deal with the problem sincerely and effectively. It is hardly surprising that today the question of Palestine continues to engage our close and urgent attention when for the greater part of the last three decades the United Nations was able to deal only with the refugee and humanitarian aspects of the problem. The larger issue of a people - the Palestinian people - with inherent rights to a sovereign homeland, self-determination and property was at best discussed but never adequately and seriously dealt with. The super-Powers, having turned the question into a pawn in their super-Power rivalry and competition, were more interested in their own strategic and political advantages than in a genuine solution to the question.

As a country that has always supported the just cause of the Palestinian people, Malaysia regards 1974 as a momentous year. It was in that year that the United Nations reaffirmed and spelled out in detail in resolution 3236 (XXIX) the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people - namely, the right to self-determination without external influence, the right of that people to return to its homes and property from which it has been displaced and uprooted. The recognition given by the General Assembly in the same year to the Palestine Liberation Organization, when it invited that organization to participate in the work of all United Nations conferences in the capacity of observer, was another positive development towards the fulfilment of the rights of the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Hashim, Malaysia)

Malaysia welcomed the establishment in 1975 of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, charged with the task of considering and recommending to the General Assembly a programme designed to fulfil those rights. My delegation is proud to be a member of that Committee.

The circumstances leading to the convening of this emergency special session have been clearly and comprehensively described by Mr. Falilou Kane, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. My delegation fully endorses the statement he has made on behalf of the Committee, and it shares his concern and disappointment at the inability of the Security Council to act on the recommendations of the Committee. The Security Council, the organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, has again been rendered impotent by the negative vote of one of its permanent members. It is therefore incumbent upon the General Assembly to act, and act it must if the Middle East is to be spared another round of tension and hostilities which could endanger the peace and stability of the entire world.

This emergency special session, convened at the request of the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, is therefore most timely and appropriate, and it meets with the good wishes of the overwhelming majority of the international community, including all States in the Non-Aligned Movement and the Islamic Conference. It emphasizes the gravity with which they view the unresolved question of Palestine and the dangerous implications it carries for the peace of the entire world. Our participation at this session demonstrates the importance that we attach to an early solution of the Palestine question that forms the core of the entire Middle East conflict.

We are all aware of the way Israel has acted in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories since 1948, in gross violation of established international law and international public opinion. Israel's action in blatant

(Mr. Hashim, Malaysia)

disregard of the resolutions of the very body to which it belongs makes a mockery of the United Nations and the principles for which it stands. The annexation and expropriation of Arab land and property, the establishment of new settlements in occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, the deportation of elected officials and the desecration of holy places in the Holy City of Jerusalem are now a matter of public record. They have been adequately and succinctly described by most delegations that have spoken before me, and it only remains for me to emphasize that Israel could not have acted in the way it has throughout all these years had the United Nations been more effective and the major Powers more sincere in their search for a solution to the problem. The major Powers were more interested in preserving and perpetuating their strategic and political advantages throughout the Middle East than in the true search for a solution that might serve the interests of the people of the region themselves. We have seen how, in their attempt to secure their respective areas of influence, the major Powers create serious divisions between the peoples of the region, further weakening their resolve to face the challenge of external manipulations. Such an attitude on the part of the big Powers can never produce an acceptable and durable solution to the Middle East conflict. The peoples of the region must constantly be aware of these manipulations and remain united, for without unity, their struggle will remain mere rhetoric devoid of strength.

It was the attitude of the major Powers and the success of their manipulations that enabled Israel to continue to pursue its illegal policies in the occupied territories. The latest move by the Israeli Knesset to declare the Holy City of Jerusalem - Baitul Muqaddis - the Israeli capital and its preparations to move the office of the Prime Minister to East Jerusalem are yet another example of Israeli intransigence - and not only an affront to the United Nations, but also to the hundreds of millions of Moslems and Christians the world over who hold the city, with its attendant religious and spiritual significance, sacred.

(Mr. Hashim, Malaysia)

In the face of all these actions by the Israeli authorities, my delegation wishes once again to reaffirm its solidarity with the people of Palestine in their just struggle to exercise their inalienable rights. They have suffered for so long, and after all these years it is only right that the United Nations should act to remove the injustice and the resultant misery that has befallen them. Let us help them to emerge from the life of refugees and exiles so that they may live in peace and dignity in their own homeland. It is the view of my delegation that the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, endorsed by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session, still provide the most reasonable basis for a solution to the question of Palestine. The proposal for the phased return of the Palestinian people to their home, land and property, the withdrawal under United Nations supervision of Israeli forces from the territories occupied in 1967, and the establishment of an independent Palestinian entity represent the best hope for a start towards a peaceful solution of the entire Middle East conflict. The representative of the Palestinian people, the Palestine Liberation Organization, must be involved in all negotiations affecting the future of its people.

My delegation regrets the inability of the Security Council to carry out its responsibilities in this grave and urgent matter owing to the lack of unanimity among its members. We can no longer wait indefinitely for the day when unanimity can be achieved, for time is not on our side. It is therefore incumbent upon the General Assembly, meeting in this emergency special session, to act immediately and decisively by authorizing the Secretary-General to implement the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People that have been reaffirmed by the General Assembly in 1977, 1978, and again in 1979. My delegation fully endorses as well draft resolution A/ES-7/L.1.

For the major Powers, endowed with the special privilege of veto, let this session be an occasion to reflect upon the special responsibility they have to the international community to make this world a secure and peaceful place for everybody, and not just for themselves.

(Mr. Hashim, Malaysia)

They have to live up to their responsibilities now, be it in the Middle East, Afghanistan or Kampuchea - in fact, wherever the situation demands it. Therefore, let this be an occasion for them to search their consciences, in the hope that they will emerge better prepared to contribute to making the United Nations capable of genuinely inspiring confidence and a sense of security and community among all nations, especially the small ones.

Finally, I wish to assure this Assembly of my delegation's full support and co-operation towards finding a just solution of the problem of Palestine and restoring the credibility and dignity of our Organization.

Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, we are pleased to see you again presiding over our work. You have calmly and energetically dealt with your task at a particularly uncertain time in international relations. An extended regular session and two special sessions have proved your talent and your devotion to the causes of independence and the equality of peoples.

For the second time this year the General Assembly is meeting in an emergency special session, by virtue of the negative vote of one of the permanent members of the Security Council which prevented that body from taking action to deal with a serious deterioration in the international order.

We have been convened here now to discuss the central problem of the Middle East - the free exercise of the right to self-determination by the Palestinian people. We do this in strict compliance with the provisions of the Charter and the terms of resolution 377 (V), in which the Assembly defined its responsibilities with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security.

Ninety-seven Member States agreed that it was urgent to convene this special session. We have undertaken a new effort to eliminate one of the most persistent legacies of colonialism. For more than 20 centuries the Middle East has been subjected to the domination of a succession of empires. It is the primary duty of our Organization to ensure that peoples of ancient lineage recover their historical legacy and fully exercise their national rights.

Thirty-three years ago, when the process of turning back the former colonial Powers was beginning, the United Nations clearly and realistically focused on the

(Mr. Muñoz Ledo, Mexico)

problem that is before us today. In its resolution 181 (II) the General Assembly recognized the right of both the Jewish people and the Arab people of Palestine to establish independent and sovereign States within what had up to then been the Mandated Territory of Palestine.

In the past 10 years the ambiguities previously created by propaganda have been dissipated and the irreversible character of both national aspirations has been shown. A great many States - almost all the international community - have come to recognize the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people and the representativeness of the organization that is leading its struggle for independence.

For Mexico, which like so many other nations has suffered colonial domination and foreign interference, this matter is, above all, one of principle. We are not part of any bloc and our actions are not dictated by pressures, alliances or expediency of any kind.

In this connexion the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of my country said at the Sixth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries:

"The first and primordial right of mankind and peoples is the right to self-determination, a precondition for all other rights... For Mexico, it is the guiding cardinal principle which must be applied before any other consideration. We believe that the main political problems of the world are due to the fact that the right of many peoples to choose themselves, in sovereignty, their political organization as independent States has not been respected.

"That is true of the Sahraoui people, the people of Namibia, the people of Zimbabwe, the people of Palestine, the people of Belize and the brother people of Puerto Rico."

My delegation has always worked to clarify problems by expressing them in proper terms and finding solutions in accordance with the principles we support. We are pleased that the United Nations has been able to make major progress in conceptual terms on the question of Palestine and that there is a clear international political will now to seek effective means to put the resultant decisions into practice.

(Mr. Muñoz Ledo, Mexico)

The community of nations has in this instance reached definitive conclusions, in which we fully concur. They are that there will be no just and lasting peace in the Middle East unless we provide for an effective guarantee for all States in the area to live in peace and security through the recognition of the right of each and every one of them to an independent existence; that the Palestinian people has the right to establish a national homeland through the formation of a State on Palestine territory; that Israel must withdraw from all the territories occupied since June 1967; and that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is the legitimate representative of its people.

Those premises derive from essential principles on which the Organization was founded, such as respect for the territorial integrity of States, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the right to self-determination of peoples, principles whose violation affect all nations, in particular the developing countries which view them as the best guarantee of their independence.

(Mr. Munoz Ledo, Mexico)

The latest events in the region of Palestine have given rise to frequent meetings of the Security Council and to the adoption of its resolutions 465 (1980) and 476 (1980) concerning Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and the status of Jerusalem. My delegation clearly stated its position on both matters in that body.

On 30 April last, when Mexico held the presidency of the Security Council, a draft resolution was put to the vote in which the fundamental definitions reached by the General Assembly on the matter of Palestine were reproduced, and an effort was made to take binding decisions that would put an end to the illegal occupation and the creation of a Palestinian State.

Since the Council was unable to adopt a resolution, the General Assembly is now assuming that role in a matter which, unless a satisfactory solution is found for it, will continue to be a serious threat to international peace and security.

My delegation's position, now that a new draft is being submitted to the vote, will be consistent with the attitude we have traditionally maintained and which has been reflected in the discussions in the Assembly and in the Security Council.

However, we should have preferred the right of the States in the region - including Israel - to a secure and independent existence, as established in Security Council resolution 242 (1967), to be reiterated, as in the draft that the Council considered. The problems of the Middle East are so interrelated that they need an over-all solution. The peace that we are seeking should be based on respect for the rights of all.

Israel cannot claim that its security lies in the violation of the rights of the Palestinian people, nor in the constant flouting of the decisions of the international community. However, the establishment of a Palestinian State, which the United Nations supports unreservedly, should be complemented with firm undertakings on the part of the interested parties to re-establish peace and harmony in the region.

The immediate problem we are dealing with is that of putting an end to a situation that is illegal and contrary to United Nations resolutions; but the long-term solution calls for a new attitude from all parties, an attitude that would favour coexistence.

(Mr. Munoz Ledo, Mexico)

A very long-standing tradition and the interests of the nations concerned and of mankind as a whole counsel the most open co-operation between both peoples, once dialogue can be established on a equal footing and on the basis of justice.

The respectful and cordial relations existing between Mexico and all the States and peoples of the region allow us to make an appeal, at this crossroads, for decisions to be taken commensurate with the magnitude of the problem, decisions that will not mean sacrificing the future to sectarian attitudes and unrealistic pretensions that can only lead to dispute and conflict.

Mr. NAVA CARRILLO (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish):

Mr. President, we are pleased to see you presiding over the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, because of the esteem that my delegation has for you as well as trust in your skill, firmness and exemplary dedication in the search for positive and appropriate solutions to problems.

The General Assembly is again devoting its attention to a situation which has had a significant effect on the possibility of maintaining peace and security in the Middle East region and therefore in the world.

We are taking part in this debate with a feeling of disquiet, because of what seems to be a deliberate political attitude of reluctance to compromise for the sake of establishing a just and lasting peace. We say that, not because we are convinced, not out of certainty derived from a judgement, but simply because we feel disturbed as a result of an uncertainty that calls for an urgent assessment of all the elements involved. Among those we are considering not only all the parties directly concerned but also those which, as a result of the interplay of forces, have injected into the issue other interests in addition to those of the nations and peoples of the area. That makes it more difficult to work out, on the basis of a will for peace, the final decision for coexistence and mutual respect that is necessary for the peaceful exercise of independence and sovereignty.

(Mr. Nava Carrillo, Venezuela)

We are aware that the aforementioned assessment has already been carried out, both by this Assembly and the Security Council - and I would add, that in the case of this forum, it has been done many many times. There can be no doubt that the international community is becoming aware of the question of Palestine, and that the conviction of the need to deal appropriately with the aspirations of the Palestinian people is growing stronger. The elements of the problem have been made clear to a great extent and I believe that no one can be unaware of the progress made in the lengthy and sometimes frustrating process of identifying them. While the international community has made that assessment, movement towards the establishment of peace has been held up because this international Organization's provisions have not been applied, developed or accepted. It is as a result of stances taken both within and outside the Organization that this delay has occurred.

We are clearly convinced of and have supported the idea that a just and lasting solution must be based on the acceptance, by all, of the following principles and elements.

Firstly, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by warfare and the cessation of the policy of occupation.

Second, the withdrawal of Israel from the territories it occupied in 1967, and the return to the frontiers of that time, as an indispensable and imperative step for progress towards peace.

Third, the right to existence of all States in the area, and the right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

Fourth, respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination and to form a political entity, together with its other national rights.

Fifth, respect for the special status of Jerusalem, pursuant to the decision of this General Assembly, which fully recognized the enormous and extraordinary relevance of the Holy City for Christianity and the most profound spiritual value it has for Christianity, Judaism and Islam, the communities of believers with whom we share, with great fervour, the common tradition of faith, which should allow us to promote, as the Holy Father said, "harmony among all those who invoke the name of God".

(Mr. Nava Carrillo, Venezuela)

On the twenty-fifth of this month, the Government of Venezuela issued a communiqué reading as follows:

"Venezuela has traditionally maintained cordial and friendly relations with both the Arab countries and Israel, and it has maintained its position on the problem on the basis of respect for all parties in a balanced and unbiased attitude and support for the efforts made by the United Nations to seek peaceful, just methods of solution. Since 1958, the Embassy of Venezuela in Israel has been located in the western sector of Jerusalem. The location of the Embassy has in no wise prejudged, nor does it prejudice, the right of one party or another to that city.

"Recently, however, great concern has been caused by the initiative taken by the Government and Parliament of Israel unilaterally to change the legal status of the City of Jerusalem. Faithful to its traditional position, Venezuela cannot allow the physical location of the Venezuelan Embassy in Jerusalem to be taken to indicate tacit support for that initiative, and consequently it has decided to move its diplomatic mission to Tel Aviv, where most foreign diplomatic representation is to be found. In adopting this stand the Government of Venezuela is respecting the letter and the spirit of United Nations resolutions in force on this question, and it shares the concern that led His Holiness John Paul II to warn about any unilateral change in the status of the Holy City.

"Venezuela reiterates its willingness to maintain normal and friendly relations with the Government of Israel and feels it appropriate to recall its invariable defence of the legitimate right of the State of Israel to existence and security since its creation."

The United Nations has recommended ways of obtaining a peaceful negotiated solution of this question. Unfortunately, difficulties have arisen on the road to that solution, but we do not regard them as insoluble. For this it will be sufficient to have a deep-seated desire to stimulate and facilitate dialogue among the parties interested and concerned, including the people of Palestine, as represented by its organization, which is recognized by the United Nations - and to enter into that dialogue in a spirit of common understanding and an ambition for the supreme blessing of peace, with respect for United Nations decisions and honouring their essential spirit and essential aims which are respect and full mutual recognition of the rights of each party. As I have said, this is possible with political will in the exercise of which we should demonstrate what the

(Mr. Nava Carrillo, Venezuela)

Secretary-General has so appropriately called a prudent balance, which I mention here in the terms and the context used by him.

Venezuela hopes for a solution of this grave source of international attention and trusts that all the parties will work for the creation of a climate of mutual confidence in the conviction that the solution of the problem must be achieved through negotiations among them and on the basis of United Nations resolutions. We have in mind particularly General Assembly resolution 181 (II), which safeguards the status of Jerusalem, Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) and Security Council resolution 465 (1980). We do not consider feasible any solution that avoids mention of the right to existence of all the States of the region and full and effective recognition of the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine - their rights to existence as a nation, to self-determination and to independence and sovereignty.

That aspiration will be illusory if we do not begin to implement what has been agreed upon by the United Nations. The latter should lay a firm foundation by recovering its credibility and effectiveness in the solution of political problems that genuinely and substantively affect international relations in regard to the maintenance of world peace and security.

The parties most directly concerned must exercise moderation and not act emotionally, although in each case that might be justifiable: rather, they should take the rational approach contained in United Nations decisions.

We wish to make another appeal - and, indeed, as many as may be advisable - concerning the need and general appropriateness of maintaining a spirit of conciliation, although we are aware of all the prudence, goodwill and patience that has already been brought to bear in efforts to come to a negotiated solution. We do not underestimate the significance of the steps taken in the region to try to promote peace, and we emphasize that only a general settlement that takes account of the legitimate rights and aspirations of all the parties concerned in the conflict can bring about a just and lasting peace. We make this appeal also to give the United Nations an opportunity, since it is already on the way to a definitive settlement of the problem, to deal with factors, elements and rights considered essential for a complete solution to the problem and for the recognition of facts that cannot be disguised.

(Mr. Nava Carrillo, Venezuela)

It is with that thought and conviction that the delegation of Venezuela is participating in this seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly. It is convinced that it must do everything possible and make every endeavour so that progress can be made towards a peaceful, lasting solution to the Middle East crisis and the question of Palestine, which is an integral part of it, since that crisis is a constant threat and risk to international peace and security.

At this emergency special session let us concentrate our efforts upon promoting general support for this further action and let us give this fresh opportunity to the United Nations to take action to exercise its authority for the sake of re-establishing peace and tranquillity, which we desire for all the men and women of the Middle East.

We say again that it is our firm hope that, with perseverance, a flexible attitude and a constructive frame of mind the formidable obstacles to peace in the Middle East can be overcome.

Mr. SEPETU (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, it is with a sense of deep gratitude and great satisfaction that I see you presiding over this emergency special session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine. Your talents and ability and your wide experience in international affairs have been amply demonstrated since you assumed the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly. Those qualities, together with your recognized dedication and commitment to the cause of peace and justice and human understanding, eminently equip you to steer the deliberations of our Assembly as we consider this burning problem of universal concern.

The Tanzanian delegation, which enjoys a special relationship with you, Mr. President, is very much honoured by the sentiments of friendship that have been expressed towards your person as well as the confidence in your stewardship clearly manifested by delegation after delegation.

It is rather unfortunate that modesty and tradition prevent me from making detailed remarks about you and your outstanding role. Yet I feel I must again register the satisfaction and pride of the Tanzanian Government and all Tanzanians at your accomplishments. You have truly and most eminently distinguished yourself as a Tanzanian, as an African and as an international statesman.

(Mr. Sepetu, Tanzania)

Allow me also to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and to its wise and capable Chairman, Ambassador Falilou Kane of Senegal, for their role in promoting the just cause of the Palestinian people. We are indeed inspired by the consistent leadership provided by Senegal in that Committee, for we also recall the equally significant role played by the first Chairman of the Committee, Ambassador Medoune Fall.

Many of the speakers who have preceded me have already underscored the significance and the timeliness of this session. I shall therefore refrain from dwelling on the rationale for this session. Suffice it to say that the session provides the international community with a unique opportunity to arrest and subsequently put an end to the extremely dangerous and fragile situation that prevails in the Middle East as a result of the continued denial of the national rights of the Palestinian people, as well as the suppression and repression of those people. It is self-evident that this situation not only poses a serious threat to the peace and security of the region but also endangers global peace and security.

The existence of that threat to international peace and security on the one hand, and the failure of the Security Council to act positively, owing to the lack of unanimity among the permanent members on the other hand, not only has made the convening of this session an inescapable necessity but, more importantly, has made it a vital forum in the search for a just and lasting peace.

Few questions in the history of the United Nations have been so comprehensively and repeatedly discussed as the question of Palestine. Indeed, from the time of the partition resolution until today various aspects of the Palestinian question have been discussed. The Organization is responsible for a plethora of unimplemented resolutions on this problem. Even those resolutions which deal with purely humanitarian aspects have remained unimplemented. Israel either has chosen to ignore those resolutions or, more often than not, has pursued the path of systematically and deliberately violating them. The result has been, on the one hand, the compilation of a multitude of United Nations resolutions, both of the Security Council and of

(Mr. Sepetu, Tanzania)

the General Assembly, matched only by the compilation of an unprecedented record of violations of those resolutions by the Israeli authorities; and on the other hand, the people of Palestine, who have been uprooted from their homeland, denied their fundamental human rights and dispossessed of their property, have continued to suffer the ordeal and agony of either Israeli military occupation or the vagaries of exile.

The most important task of this Assembly therefore is to ensure the implementation of the United Nations resolutions relating to the question of Palestine, which is universally recognized as the core of the Middle East conflict. In confronting this challenge, Members of the Assembly are all aware of the deteriorating situation in the area, which has been compounded by the expansionist and repressive policies of Israel. Those policies and actions of Israel have taken various forms, such as the consolidation of the Israeli occupation of Palestinian and other Arab lands, including the attempted annexation of Jerusalem, and the construction of illegal settlements in occupied lands, in defiance of universal opposition and condemnation and in contravention of international law. The systematic policy of trying to change the physical character and demographic structure of the occupied Palestinian and Arab lands, and the systematic harassment, persecution and repression of the Palestinian people with the clear objective of trying to force them to leave their homes, thus causing a further outflow of refugees, are but some of the serious manifestations of Israeli defiance of United Nations decisions and resolutions.

Clearly, therefore, a search for a just and lasting settlement will prove illusory unless those blatant actions of the Israeli authorities against the Palestinian people are ended forthwith. Equally evident is the fact that there can be no peace in the area if Israel continues to cling to the occupation of Arab lands in contravention of international law and the Charter of our Organization as well as in total disregard of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which categorically reiterated the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force.

(Mr. Sepetu, Tanzania)

The path towards peace and justice in the Middle East is not an easy one. We recognize the complexities of the problem. Yet it is not an impossible path. But the prospects for peace can be enhanced only by an objective evaluation of the causes of the present impasse. Israel must come to terms with the fact of the Palestinian identity and nationalism. Above all Israel must learn and accept the fact of history - that inevitably those who are denied their right to self-determination will ultimately triumph.

If Israel continues to ignore that historical inevitability, if it continues to pursue policies aimed at capitalizing on the fruits of conquest, then it will continue to block the path towards peace with imponderable consequences not only for the peoples of the region but for us all.

Our responsibility at this session is therefore very clear. It is to strive for a genuine resolution of the Middle East conflict, first and foremost by resolving the Palestinian question. In that connexion, the Tanzanian delegation has been encouraged by what can be described as a mounting international consensus in recognition of the fact that the Palestinian question is central to the Middle East conflict, and, of equal importance, by the almost universal support for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. To that end, the Declaration of the European Economic Community at their Venice Summit last month is a step in the right direction.

It is the view of the Tanzanian Government that for there to be a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict, a comprehensive approach must be taken. Such a comprehensive settlement, in addition to providing for the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination as well as the right to return, must also entail respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all - and, I repeat, of all - States in the area. Furthermore, it is inconceivable that such a solution could be obtained without the full participation of one of the principal parties, most directly concerned with the Palestinian question, namely the Palestine Liberation Organization, the authentic and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Tanzania holds very dear the cause of the Palestinian people. Our support for its just struggle is consistent with our country's support for all

(Mr. Sepetu, Tanzania)

such just struggles the world over. But in many ways the Palestinian struggle is a unique cause which calls for even more understanding and support. For here, not only are we dealing with the classical problem of a people denied its right to self-determination; rather, it is also a question of a people uprooted from its land and dispossessed of its property, with many subjected to the ordeal of semi-permanent exile. That is why the Tanzanian Government has extended and will continue to extend its support to the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO.

(Mr. Sepetu, Tanzania)

Earlier this month, my country was privileged to act as host, at the Arusha International Conference Centre, to the first in a series of seminars on the Question of Palestine. At that seminar my Government reaffirmed its unflinching support for and solidarity with the Palestine people and its commitment to the search for a durable peace in the Middle East. I wish here to reiterate the commitment of my Government in pursuit of a just and lasting peace - that peace which is so ardently desired by the peoples of the region. It is our fervent hope, therefore, that this seventh emergency special session will make an important contribution towards that goal.

Mr. OULD ZAMEL (Mauritania) (interpretation from French): Sir, since this is the first time I have had the honour of speaking in this Assembly, I should like to take the opportunity to congratulate you most warmly on your brilliant election to the presidency of the General Assembly. I am particularly pleased to fulfil this duty, in that, during the current year the General Assembly has twice taken decisions which were new and important milestones in the annals of our Organization. I am convinced that, thanks to your experience, your competence and your sense of responsibility, this session of the Assembly will be crowned with success.

On behalf of the Mauritanian Government and on my own behalf also, I wish also to pay a deserved tribute to Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim for the ability, courage and devotion with which he has been discharging his functions as head of our Organization. We know that our Organization is in good hands and that, with his own particular talent and tact he will be able to help in solving the many problems facing the international community.

In his letter of 1 July 1980 the Permanent Representative of Senegal called on the United Nations Secretary-General to convene an emergency special session, pursuant to resolution 377 A (V), in order to consider the question of Palestine. That decision taken by the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People was no fortuitous decision.

(Mr. Ould Zamel, Mauritania)

Indeed, ever since the Committee was established nearly five years ago, it has studied with perception, competence and seriousness all aspects of the question, in keeping with the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly. The various reports it has prepared on ways and means of resolving the Palestinian problem have been submitted to the General Assembly and approved by overwhelming majorities.

In June 1976 - specifically, on 29 June - pursuant to General Assembly resolution 3376 (XXX), the Committee submitted its report to the Security Council, so that the Council could proceed to implement the decisions and recommendations contained in that report relating to matters involving peace and security in Palestine. As we know, the report was not adopted because of the negative vote of one permanent member of the Security Council.

Three years later, on 29 November 1979, the General Assembly once again called on the Security Council to consider the Committee's recommendations - this time not only because of the vigorously reiterated wishes of almost all Members of our Organization, but also, and above all, because of events which had occurred in the Middle East, whose implications for international peace and security continue to be exceptionally serious. But once again the Security Council was unable to discharge its obligations because that same permanent member decided to disregard the wishes of the overwhelming majority of Member States of our Organization.

The matter was thus once again referred to the General Assembly, which was then faced with a situation in which the unequivocal recommendations of almost all the Member States and the frequently stated wishes of international public opinion had been blocked by a deliberately hostile attitude towards what has always been the very basis of the Charter - the implementation of the principle of self-determination. In view of that impasse, which was both awkward and dangerous in many respects, the General Assembly called on the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to study the situation which had developed and to make any appropriate suggestions.

(Mr. Ould Zamel, Mauritania)

By deciding to accede to the request of the Committee that it convene this emergency special session the General Assembly has thus shown the whole world that it will not allow any State, however large and powerful it may be, to manage affairs that are the responsibility of our Organization. Indeed, could it have been otherwise? I do not think so, because our Organization, which has always derived its strength and prestige from its scrupulous respect for justice, law and morality, could not continue to exist if these principles so vital to the international community, particularly to the small countries, continued to be violated with impunity.

The plan to drive the Palestinian people from its homeland was carefully and minutely prepared in advance by the Zionists. But those same Zionists could not have won recognition of the international legitimacy of their entity without the support and complicity of our Organization. That is why the question of Palestine, more than any other issue, is the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

Since the Palestinian people was driven out of its homeland, forced to wander for more than 30 years, it has been complying fully with all the principles of our Charter in the hope that our Organization, which is largely responsible for the tragedy which has been besetting the Palestinian people, would restore its most inalienable and most sacred right. That right, which is the cornerstone of our Organization and has been recognized by all peoples of the world, cannot be denied the Palestinian people.

We are thus happy that the General Assembly has made a healthy new departure and has taken the decision to act in accordance with the principles of the Charter and unblock the situation still prevailing in Palestine, for the outbreak of violence, with all the ensuing wars, death and tragedy disrupting the Middle East, is today threatening international peace and security more than ever before.

Although the General Assembly has decided finally to ensure that law and reason prevail, we should have preferred the Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for preserving international peace and security, to have been able honourably to discharge its obligations, particularly in so far as concerns this question of Palestine.

(Mr. Ould Zamel, Mauritania)

Unfortunately, abuse of the veto for the obvious purpose, now as in the past, of shoring up the Zionist State, has prevented us from restoring the rights of the Palestinian people, even though they are unequivocally recognized in the Charter of our Organization. This paradoxical situation has long been a matter of concern to our Organization and could indeed deteriorate into a crisis apt to undermine the United Nations and, if we do not take care, even shake it to its very foundations.

Since this is an unprecedented development in the annals of our Organization, I should like to say a few words about this matter of the veto, because it now seems clear that international peace and security, justice, stability and freedom in our world are based more than ever before on this principle which, by force of circumstances, has become the most basic tenet of our Organization.

(Mr. Ould Zamel, Mauritania)

In deciding to join this Organization, which was conceived and established at a time when most of today's Members were still under colonial and political domination, our countries and peoples believed - and this was a deep-seated and sincere conviction - that the political prerogatives, not to speak of the exceptional power, held by certain States under the Charter were to lead them to take account of the tremendous moral responsibility incumbent on them in settling matters that were of concern to our Organization and to the world as a whole.

We believed that with this responsibility, and in particular with the trust that our States had, those countries would be the jealous guardians of justice and staunch defenders of right and that they would avoid falling into the rather attractive, but extremely dangerous, situation in which they might become parties, in support of one side or another, to conflicts which it was the primary responsibility of the Security Council to solve.

That conviction and that trust were something that most small countries held because they cannot and could not have recourse to any other than our Organization, and they can rely only on the principles of our Charter to defend their right to exist. Most of the States believe in the equality of States, great and small, and in the defence of morality, dignity and freedom in the world, which are the most vital principles of the Charter. We believe that our States have freely and solemnly undertaken to respect them.

Almost all Member States continue to believe in these principles, but is that enough for our Organization to be able to work for what is ethical and right?

These are the questions that arise today. We must give an unambiguous and unflinching reply. However, we cannot accuse the General Assembly, the most democratic body of our Organization, of failing in its obligations to search for a solution of the problem of the Middle East, in particular of the tragedy the Palestinian people.

The verdict of our Assembly on the expansionist and criminal policy of Israel is perfectly clear. The policy is irrevocably condemned both as to form and as to substance. In truth, what encourages Israel in its policy of liquidating the Palestinian people - there is no doubt about this - is the criminal complicity of the imperialists which support, and continue to support the Zionists, militarily, financially and diplomatically.

(Mr. Ould Zamel, Mauritania)

With this unconditional support, Israel continues deliberately to violate the most elementary human rights in the Middle East. This violation of the spirit and letter of our Charter has led to the expropriation and dispossession of Palestinians and reached its peak in the expulsion of the Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul and the Islamic judge of Hebron and, in a more serious manner still, in the terrorism practised against those who have been elected by the Palestinian people in the occupied Arab territories.

Yet, the only crime of those people had committed was to be the elected representatives of the Palestinian people, and, indeed, in the occupied territories they are a symbol of courage, self-denial and determination to resist Zionist occupation.

Israel's arrogant policy does not stop there. Al Quds-Al Sharif, a Holy City in many respects, having historically, geographically, humanly, culturally and politically always been an integral part of Arab Palestine, has just been transformed into the capital of the Zionist entity. The Holy Places in the city have constantly been desecrated. Fortunately, all the religious communities throughout the world, who have understood these delaying tactics, have condemned these morally and humanly devastating actions.

Today, the Zionists and their allies wish to use Jerusalem so that you can't see the wood for the trees; in other words, they wish to use the city as the trump card in their negotiations, just as South Africa is using Walvis Bay. But in this respect, we would say that the liberation of Jerusalem, an integral part of Palestine, is inseparable from the liberation of Palestine as a whole.

Certainly Jerusalem - and on this we are agreed - has a special character and a special status from the religious point of view, but this does not mean that the Holy City does not legally and historically belong to the Arab nation of Palestine.

The Zionist authorities have taken the decision to change the character and status of the city, basing themselves on a supposed biblical interpretation and their decision is of interest and concern only to them. They have always exploited religion for materialistic purposes contrary to religious teachings, which they nevertheless advocate for the purposes of their propaganda, but that can no longer mislead anybody.

(Mr. Ould Zamel, Mauritania)

Indeed, today it is clearer than ever before that the Zionist presence in the Holy City of Jerusalem, the military measures being taken there and the tourist facilities that are being constructed have nothing to do with religion.

Never in the history of mankind has religion been so exploited for such inhuman and unjust purposes.

Israel's attitude in the Middle East today differs in no way from that of the settlers who earlier tried to give their expeditions a religious aspect the better to enslave our peoples.

The question of Palestine is, indeed, at the heart of the Middle East problem, and a solution to that problem, which is a threat to all mankind, involves a settlement of the tragedy that is being experienced by the Palestinian people. For more than a generation, the Zionists and imperialists have tried, thanks to tremendous propaganda and all kinds of subterfuge, to arrest the course of history. Still suffering from the trauma produced by the dreadful scenes and memories of the Second World War and moved by the tragedy that struck so many people, in particular by the situation of the Jews in that tragedy, international public opinion, whose good faith has now been so abused, was long ignorant of the true nature of the Middle East tragedy. Taking advantage of that situation, the Zionists established a machinery in order to commit aggression against the Arab nation and to liquidate the Palestinian people.

From one war of aggression to another, Arab Palestine has been emptied of its legitimate inhabitants, and settlements have been established that are really just daggers in the heart of Palestine, being used to fill the void thus created and to serve as a base for Zionist expansion. Despite the suffering imposed on them, the Palestinian people, aware of the justice and legitimacy of their cause, have continued to resist this cruel oppression. It was the determination to resist oppression and the sacrifices made by the Palestinian people that have brought international public opinion and our Organization to a better understanding of the question of Palestine and its true dimensions.

The Palestine Liberation Organization, the political body set up to direct and organize the struggle for liberation and also to represent the Palestinians throughout the world, with a courage and tremendous ability to which I here pay tribute, have been able through the years to win the understanding and support of international public opinion.

(Mr. Ould Zamel, Mauritania)

The decision taken at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly to grant observer status to the PLO is not only an action in which our Organization recognizes the legitimacy of the struggle of the Palestinian people; it is also and above all a decision making the PLO the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people.

This act of faith on the part of the international community, and of the United Nations in particular, should in itself have been enough to ensure that those who are seeking to draw up plans for the settlement of the conflict should now understand that it is only the effective participation of the PLO, which is the legitimate Palestinian representative, that can guarantee the success of any negotiations on the future of the Palestinian people.

The Camp David accords, whose objectives are obviously to ignore and even to eliminate the PLO, are nothing but a delaying tactic and thus a betrayal of the cause that is defended by the Arab nation, the Palestinian people and those nations that love peace and justice. The countries responsible for that initiative should understand that it is illusory to try to turn back the pages of history and that the PLO, which alone reflects the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, is the only organization that can negotiate on behalf of that people.

The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has realized this and has now made proposals to our Assembly. It is now up to our Assembly to reaffirm unequivocally and forcefully the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination without foreign interference, including the right to national independence and sovereignty. We must also solemnly reaffirm before the international community our resolve to help the Palestinian people regain its usurped land and to enable the Palestinians who have been driven out by the Zionists to return to their homes and to take charge of their property.

(Mr. Ould Zamel, Mauritania)

It is also the duty of our Assembly to oppose any manoeuvre or plan aimed at simply dumping the Palestinian people into one camp or another, where they will not be able to live and develop freely.

Those proposals are in keeping in every way with the most fundamental principles of the Charter of our Organization, and of the General Assembly, which has adopted them on several occasions, must now seek ways and means to implement them quickly. In that respect, the Secretary-General, who enjoys the confidence and respect not only of our Organization but of the international community as a whole, could be entrusted - as he should be - with the implementation of the decisions adopted by this emergency special session.

International public opinion and the peoples that cherish peace and freedom are following with attention and interest the work of this emergency special session. Indeed, today more than ever before the question arises whether a State which has freely and solemnly undertaken to respect the principles of the Charter can continue to enjoy the prerogatives of a Member State while trampling underfoot the very foundation of our Organization.

Our Assembly cannot, without doing discredit to itself and repudiating itself in the eyes of the international community, accept the continued and deliberate violation of our Organization's decisions and recommendations by Israel, which used the United Nations as a take-off point for its very existence.

In that respect, the relevant provisions of the Charter which the General Assembly can legitimately use against Member States that violate the principles of our Organization should now be applied in all their strictness to the Zionist State if it continues to demonstrate its arrogant and criminal attitude.

(Mr. Ould Zamel, Mauritania)

We hope that this emergency special session, which is the last recourse of our Organization in its attempt to settle this tragedy imposed on the Palestinian people for more than a generation, will lead to the success which the international community expects.

The Arab nation, the peoples that cherish peace and justice can no longer accept the continued oppression of the Palestinian people, just as they can no longer agree - and we are convinced of this - to allow the Zionist State to desecrate the Holy City of Jerusalem at will and arrogantly and constantly defy the international community.

We urgently appeal to those who have always supported the Zionist régime to understand that the will repeatedly expressed by our Organization, and in particular the General Assembly, is the only way of bringing peace and stability to Arab Palestine and the Middle East.

The question of Palestine, which is the paramount responsibility of the United Nations, must be settled within our Organization. The Security Council, the organ responsible for preserving international peace and security, must not take an approach different from that of the General Assembly in respect of the settlement of this question. We trust, therefore, that that body will take account of the ways defined by our Assembly and the means it proposes to ensure that justice and right triumph in Palestine.

We have good hope this time that reason will finally prevail and that international solidarity, so dear to all our States and peoples in the present circumstances, will triumph over advantages that are linked to interests which we all know are ephemeral.

Our Organization, which convened this emergency special session of the General Assembly, wished by means of the edifying debates that have characterized our work to ensure that this session would be the decisive turning point in

(Mr. Ould Zamel, Mauritania)

the settlement of the question of Palestine. The decisions that will be taken at this session, if they are applied, will constitute, we are convinced, an important milestone on the path to a settlement of this tragedy which is still haunting our conscience and in respect of which our Organization has a large measure of responsibility.

Hence, our Organization must, more than ever, make sure that the General Assembly's resolutions and decisions are implemented, and in particular those which require the withdrawal of the Zionist State from the occupied Arab territories, the return of the Palestinian people to its usurped homeland, and the application in Palestine of the principle of self-determination and the right to the establishment of an independent Palestinian State.

We must also make sure that injustices of the kind inflicted on the Palestinian people are banished once and for all from our Organization and that the States which may in the future take initiatives likely to tarnish the prestige of the United Nations will have applied against them, without any discrimination, the provisions of the Charter of which our Assembly can and must avail itself.

The equality of States, large and small, as proclaimed in the Charter, must be absolute, without any exceptions. The obligations of States in the implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly must be one of the basic criteria of their membership of our Organization.

In conclusion, I wish to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, and in particular to its Chairman, brother Falilou Kane of Senegal. I know that the work the General Assembly has asked that Committee to do has required great effort and sacrifice. I am happy to note that the Committee's perspicacity in its evaluation of the tragedy now being experienced by the Palestinian people has been endorsed by the General Assembly. I should therefore like to thank the Committee most sincerely.

Mr. RADIX (Grenada): Allow me, first of all, Sir, to congratulate you on your presidency of this emergency special session. This is indeed a reflection of the confidence of the international community not only in you but in your country, Tanzania, with which the Peoples' Revolutionary Government of Grenada has very warm relations. We trust that the deliberations here will result in the establishment of a State for the Palestinian people, for it has no doubt waged a just and resolute struggle.

This emergency special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations has been called on the question of Palestine primarily because the United States of America has been using its veto power in the Security Council to frustrate resolutions of the General Assembly relative to the Palestinian question. The Sixth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana, Cuba, in September 1979, foresaw this manoeuvre and proposed this emergency session.

The Peoples' Revolutionary Government of Grenada readily agreed to the convening of this emergency special session, for we deem the Palestinian question to be one of the most fundamental issues affecting international peace and security in the world today.

Successive resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the Islamic Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement have expressed the view that there can be no just and lasting peace in the Middle East unless there is a solution to the Palestinian question.

For my delegation the root cause of this tragedy has been the failure of the Zionist State of Israel to comply with the terms of the Charter of the United Nations relative to the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people. Zionism, acting in concert with imperialism, imposed a colonialist settler State in the middle of the Arab world. Sustained by foreign money, arms, diplomatic and other support, the Zionist terrorists drove the Palestinian people from their land, seized their property and sought to deny them of their national identity. This forced millions of those brave and heroic people to be scattered in refugee camps throughout the Arab world and beyond. The degrading and inhuman treatment inflicted on the Palestinian people by the survivors of the holocaust has not extinguished the torch of freedom and the genuine desire of this ancient people to return to its national territory.

(Mr. Radix, Grenada)

As a result of this savage repression directed against the Palestinian people, the Palestine Liberation Organization was formed. It is today internationally recognized as the sole and authentic vehicle of national liberation for the Palestinian people and is in fact afforded greater recognition in the international community than the State of Israel. In Grenada, support for the Palestine Liberation Organization did not come with the triumph of the Grenada revolution in March 1979, but had been since 1973 the policy of the revolutionary movement in Grenada.

In 1975 the General Assembly established the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to assist the Palestinians in the pursuit of self-determination and the establishment of their independent State. Incensed by this development, successive Israeli Governments have sought by every illegal and inhuman act to violate the human rights of Arabs living in the occupied territories by establishing Jewish settlements in Arab areas under their jurisdiction and committing outrageous acts of terrorism in the occupied territories as well as in the neighbouring States."

* Mr. Sheldov (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Radix, Grenada)

The Camp David accords between Israel and Egypt, which were presented to the world as bringing peace to the Middle East, have now proved to be a dismal failure. At the time the agreements were signed our Government expressed the view that they would fail simply because they did not involve the Palestinian people through its sole and legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and also because they did not meet the approval of the Arab world. The sum total of the Camp David agreements has had the effect of using both Israel and Egypt as forward bases of imperialism against the Arab and African States and of increasing world tension by affording those who regard the Middle East as an area of "vital economic interest" an opportunity to deploy their forces in the region.

In recent days, the Government of Israel has been engaged in manoeuvres designed to make Jerusalem its capital. In the view of my Government, any such so-called legislation is wholly null and void and can have no effect.

The essential elements for a just solution to the question of Palestine have been embodied in numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and our delegation wishes to reaffirm the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and property from which they has been displaced and uprooted, and calls for their return to Palestine. We reaffirm their right to establish their own sovereign and independent State, their right to self-determination without external interference and their right to national independence and sovereignty, as well as the right of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate on an equal footing in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the question of Palestine and the Middle East within the framework of the United Nations.

My delegation calls upon Israel to withdraw completely and unconditionally from all Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, occupied since June 1967, with all property and services intact, and urges that such withdrawal from the occupied territories should start before 15 November 1980.

(Mr. Radix, Grenada)

My delegation also calls upon all States to desist forthwith from supplying Israel with any military and/or economic aid, in view of the continued occupation of Arab and Palestinian territories - including Jerusalem -- and the denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

No other Member State of the international community - other than the apartheid régime of South Africa - has so consistently defied resolutions of the United Nations and world public opinion. The time has therefore arrived, in the interest of international peace and security, to apply sanctions against the State of Israel in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

My delegation noted with satisfaction the change in the policy of the European Economic Community that was announced at their recent summit held in Venice. This change, we believe, is a constructive step which places them in closer accord with the rest of the international community.

My Government is pleased at this time to announce that it has added its name to the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/ES-7/L.1 on the question of Palestine.

I wish also to take this opportunity to express again my Government's total commitment to and support of the just struggles of the Palestinian people and its national liberation organization, the Palestine Liberation Organization, as well as of the United Nations in its collective effort to satisfy the just demands of the Palestinian people.

Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): I wish to join preceding speakers in paying a tribute to the President for the diligent manner in which he is presiding over this very important emergency special session of the General Assembly on Palestine. I have no doubt that with his well-known diplomatic skill, he will successfully conduct the business of this emergency special session.

The question of Palestine which the General Assembly has been called upon to discuss at this emergency special session is an old problem that is at the very core of the perennial conflict in the Middle East. Four wars have been

(Mr. Lusaka, Zambia)

fought in the Middle East since 1948. The dreadful prospect of more wars in the area will continue to exist as long as there is no solution to the question of Palestine.

The question of Palestine is a sad story of a people being uprooted from its homes and homeland, dispersed, condemned to live as refugees in the most tragic conditions and, for decades, denied its inalienable rights.

The solution to the question of Palestine, which has been elusive for too long, is quite obvious. It is simply that the Palestinian people should be enabled to exercise its right of self-determination, including its right to establish an independent and sovereign State of its own. This is the crux of the matter and ought to be the preoccupation and concern of all who genuinely seek a solution to the question of Palestine and to the larger problem of the Middle East.

Recent initiatives undertaken in the Security Council have the basic goal of establishing a genuine and realistic basis for resolving the Palestinian question. Security Council resolution 242 (1967) is certainly important, but it unfortunately contains an undeniable and unpardonable major flaw in its reference to the problem of Palestine. The erroneous notion that the question of Palestine is simply a refugee problem should be checked and corrected. To be true to ourselves and to do justice to the Palestinian people we must recognize the fact that the Palestinian problem is above all a political problem involving the denial of the people's right to self-determination.

Furthermore, as a member of the Security Council, Zambia deeply regrets that the well-meaning initiative in the Security Council last April could not succeed owing to the casting of a veto by a permanent member of the Security Council. It is as a direct consequence of that unfortunate action by a permanent member of the Security Council that this emergency special session has been convened. The overwhelming response of the United Nations Member States which made the convening of this session possible demonstrates their understanding and concern with regard to the plight of the Palestinian people and the generally volatile nature of the situation in the Middle East.

(Mr. Lusaka, Zambia)

The cause of the Palestinian people enjoys the overwhelming support of the Organization of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement, and indeed of the vast majority of the United Nations Member States. Israel is increasingly becoming more and more isolated. In this connexion, it is significant that there is a growing debate in Western Europe as to the need for the countries of that part of the world to adopt a more realistic stance on the question of Palestine with a view to contributing to its solution.

(Mr. Lusaka, Zambia)

The United States and Israel should also have the courage of their convictions and realize that virtually the whole of the rest of the world cannot be wrong. Yet, the statement of the representative of Israel we heard the other day offers no encouragement whatsoever, since Israel appears determined to continue its defiance of the will of the international community.

It is in the interest of the Israelis to recognize and respect the right to genuine self-determination of the Palestinian people. The attitude that the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is recognized by the majority of the international community as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, is a "terrorist" organization with which Israel will have nothing to do is self-deluding and unrealistic.

It remains Zambia's strong conviction that only the Palestine Liberation Organization can and should represent and defend the interests of the Palestinian people in any negotiations truly aimed at finding a solution to the Palestinian problem. Israeli opposition to the participation of the PLO, on an equal basis with all other parties, in such negotiations only serves to delay the day when all the parties to the conflict can deliberate meaningfully together to break the impasse over Palestine and thus open the door for the settlement of the Middle East conflict in all its other aspects.

Israel's claims that it desires to live in peace with all its neighbours in the Middle East will remain unconvincing as long as it persists in its denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and in its occupation of Arab territories. Numerous other Israeli policies and practices belie such claims and further demonstrate Israel's belligerence and intransigence.

The Israeli authorities have persisted in their policy of establishing Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories. This settlements policy is a euphemism for a modern form of colonialism. Under this scheme, which is planned and executed by the authorities of Israel itself, thousands of Jews have established settlements in the occupied Arab territories.

In the process, land - both private and public - has been confiscated by Israel and houses and other property have either been demolished, evacuated or seized by force and its occupants exiled under duress.

(Mr. Lusaka, Zambia)

All these Israeli activities violate the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. The Israeli policy of colonization has been universally condemned and repeated calls for the speedy evacuation of the occupied territories have been made by the United Nations, but so far without success.

It is clear that Israel is also determined to change the status of Jerusalem from being the world's seat of Christianity, Judaism and Islam. Jewish settlements have been established in and around what was the Arab sector of Jerusalem. Religious freedom is curtailed and access to the Holy City is restricted by the Israeli military authorities. In a defiant and deliberately provocative move, the Prime Minister of Israel has now decided to transfer his office to Jerusalem.

The rising tide of conflict in the occupied territories in recent months must be viewed as a warning of a dangerous explosion in the area. There have been a number of other serious developments perpetrated by Israel that make peace in the Middle East all the more elusive. Two Arab mayors and a Sharia judge were illegally expelled from the West Bank in May of this year. Shortly thereafter there were assassination attempts on the lives of the mayors of Nablus, Ramallah and Al Bireh. Several other Arab nationals have been killed as Israel seeks to consolidate its colonization of Palestine.

Yet another related aspect of Israeli aggression and expansionism is the situation in Lebanon. By committing repeated acts of aggression against Lebanon, Israel is also attempting to establish another area of occupation. To do this, Israel has chosen to use the de facto forces under Major Haddad, a man who is well known for his treacherous activities.

Aside from extending the conflict, the attacks in southern Lebanon have resulted in loss of life among personnel of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). My delegation finds those killings inexcusable. We therefore reiterate our condemnation of Israel for those cowardly acts of cold-blooded murder of innocent international peace-makers.

At this emergency special session, my delegation will fully support any and all measures designed to achieve the following:

(Mr. Lusaka, Zambia)

(a) Recognition and respect by Israel of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including its right to establish an independent and sovereign State of Palestine;

(b) Recognition by Israel of the reality of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people which alone has the right to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians; and

(c) Commitment by Israel to unconditional withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and, with immediate effect, putting an end to its illegal settlements policy in the occupied territories, respecting the international status of Jerusalem and scrupulously respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon by desisting from collusion with the reactionary forces of Major Haddad.

In conclusion, I should like to commend my friend, Ambassador Falilou Kane, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, and the other members of the Committee for the important work they are doing. I urge them to continue to work tirelessly and imaginatively in the knowledge that the cause they serve will inevitably triumph.

Mr. PETROPOULOS (Greece): The importance of the question of Palestine is reflected in the fact that a special session of the General Assembly has been required to deal with it.

Indeed, the fact that the Palestinian question has remained outstanding for the past thirty-odd years has aroused the world conscience to the need for holding this session. The Palestinian question has now been outstanding for so long that we can no longer bypass it without disregarding the call of history.

We do not have to look in the dark to find the solution to this problem. The widespread acceptance of the principles on which the solution of the problem should be based shows us the way. These principles are well established, and I wish once more to add my delegation's voice in their support. A repetition of these principles may sound monotonous, but, until no ear remains insensitive to the call, there can be no limit to voicing truths.

(Mr. Petropoulos, Greece)

The principles are: first, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force; secondly, the withdrawal by Israel from Arab lands occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem; thirdly, respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of every State in the area and of its right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; fourthly, recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent State.

We should stress again that we see no ground for denying the brave Palestinian people the right to self-determination, which is one of the basic principles of our Organization and has been applied consistently since the Second World War.

Reducing the Palestinian problem to a problem of refugees is not realistic. The Palestinians, like any other people in the world, have a right to national expression and no pretext can obscure that fact. We must all realize that there can be no prospect of defusing the crisis in the Middle East as long as the Palestinian people remain oppressed and are denied the right to national expression.

We further believe that as continuance of the occupation of Arab territories is an evil in itself, it leads to many others. Attempts at changing the demographic composition of the West Bank through the establishment of Israeli settlements are illegal and have been repeatedly condemned as such by the United Nations.

We also strongly oppose the attempts by the Israeli Government to change the status and character of Jerusalem and we call on Israel to comply with the recent resolutions of the Security Council on the matter.

On this occasion we assert the right of free access for all adherents of the three monotheistic faiths to their respective places of worship in Jerusalem, a right which has been established and respected through the ages.

The Greek people, who understand the Arab people well for reasons of geographical proximity and tradition, feel very close to the Palestinians in their ordeal of foreign occupation. And when we speak of terminating foreign occupation in the Palestinian lands, we visualize the application of that principle to the whole Middle East area, including the Eastern Mediterranean, where another people has been the victim of foreign occupation in recent years, an occupation which persists, in disregard of successive resolutions of the United Nations.

(Mr. Petropoulos, Greece)

We subscribe also to the sovereignty and independence of every State in the area and the right of each State to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, because we believe that when the problem is dealt with rights should be balanced with obligations. However, we do not think that any of those principles should be given priority over the others in such a way as to be made a condition for the implementation of the whole set.

Greece favours all efforts for a negotiated settlement of the problem, as long as they are inspired by the aforementioned principles and are aimed at a comprehensive solution.

We finally believe that the search for a solution should be made with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Indeed we believe that the support which the PLO enjoys among the Palestinian people and the Arab countries is a basic element which should be taken seriously into consideration in all negotiations aimed at the solution of the Palestinian question.

The urgent awareness of the need for a solution of the Palestinian question is well reflected in the declaration issued by the nine members of the European Economic Community (EEC) in Venice on 13 June of this year. Greece, which is about to become the tenth member of the EEC, is gratified at the special role which the member countries intend to play in the question of the Middle East and welcomes the decision included in the Venice declaration providing for members of the Community to hold contacts with all parties concerned, in an effort to determine the form an initiative on their part could take.

The world conscience demands that we earnestly move towards a solution of the Palestinian question and we address an appeal to all concerned to respond to this call of urgency. This Assembly should now try to reduce the gap existing between our speeches and our actions; between our dreams and our realizations, so as to steer its course in the direction of understanding and co-operation, for it is only in that spirit that we can hope for the solution of the problem.

Mr. TRAORE (Mali) (interpretation from French): This seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly will almost definitely be one of peace or of war for the item on our agenda entitled "Question of Palestine" perhaps owing to the lack of imagination or political courage in fact disguises an anachronistic colonial phenomenon, the persistence and subsequent developments of which dangerously disturb the harmony that we have been trying to establish among States for decades.

The General Assembly has had the question of Palestine before it for more than 30 years. In fact the glorious trials of the struggle of the Palestinians to preserve their natural rights, that is, simply to remain Palestinians and to safeguard their traditions of honour and freedom, go far back into history.

Palestine is not something that was thought up in a foreign ministry; nor was it simply a gift offered under the pressure of geo-political demands or as penance for the dreadful events of the Second World War. The Palestinians have made their homeland to reflect their own brilliant civilization. All that they are asking for is to continue that marvellous work that mankind should thank them for.

But alas these children of the Book, of wisdom and of courage are today prisoners in their own land, if they have not been forced to leave it, as a result of the manoeuvres of those who hold power today and the unacceptable manifestations of Israeli colonial conquest.

The United Nations Charter broke new ground by recognizing that all peoples have a right to freedom and self-determination. It advocated equity and justice in relations among States and men. It devoted long chapters to those very lofty aims and provided for measures to fight injustice wherever it occurred and threatened international peace and security.

Thus since the end of the Second World War new Powers have widened the circle of the international community. The United Nations has paid the price of blood to ensure the triumph of freedom on all sides. National frontiers have receded before the thirst of peoples to join together to build their common destiny. The smouldering embers beneath the ashes of war have been doused, except in the case of Palestine, on which only a few drops of water were sprinkled, even though it became a raging inferno three times in one generation.

(Mr. Traore, Mali)

It was to ensure that bombs would not once again redden the skies over Palestine and the Middle East, that there would be no further assassinations or torture, that peace would be universal and not just the privilege of a handful of States, that the Sixth Summit of the Non-Aligned and the Islamic Conference called for the convening of this seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly for an in-depth discussion, in keeping with the rules of democracy set forth in the Charter, of the question of Palestine, because its proper solution will indeed determine our political future and satisfy our natural need for development.

This session of the General Assembly will triumph if it is able to correct once and for all at least two of the serious political errors that have caused the Palestinian people to suffer and are delaying or preventing the establishment of peace in the Middle East.

The first of those errors has been to insult the Palestinians most grotesquely by dubbing them refugees and terrorists. That is a strange way for political thought to express itself in the case of States that rush to convene humanitarian conferences to soften the fate of the Palestinians, who are nevertheless considered to be just refugees in the land of their ancestors. And those same States are opening wide all of their drawers and their arsenals to the victims of Nazism. They were entitled to return to a country of which, however, they had a distorted picture because of intensive propaganda -- and, indeed, many of those who did return tried very hurriedly to leave it, because it certainly was not the Promised Land.

Palestinian resistance is older than the State of Israel. Like many peoples that are resolved to safeguard their national identities, in their struggle the Palestinians are indeed an example to us. Their struggle is recognized by the Charter: it is our responsibility to glorify it and to support it.

The fundamental problem -- that is, recognition of the de facto situation in Palestine -- is one of the most crucial issues facing our Organization today. It is incumbent on us to find a solution as quickly as possible because the situation in Palestine, far from moving towards the beginnings of a solution, is in fact deteriorating every day, constantly jeopardizing peace and security not only in that region but throughout the world.

(Mr. Traore, Mali)

More than ever before it is up to us -- indeed, this is imperative -- objectively to analyse the problem, which is nothing but a political problem because that is how it emerged when it was created 30 years ago.

There is hardly any need for me to comment any further on the origins of the crisis, because the underlying causes are very well known.

Since the General Assembly has not been able to ensure implementation of its resolutions on the establishment of some balance in Palestine in 30 years, despite the continuing deterioration of the situation in that part of the world, a state of injustice has continued, and it has indeed taken a heavy toll in the Middle East, and peace also has paid heavily for it. That injustice has led to three wars, the last of which was almost fatal to mankind as a whole. The Jews who live in Israel are determined to put an end to that injustice because they are very acutely aware of their future and know that it depends upon coexistence among all the peoples of the region, including those driven out by Israeli troops and soldiery. We are glad that today an international consensus appears to be emerging in support of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

In this connexion, we have taken good note of the Venice Declaration of the countries of the European Economic Community and their recent decision to set up a mission to explore the objective conditions for a return of peace to the Middle East.

Here and there, everywhere throughout the world, voices of sanity are being heard warning mankind against political adventurism, against the thirst for the annexation of other peoples' lands, against the brutal methods of administration of the Tel Aviv authorities. Those voices can be heard coming from Jewish congresses and democratic organizations and ordinary people everywhere who have not fallen victim to the baneful propaganda that is so cunningly orchestrated and which focuses on what some capitals call the security of Israel but in fact simply covers up expansionist designs and desires of ill renown.

Israel owes its creation to the indulgence of the United Nations, and yet it is now attacking the fundamental values which are the glory of our Organization. It has decided to go against the current of the real situation in Palestine although that situation is increasingly recognized by the international community as a whole.

(Mr. Traore, Mali)

Confiscation of the Arab lands of Palestine for the benefit of Israeli zealots whose religious faith is equal only to their appetite for land; brutal reprisals against the Arab mayors of Palestine; establishment of new Jewish settlements; the mad decision to make the Holy City of Jerusalem the headquarters for other conquests - all represent very serious defiance of our Organization and the universal conscience.

The United Nations must live up to its Charter and preserve itself and the peoples of the Middle East, particularly the people of Palestine.

Our Organization was right to recognize in 1974 the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. It was right to have involved in its work the only representative of that people - its guide, the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is the only authority that is able, along with the international community, to save Palestine from the holocaust that otherwise awaits it.

The restoration of peace to the Middle East involves not only the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories but also, and above all, the re-establishment of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

That is the deeply felt conviction of the Government of the Republic of Mali. That is why we were glad to have been chosen as a member of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, which was set up in 1975. Mali stands shoulder to shoulder with the peoples that are struggling for dignity. We give our full support to the Palestinian people in their just struggle for national liberation, and in joining with other peoples in calling for the convening of this emergency special session we were convinced that the Assembly, in close co-operation with the Palestine Liberation Organization, would arrive at a lasting over-all settlement of the artificially created crisis in Palestine.

The search for a comprehensive just and lasting peace in the Middle East will be doomed to failure if the myth persists that Israel's domination over its neighbours will continue indefinitely. Our search for peace will triumph only if we remain faithful to the commitments we have entered into under the Charter. The non-acquisition of territory by force is one of those commitments, and the national rights of the Palestinian people derive therefrom. They include the right of those who have been uprooted to return to their homes and recover their property; their right to self-determination without foreign interference or trusteeship; and their right to create a sovereign State if that is their desire.

(Mr. Traore, Mali)

Only by the satisfaction of those minimal demands will the return of peace in the Middle East be fostered. That peace, in turn, will depend on the settlement of the question of Palestine, in terms that go beyond the scope of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967.

That resolution must be amended as soon as possible. Such an amendment has become inevitable because of events in the Middle East and must take account of the provisions of General Assembly resolution 33/26, which states, inter alia:

"... the validity of agreements purporting to solve the problem of Palestine requires that they be within the framework of the United Nations and its Charter and its resolutions on the basis of the full attainment and exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return and the right to national independence and sovereignty in Palestine, and with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization". (resolution 33/26 A, para. 4)

This seventh emergency special session has been convened to take up the question of Palestine in its entirety. That is demanded by the gravity of the situation. An emergency special session required exceptional resolutions.

The General Assembly has convened to save peace. It must do so, if necessary in spite of Israel. The Palestinian people, through its representative, has once again offered an olive branch. But let us remember those young girls who were machine-gunned while continuing to cry out "Palestine". Let us remember what was said by the young Yakoub Dawani after days of hunger strike, as he was about to die:

"If I weep as I tell you this, it is not because they were able to break me. I weep out of humiliation."

Israel, the allies that support it without reserve and the formidable means of repression available to it were not able to break a man about to die. To continue humiliating a people to which belongs one such as Yakoub Dawani would be, purely and simply, collective suicide.

Miss MEMON (Singapore): The question of Palestine is one of the thorniest and most intractable issues faced by the United Nations since its inception. The Arab-Israeli conflict has riven the Middle East with successive wars. In the June 1967 war Israel captured the West Bank of the River Jordan, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and East Jerusalem.

Following the June 1967 war the United Nations Security Council, on 22 November 1967, passed the now famous resolution 242 (1967). That resolution and the later resolution 338 (1973) were intended to establish a framework for peace in the Middle East. The Government of Singapore has consistently expressed support for the two resolutions and we wish to reiterate once again that a just and comprehensive political solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict must be based on the following: first, peaceful negotiations by all the parties concerned; secondly, the scrupulous observance of the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war; thirdly, the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from all occupied territories to Israel's pre-1967 borders; fourthly, the right of every State in the area to live in peace within secure, recognized and guaranteed boundaries, free from threats or acts of force; and fifthly, the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and a homeland of their own.

The necessary guarantees for such a comprehensive peace settlement should be provided by the United Nations.

For two decades, from 1953 to 1973, the United Nations treated the Palestine issue as essentially a refugee problem. However, the turning point came in 1974, when the United Nations General Assembly explicitly recognized that the Palestinian people were entitled to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty in accordance with the United Nations Charter. The right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland was also reaffirmed.

Singapore recognizes the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and a homeland. At the same time, it is also Singapore's position that Israel too has the same rights to exist as a State and that that must be recognized.

(Miss Menon, Singapore)

Singapore views with increasing alarm the well-documented Israeli policies and practices in the occupied territories. There is enough incontrovertible evidence to suggest that Israel has taken measures and is continuing to take measures which will lead to changes in the physical character and legal status, the demographic composition, the geographical nature, the institutional structure and status of the occupied territories. Of particular concern is Israel's policy of establishing Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. International law is clear, and Singapore supports the view that Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories are illegal and constitute a breach of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. We regard all such measures and actions taken by Israel in the territories occupied since 1967 as having no legal validity. They constitute a serious hindrance to efforts aimed at achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We urge Israel to reverse its settlement policy in the occupied territories and to comply with the provisions of the Geneva Convention.

It is my delegation's hope that this session will contribute to a just and lasting solution of a problem which has dominated the United Nations since its inception and is a constant threat to international peace and security.

Mr. YIGIT (Turkey): Since the start of the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly, we have witnessed many events unfolding one after another on the international scene which have necessitated the holding of emergency special sessions of the Assembly. In that connexion, I should like to reiterate the confidence of my delegation in the leadership, wisdom and common sense which the President has admirably demonstrated during those sessions and which will continue to guide our deliberations at this session on the question of Palestine.

(Mr. Yigit, Turkey)

The Middle East has always been a very important strategic area where different interests have been in conflict. This being the general setting, it is not difficult to understand the added intricacy always surrounding the problems of the region. Some recent developments have aggravated the tension and instability already existing in the area, thus causing the attention of the whole world to be focused even more intensely on the Middle East. The question of Palestine has gained a new urgency as a result of these developments and tensions in the region. The very fact that the Security Council has almost constantly been seized of various aspects of the Middle East conflict during the last few months is evidence of the need for increased efforts to bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict. It also explains why Turkey supported the request for convening an emergency special Session on the question of Palestine.

This question has been taken up by our Organization as from the first years of its foundation; but no headway has been made towards a solution and this question has remained a source of constant suffering for the Palestinian people, which is awaiting justice. The Middle East conflict has not been resolved because it has really never been tackled within its true context. The existence of the Palestinian people has been ignored as a determining factor in the conflict. In future efforts and initiatives this crucial aspect of the conflict will have to be taken into consideration if we mean to bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the conflict.

General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) is of historic importance in this regard. That resolution, while confirming the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish its own State, emphasizes, at the same time, that the Palestinian people is one of the main parties directly concerned with the establishment of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The General Assembly, later on, further elaborated on this question and, by its resolution 3375 (XXX), decided to invite the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the sole representative of the Palestinian people,

to participate in all efforts relating to the Middle East conflict on an equal footing with the other parties concerned. Turkey is among the countries that supported these resolutions and it firmly believes that there can be neither a meaningful negotiation on the question of Palestine nor a lasting solution without securing the participation of the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people, in such a process. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, of which Turkey is a member, has played a useful part in contributing to the increasing awareness and recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

It is a source of satisfaction to my delegation to have witnessed, especially over the last year, an increased awareness of the justified cause of the Palestinian people in the Western world. In this connexion, I would like to underline the European Economic Community Declaration of 13 July on the Middle East conflict as an important step forward. We hope the general trend progressing in the direction of recognition of the national legitimate rights of the Palestinian people will bring Israel to adopt more realistic attitudes. Israel must change its approach drastically if it is truly interested in the establishment of peace, stability and security in the region, because security for one people cannot be obtained by denying the very right to existence of another people. Recent examples of this Israeli attitude can be found in the insistent measures taken in the occupied territories to build new settlements, expand existing ones, expropriate land, demolish houses, expel inhabitants, including elected Palestinian officials, and in the legislative steps to declare Jerusalem as Israel's eternal and undivided capital. I want to recall, in this context, that the Turkish Government has severely condemned that policy on several occasions, the last being on 25 July 1980.

To sum up, I should like to stress once again the following points which should guide all efforts to bring peace, stability and security to all States in the area: the withdrawal of Israel from Arab territories, including Jerusalem, occupied since 1967; the recognition and realization of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to

(Mr. Yigit, Turkey)

establish their own State; and the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole representative of Palestinian people in any peace process, on an equal footing with the other parties concerned.

Mr. KASINA (Kenya): My delegation takes great pleasure in seeing Ambassador Salim of Tanzania presiding over this emergency special session of the General Assembly. We have no doubt that he will guide the deliberations of this session as ably as he guided those of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

This emergency special session on the question of Palestine is being convened at the request of a large majority of the Members of this Organization, convinced that the provocative decisions and actions by the Government of Israel against the Palestinian people threaten international peace and security. For more than three decades, the United Nations has been seized of the question of Palestine as the key element in any meaningful approach to a comprehensive solution of the Middle East problem. The convening of this session in itself underlines the importance and the urgency of this problem to the world community.

For the last three decades, we have witnessed the miserable plight of the Palestinian people, dispossessed, dispersed and uprooted from its land, which is currently under Israeli military occupation. Although humanitarian assistance has been given to this people in past years, particularly the assistance that has been channelled through the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), the problem cannot be treated purely as a humanitarian issue. It is a political issue and must be dealt with in a political manner.

The threat to international peace and security coming from that area derives from Israeli policies that have caused great suffering in the lives of the people of that region. Israeli policy towards the Palestinian people hinges on two wrong and false assumptions: first, that the Palestinians as a people do not exist and, secondly that they have no right to a homeland of their own.

(Mr. Kasina, Kenya)

Based on these wrong assumptions, the Government of Israel has embarked on a policy calculated to destroy the Palestinian entity. The annexation of the occupied Arab territories and the subsequent establishment of Jewish settlements on them clearly demonstrate what the Israeli Government intends by this policy. This carefully planned policy of annexation of the occupied territories is being implemented by expropriation of property, the establishment of settlements and the introduction of Israeli Jewish civilians.

(Mr. Kasina, Kenya)

This is the policy endorsed and followed by the Government and leaders of Israel. This policy, we all know, is contrary to the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. The Government of Israel, though an occupying Power and as such bound by the international obligations that it undertook to respect as a party to it, is acting in a manner which utterly ignores those obligations.

The plight of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories is marked almost daily by the constant occurrences of incidents that lead to injuries and the loss of lives. Those incidents are the direct result of the long military occupation endured by the civilian population for the last 13 years. At every session of the General Assembly, the international community has been provided with reports of Israeli practices in the occupied territories. Those reports have provided proof of Israel's continued expansionism and aggression. The recent report of the Security Council's Commission early this year confirmed the existence of what was already known - a repressive and aggressive policy of Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Events of recent months clearly illustrate Israeli brutality in the occupied Arab territories. The extreme measures taken against those Palestinians who are suspected of voicing a word of dissent, the deportation of mayors of several towns and the attempted assassination of other mayors and civil leaders serve as a vivid testimony of the harshness of the Israeli military authorities. The sufferings of those Palestinians in the occupied territories and of those who have been dispersed to other places is, indeed, the focus of this emergency special session of the General Assembly.*

My delegation has on many occasions during the deliberations of this Organization made known its views on the question of the rights of the Palestinian people. We have on many occasions stated that no lasting peace can be made until the legitimate interests of the Palestinians are fully accommodated. The root cause of the Middle East problem is the question of occupied Palestine and the dispersed Palestinians. We have therefore stated that a peaceful solution can be arrived at only if the interests of the Palestinians are taken into account.

Kenya has stated again and again that peace in the region can prevail only if the following conditions are fulfilled: first, the withdrawal of Israel

* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Kasina, Kenya)

from all the Arab lands it has continued to occupy since 1967. We are strongly opposed to the acquisition of land by the use of force. It is indeed regrettable that Israel continues to defy the resolutions of this Organization with regard to the Arab territories it occupies. Secondly, the recognition of the rights of the Palestinians as a people, including their right to self-determination and nationhood. Thirdly, in all negotiations that attempt to solve the problem of the Middle East, the participation of the Palestinian people on an equal footing with other parties. It is our view that as long as the Palestinians are denied their right to self-determination, the problem of the Middle East will remain unsolved. To this end, therefore, the withdrawal of Israel from those territories is the most important condition for a peaceful settlement of the problem.

We believe that the United Nations has an historical duty and responsibility to render all necessary assistance to promote the economic development of the Palestinian State. The overwhelming majority of States Members of this Organization agree on the urgent need for the recognition and creation of an independent Palestinian State. The Security Council, in its attempt to give effect to the desire of the General Assembly to make progress towards the achievement of this goal, has only been frustrated by the use of the veto by one of the permanent members of the Council. This is very, very regrettable.

This emergency special session must urge and inform the Government of Israel in no uncertain terms to heed the following points: first, it must reverse its policy of the settlement and annexation of Arab lands occupied since 1967; secondly, it must withdraw from all Arab lands occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; and, thirdly, it must recognize the right of the people of Palestine to exercise their freedom of self-determination and nationhood.

Mr. ADAN (Somalia): Mr. President, my delegation wishes to associate itself with those who have already expressed their gratification at the fact that you are presiding over this emergency special session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine. With your experience, patience and diplomatic skill, you are well fitted to guide our proceedings in a manner which, I am confident, will bring our debate to a satisfactory conclusion.

(Mr. Adan, Somalia)

The United Nations has on numerous occasions in the past attempted to resolve the difficult problems of the Middle East and the question of Palestine, in particular, through various means at its disposal. As is well known, those attempts culminated in the setting up in 1975 of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

Following a lengthy study of the problem, the Committee made its recommendations. Those recommendations were endorsed by the General Assembly on 24 November 1976 as the basis for a solution of the question of Palestine. The majority of Security Council members in their turn voted in favour of draft resolutions approving the Committee's recommendations, as endorsed by the General Assembly, on no less than four occasions. But to no avail, because the United States chose to veto those draft resolutions. The Chairman of the Committee, Ambassador Falilou Kane of Senegal, in his comprehensive report to this emergency special session on Tuesday, 22 July, gave a clear account of the patient efforts of the Committee to exhaust all possible avenues in order to persuade all the parties to the Middle East problem to agree to the peace proposals put forward by the Committee. He told us of the acceptance by the Chairman, albeit reluctantly, to postpone time and again a decision by the Security Council at the request of the United States in order to give it time to reflect as well as an opportunity to reconsider its position. All this proved, however, to be of no consequence in the face of the negative position taken by the United States each time the Security Council was convened to take a decision on the basis of the just recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Adan, Somalia)

Faced with this untenable situation, the only other peaceful avenue open to the Committee was to request the convening, under the "Uniting for Peace" resolution, of this emergency special session to consider the matter. In fact, the inevitability of such action was foreseen by the Sixth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement, held in September last year. In paragraph 133 of the Political Declaration of that Conference it is stated, inter alia, that

"... the Conference decided that an emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly should be convened, should the Security Council fail to act because of the lack of unanimity among the permanent members of the Council". (A/34/599, Political Declaration, para. 133)

It is a matter for regret that the Security Council, the principal organ responsible for international peace and security, should have been prevented from discharging its duties by the use of the veto. Yet the recommendations of the Committee are not so unreasonable as to make them unacceptable to any party favouring justice over tyranny, and peace over turmoil, tension and instability. The Committee rightly recognized that the Palestine question was at the heart of the Middle East problem and that no solution which did not take into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people could be entertained. It also called for the participation on an equal footing of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in its capacity as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, in all deliberations and conferences held under United Nations auspices on the Middle East question. Moreover, it recommended the return of Palestinian refugees to their homes and property and the reaffirmation of their inherent right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty - all of which are cardinal principles of the United Nations Charter.

The Palestinian people enjoy the fullest support of the non-aligned group of countries and the member States of the Organization of African Unity, of the Islamic Conference and of the Arab League. All those organizations have repeatedly and strongly reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Those rights have been similarly affirmed by the United Nations in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX).

(Mr. Adan, Somalia)

For all those reasons the time has come for the United Nations to face its responsibility under its Charter and to assist the Palestinian people to return to their homeland, from which they have been excluded for more than three decades. It is high time that the United Nations substituted active implementation of its resolutions relating to the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people for the mere rhetorical reaffirmation of those rights, which has been our practice so far. It is imperative for the General Assembly to create the appropriate machinery for the purpose of implementing the provisions of its decisions calling for the withdrawal of Israel from Palestinian territory, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and to help the Palestinian people to regain territories so vacated, in order to establish their own independent State in exercise of their sovereign rights. In all this it is self-evident that the Palestinian people can be represented only by their chosen representatives. The Palestine Liberation Organization should, therefore, be associated with this process, in addition to taking its rightful place in all international conferences and negotiations concerning Palestine.

We are fully aware that the stumbling block to the attainment of the aspirations of the people of Palestine is represented in the obstinate refusal by Israel to join the international community in the quest for peace with justice in the Middle East. It is clear that with every constructive resolution adopted by the General Assembly or by the Security Council, Israel undertakes further actions consolidating its hold over the West Bank and Gaza.

Israel has in recent times intensified its policy of repression and genocide against the Palestinian people. Wide-scale terrorism against the defenceless civilian population has become commonplace. Palestinian property is routinely expropriated. Palestinian leaders are subjected to deportation and, even more brutally, to physical liquidation, simply because they refuse to surrender the just aspirations of their people. Israel also has intensified its annexation of Arab lands as well as the establishment of illegal Jewish settlements in order to alter the physical character and demographic composition of the territory of Palestine, under the pretext of highly questionable historical arguments.

(Mr. Adan, Somalia)

To add insult to injury, a bill was recently introduced in the Knesset which seeks unilaterally to formalize Israeli occupation of the Holy City of Jerusalem (Al-quds Al-Sharif) and to turn it into the capital of Israel, in complete disregard of the city's special status, as established by the United Nations, and of its deep religious and spiritual significance for the followers of Islam, Christianity and Judaism alike. This most recent arrogant action by Israel so enraged the Islamic world that the Islamic Foreign Ministers conference held in Islamabad last May resolved to arrange for the convening of a series of Security Council meetings on the matter. The decision of the Security Council is to be found in its resolution 476 (1980). The Christian world has expressed similar disquiet at Israel's unilateral attempt to change the international status of Jerusalem, as was recently indicated by His Holiness the Pope. Israel's illegal steps to annex the Holy City of Jerusalem are therefore unacceptable.

Over the years, numerous resolutions on the Palestinian problem have been adopted by the General Assembly and by the Security Council. These constitute the necessary basis for any action which may be prescribed by this emergency special session, the aim of which must be the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people without further delay. There is growing international recognition of those rights and of the necessity of re-establishing a lasting and just peace in the Middle East and in Palestine. Indeed, with the acceptance recently by the countries of the European Economic Community of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, there is now near-unanimity among United Nations Member States as to the necessity for a just settlement of the Palestinian problem on the basis of self-determination. Only Israel, with the unconditional support of the United States, continues to defy the will of the international community. Because of the political, military and financial support which the United States continues to lavish on it, Israel is emboldened to persist in consolidating its hold over the Arab and Palestinian lands and to set up an ever-increasing number of illegal Jewish settlements, which are but thinly disguised Jewish colonies created in fulfilment of Israel's policy of destroying the national identity of the Palestinian people in order to confront the world with the fait accompli of a Jewish Palestine. The United States cannot be unaware that

(Mr. Adan, Somalia)

in upholding Israel in its policies of religious fanaticism, it stands to lose the goodwill and friendship of peace-loving peoples everywhere, and that its uncritical support for Israel enhances the prospects of another conflagration in the Middle East, which might well endanger international peace and security.

It is our hope that the United States will rise above the constraints of domestic political considerations and that it will see its way to associating itself with the efforts of the bulk of humanity, represented in this emergency special session, not only to reaffirm the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people but to endorse measures which are designed to bring about the exercise of those rights. In our view, appropriate United Nations machinery must be created to oversee: first, Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, including the West Bank and Gaza; secondly, Israeli withdrawal from the Holy City of Jerusalem; thirdly, the return of the Palestinian refugees to their homes and property, and the payment of compensation to those who do not wish to return; and fourthly, the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian State. All those demands are perfectly legitimate in that they are in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations on Palestine.

In conclusion, this emergency special session perhaps affords us the last chance not only to redress the injustices perpetrated against the Palestinians over the past three decades, but also to avert another war in the Middle East. When we recall how perilously close the world came to a third world war during the 1973 conflict, there is no guarantee that an outbreak of hostilities in the future would be confined to the Middle East alone. Those who today oppose the achievement of a just and lasting peace would therefore do well to think again. It is our hope that wiser counsel will prevail and that they will find it possible to join the overwhelming majority in this hall in the search for an equitable solution to the Palestinian question, which, after all, is at the core of the Middle East problem.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Iraq to introduce the draft resolution contained in document A/ES-7/L.2.

Mr. AL-ATTIYAH (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): It is a pleasure for me to introduce draft resolution A/ES-7/L.2 on behalf of the following States: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Cape Verde, Cuba, Iraq, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Qatar, Sudan, United Arab Emirates, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia and Zambia.*

This draft resolution commends and pays a tribute to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for its efforts and expresses great appreciation for the studies on the various aspects of the question of Palestine published by the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights of the Secretariat under the guidance of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

Doubtless, that Committee accomplished the major part of its task when it submitted its report (A/31/35) containing a programme of action concerning the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

Now, four years later, we can see that Israel is continuing its stubborn opposition to the implementation of the recommendations contained in A/31/35, which were adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 31/20. Consequently, operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution requests the Committee to study thoroughly the reasons for the refusal of Israel to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions, particularly General Assembly resolution 31/20 of 24 November 1976, and the numerous resolutions demanding the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and to submit the study to the General Assembly. Operative paragraph 4 requests the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian people to report on the progress of its study to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session.

Operative paragraph 3 contains a decision to enlarge the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, thereby confirming the importance of that Committee on the one hand, and of the new tasks entrusted to it, on the other. However, in view of the fact that time is short and that regional groups require time to study the candidacies and to

* Mr. Tomasson (Iceland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Al-Atiyah, Iraq)

consult with the Chairman of the Committee, we should like to make the following change in draft resolution A/ES-7/L.2: the whole of operative paragraph 3 should be deleted, in the hope that we would be given sufficient time at the regular session to decide which additional members would be appointed, after which the General Assembly could adopt the necessary resolutions adding these members to the Committee.

Mr. SHERIFIS (Cyprus): It is indeed a matter of gratification to see Ambassador Salim presiding over the General Assembly during this emergency special session, inasmuch as we have already had ample occasion to witness and appreciate his qualities of leadership, experience and wisdom, and also because he represents a country with which my own maintains the closest ties of friendship and common ideals.

My Government is among those which concurred in the convening of the emergency special session requested by the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, of which Cyprus is a member, faithful to a decision taken at the Sixth Non-Aligned Summit last year which called

"for the convening of a special session ... in case the Security Council fails to exercise its primary responsibility as a result of lack of unanimity of the permanent members." (A/34/542, annex, p. 175)

My Government has recognized all along the historical, national and human necessity for the Palestinian people to exercise its right to self-determination and to achieve national independence and statehood. It has been our position that there can be no comprehensive peace in the Middle East without a just and viable solution of the problem of Palestine, which is at the core of this grave international problem. We have consistently supported the rights of the Palestinian people because of the principles involved and also because of the similarities of its problem to our own. We call for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Palestine, as indeed we call for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions with regard to our own problem.

We understand the drama of the uprooted and their yearning to return to their land. For too long we have witnessed untold suffering involving hundreds of thousands of innocent people as a result of the failure of the world community to find just and lasting solutions by implementing the resolutions adopted by this Assembly as well as by the Security Council.

(Mr. Sherifis, Cyprus)

We regret and deplore the dispersal, displacement and dispossession of the Palestinians and the denial of their inalienable rights to self-determination and to establish their own independent sovereign State, and we call for their right to return.

As stated repeatedly before this Assembly and as elaborated at the thirty-fourth regular session, the position of my Government on the question of Palestine is based on five principles: first, that the question of Palestine is at the heart of the Middle East problem, thus constituting the very core of this grave international problem; secondly, that any just and viable comprehensive settlement of the problem must unequivocally recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, independence, national sovereignty, and the right of the refugees to return to their homes and properties; thirdly, that we recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Thus, the PLO's active role on the basis of equality is indispensable in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East.

(Mr. Sherifis, Cyprus)

Fourthly, belligerency must come to an end. Furthermore, the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and the political independence of every State in the area must be recognized and respected. And so should be the right of all States to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

Fifthly, my delegation firmly believes in total respect for the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. Might does not make right, and we cannot condone the ongoing creation of faits accomplis in the occupied Arab lands. The Israeli authorities must cease their practices and withdraw speedily and unconditionally from all Arab territories occupied since June 1967. Furthermore, Israel and the world must recognize the right of the Palestinian people to their own State. It is impossible to have a solution without the establishment of an independent and sovereign Palestinian State.

The draft resolution in document A/ES-7/L.1 now under consideration by the Assembly contains all five principles I have just enumerated. My delegation has therefore co-sponsored it. The draft resolution contains all the elements and provisions which, if acted upon, may lead to a solution of the problem of Palestine and, indeed, of the Middle East problem.

It is to be hoped that the draft resolution, when adopted, will not meet the fate of a succession of others adopted earlier, despite whose provisions the faits accomplis continued, such as the illegal settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and the Israeli Parliament's decision to make the Holy City of Jerusalem the capital of the State in a purported act of sovereignty. It is our view that these and similar acts are not conducive to a solution of the Middle East problem or to peace in our area, which, in our submission, would be to the benefit of all the States and peoples concerned in the area.

I should like to conclude by quoting from a statement by President Kyprianou made when accepting, on 10 July 1980, the letters of accreditation of the new representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Cyprus.

(Mr. Sherifis, Cyprus)

"I wish the Palestinian people speedy restoration of their rights in conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations. Our stand on the Palestinian issue is well known. We have repeatedly declared that the Middle East problem cannot be solved by partial agreements. And we have also declared that it is through the final and full implementation of the United Nations resolutions that a lasting solution can come about. We fully support the cause of the Palestinian people for self-determination and their right to establish their own independent State."

Mr. CABRAL (Guinea-Bissau) (interpretation from French): Once again the Assembly is calling on the great competence and commitment of the President of the Assembly to guide the work of this emergency special session.

The international community, basing itself on the highly satisfactory results of the thirty-fourth regular session of the General Assembly, over which he presided with such skill, is thus renewing its confidence in his wisdom as well as in his sense of justice and equity and his fairness - rare qualities in these times of uncertainty and crises and, doubtless, indispensable conditions for the success of this seventh emergency special session, convened on the welcome initiative of Senegal, which is the repository of so many hopes.

The progress of mankind depends on peace, without which there can be no survival. The existence of the United Nations meets this major objective, which reflects, in practice, our awareness of the need to have an instrument available to preserve the world from destruction.

Throughout the thirty-five years since its inception the United Nations has endeavoured to symbolize the hopes of the peoples of the world and to meet their most legitimate aspirations.

The accession to independence of almost all the countries once subjected to colonial domination and their remarkable entry into the concert of free nations attest to the Organization's faithfulness to the principles set forth in its Charter just as it emphasizes the consistency of its efforts aimed at promoting the independence of peoples.

(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

The convening of this emergency special session, with which my country has associated itself, therefore falls perfectly within the framework of the principles I have just recalled, whereas its urgency is the direct consequence of the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East.

Everyone is in agreement in recognizing the persistence in this area of a danger gravely jeopardizing international peace and stability as well as the need for the whole international community to pool its efforts in order to extinguish that hotbed of tension. Everyone knows - even the least experienced among us - that correctly to uproot an evil once and for all, its root must be attacked by dealing with the causes not the symptoms.

It has always been said and repeated that the question of Palestine is at the heart of the problem of the Middle East. Everyone knows the vital function of that organ in the human body - especially in these dog-days - and we can thus, without taxing our intelligence unduly, transpose this figurative concept onto the actual facts of the problem in order to grasp its basic scope.

The denial by Israel of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to decide its own future and to live in freedom and in conditions which progress in science and technology has made possible today has led to the situation of which we are aware and engendered the unfortunate consequences which we deplore.

The regular bloody confrontations between Israelis and Palestinians, the endless list of women, children and the elderly buried daily by bombs, the train of massive destruction which characterize the conflict in the Middle East, the awareness of the disaster impending for mankind if this situation is not speedily rectified with a sense of justice and, finally, the pernicious obstruction in the Security Council each time it considers the question have led the overwhelming majority of States Members of our Organization to support, not automatically but with a proper sense of responsibility, the convening of this seventh emergency special session.

(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

A few days ago mention was made here of poverty in order to say, in insulting and extreme terms, that those who had called for the convening of this session would have done better to deal with the economic and other difficulties they were encountering in their own countries.

Of course, poverty does exist in most of the countries of the world. That is nothing new, for this situation, like so many others, is, as we are aware, the result of several centuries of colonial presence, the irrefutable result of the systematic and frenzied plundering of the wealth of these countries by the imperialist Powers.

Have those who today boast of having a full stomach - undoubtedly too full - overlooked that their wealth has been accumulated on the backs of third-world peoples, in death and in blood? Have those who are so arrogant as to insult the poverty of others chosen to forget their umbilical link with the racist apartheid régime of South Africa, which is contravening the decisions of our Organization and flouting the most elementary rights recognized to every human being? Of course, poverty was once again mentioned in order to create confusion. However, care has been taken to pass over moral poverty, that imperialist cancer, which affects certain Members of our Organization - and for good reason.

When the world today has outlawed war and rejects the use of force, every people has the right to live in freedom and to benefit from the conquests of mankind.

(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

The progress of science, by drawing continents closer together, has merged the destinies of the peoples of the world and predetermines their future. There is no such thing as a people that is isolated, just as there are no longer any peoples sheltered from the turbulence that shakes the world and affects mankind's march towards progress.

The Palestinian people belongs to this world of peace and social justice which we should like to build and which will only be viable if it belongs, without discrimination, to all the peoples of the world and if it covers all universal values in one enveloping embrace.

The Palestine Liberation Organization is a living and thus undeniable fact. The PLO, by restoring its identity to the martyred Palestinian people, symbolizes its hopes. It is its sole legitimate representative, because it is the sole real defender of its most legitimate rights. The PLO is the manifestation of the will of the Palestinian people to live in freedom, just as the pulse shows the beating of the heart.

To ignore that fact or to try to turn one's back on it is absurd; to try to convince people of the contrary is a spiritual aberration. Those who claim that the PLO is a terrorist organization are insulting the truth, because the "terrorism" they are talking about is nothing but a form of legitimate self-defence against the Israeli forces of aggression and occupation.

Violence inevitably engenders violence. Its terrorist form, whatever moral judgement one may formulate regarding it - and that cannot be applied to one party only - is nothing but one of the components of contemporary conflicts.

Such was formerly the case of Jewish terrorism at the time of the British mandate in Palestine. So why should we be moved by it today and shed crocodile tears?

Why then do we have this campaign against the PLO, why is there this attempt to hide what shines in its brightness, why insult people's intelligence by trying to tell them ridiculous stories that are as fallacious as they are useless?

(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

The international community, on the strength of the principles laid down in the United Nations Charter and in response to the need to re-establish the rights of the Palestinian people, has made itself heard very clearly from the beginning of this session.

The eminent representatives who have spoken here have not failed to emphasize the interest their people feel in the Palestinian question and to express their desire to see that problem find a just and lasting solution. Their support for the cause of the Palestinian people and its legitimate representative, the PLO, is the demonstration of a universal conscience in revolt, the expression of a unanimous will to put an end to a situation that has gone on for too long, by correcting an error which is an offence to the human condition.

The justice-loving world supports the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and recognizes the need to achieve that aim as soon as possible. Israel's allies, in veiled language of course, where embarrassment and subtlety are mingled, have come round to that principle. The Venice Declaration, although insufficient, is revealing enough in that respect.

I mentioned Israel's allies. I shall not talk about its enemies because in our opinion there are none

What we have is Israeli policy, which is unacceptable because it is contrary to the law, a policy of aggression and occupation that tramples over the most elementary of the principles governing international relations, a will to dominate, which, because it is destructive and inhuman, calls for the most vigorous condemnation.

And if that condemnation is universal today, that is because in its essence that condemnation expresses total and final opposition to a fact that is an offence to the human conscience; opposition to the policy of force is always indispensable where common sense and balance should prevail in order for understanding and peace to emerge.

Our opposition to the expansionist policy of Israel is not therefore automatic as is so arrogantly claimed here. It is dictated to us by our sense of justice and history. When we speak of history we refer to past events which no one can recreate or falsify because they are too well-known to all.

(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

We have very deep respect for the victims of nazism and for the Jewish people in particular. It is precisely because we respect that formerly martyred people that we call on it now to show justice and respect for others

Thus it is serious and dangerous to maintain a state of mind that contains chauvinism and an unjustifiable scorn for others, to speak of persecution when there is none, to accuse when there is no crime and finally to make fallacious allegations to justify what is unjustifiable.

History has several times shown the inescapable character of struggles for national liberation which allows us to state once again that nothing can prevent the victory of the Palestinian people. A people that revolts to demand its right to life, always wins in the end whatever the sacrifices it must make and however powerful the enemy it confronts.

That is because the fight for liberation finds its *raison d'être* in justice and its strength in the love of freedom, which no weapon, however sophisticated, can destroy.

In occupied Palestine, the people will oppose and go on opposing Israeli occupation and the policy of *fait accompli*.

And because each Palestinian carries in himself a determination that only death can conquer, the struggle will go on until final victory.*

Force is the enemy of wisdom which is essential to the establishment of peace. The Israeli people, whom we respect, is aware of the fact that to ensure its progress, there are much more certain ways than war and much more viable methods than that of usurpation and plunder.

The Israeli people, as they have known deportation, poverty and hunger and because they have only too much experience of the crimes of racism, should oppose Israeli practices in the occupied territories, practices which, by their very repressive and cruel character revolt the human conscience.

The confiscation of Arab lands and the establishment of settlements will not consolidate the Israeli State or provide any greater guarantee of its security. That practice, which violates the principles laid down in Security Council resolution 242 (1967), the principle of the non-acquisition of territories by force especially, worsens the situation and confirms the real intentions of Israel, whose acts are dictated by a deliberate will to expand.

* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

The international community must prevent such acts, as it must make use of every means at its disposal to compel Israel to withdraw from the territories it has occupied since 1967.

Politics, even politicking, is certainly not everyone's choice. Religious belief on the other hand has many adherents, to say nothing of the fact that it nourishes mankind's spiritual and moral values. The millions of believers throughout the world cannot remain indifferent to the decision of the Israeli Government to make Jerusalem its capital. To tell the truth, they condemn that decision and reject it unanimously with the same vigour that they reject sacrilege.

Israel there has set its foot on a perilous path. Its scorn for the faith of millions of Christians and Moslems is more than a provocation, it is a real affront to humanity.

Jerusalem is and must remain the meeting point of the three great monotheistic religions of the world.

When a people runs the risk of destruction because it is the victim of a policy of aggression and injured by immoral machinations, it has the right to defend itself and to make use of all the means at its disposal to preserve its life.

Each son of that people then has the sacred duty to save the nation in peril by rallying to the movement, organization or party that symbolizes its hopes and restores its identity. The Palestinians have joined the PLO because it is the sole organization that is capable of achieving their aims.

Every Palestinian patriot, as I have said, carries within him the unshakeable determination to fight and to win. That determination and that force will lead them, everywhere and at all times, to the search for what belongs to them and for what has been taken away from them.

When a people suffers it must be helped, especially when its sufferings revolt the human conscience.

(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

The Palestinian people must be supported in its struggle: politically, materially and financially. The international community, that has come out in favour of Palestinian self-determination several times and recognized its right to establish a homeland like the other peoples of the world, must not remain bogged down in resolutions but go on to specific acts, taking as its inspiration the enforcement measures envisaged in the United Nations Charter which open the way to that end. And it is here, in the service of that noble cause and not elsewhere, that the power or super-power of certain States should make itself felt.

It has been rightly said that history will be the judge of our successes and failures. I assume that we all wish to succeed and to have our place in the glorious pages of history. The path of success is wide open. It is indicated to us in the many relevant resolutions of the United Nations and in the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, and we are happy to hail the loyalty, availability and perseverance of that Committee.

On behalf of my country and through the Committee's Chairman, our brother Ambassador Kane of Senegal, I should like to address our thanks to its members and express our thanks for the tireless efforts that they have always made to restore the legitimate right of the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Cabral, Guinea-Bissau)

As I have said, the path to success inevitably requires respect by Israel for its international commitments; it requires respect by Israel for the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular Article 25, which cannot be derogated from, and to which every Member State is committed.

To be true and lasting, peace in the Middle East requires a final and definitive solution, one that does not leave out any concerned party, a solution that recognizes the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the only organization entitled to speak, decide and act in its name.

To be viable, peace in the Middle East cannot be partial: it must be solidly constructed, and it must take account of the configuration of the entire terrain on which it stands.

Peace in the Middle East, to which my country, Guinea-Bissau, intends to contribute together with the rest of the international community, must be based on justice and the inherent right of each people to self-determination.

Peace in the Middle East will be global or it will not be peace at all. It cannot result from the will of just a few of the protagonists, especially if they have agreed to pretend to be in agreement.

Peace in the Middle East will be the work of all the peoples of the area without discrimination, an undertaking built on respect for the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the will of the peoples concerned to live together in harmony and concord.

It is in the construction of that peace that my country intends to participate, and I invite all Members to join with us.

Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): Mr. President, my delegation is most gratified to see you presiding over the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, which has convened in accordance with a request of an overwhelming majority of the United Nations membership. My delegation is happy to be associated with the great majority of countries in the region that has long been familiar with the tragic plight of the Palestinian people in expressing our grave concern at the anguish and suffering of a people unjustly deprived of its legitimate rights, especially its right to self-determination.

(Mr. Kasemsri Thailand)

My delegation regrets that the Security Council has been unable to resolve the crisis which mounts with each passing day, thus threatening international peace and security. This emergency special session is therefore an inevitable means of focusing world attention on the mounting danger to world peace. We hope that it will move us closer to a just and lasting solution to the Middle East crisis, of which the question of Palestine is a central part.

Coming from a region of the world which is confronted with another issue of major concern to international peace and security arising from an illegal occupation by foreign forces and deprivation of a people's right to self-determination, my delegation fully appreciates the anguish of the Palestinian people. Not only must every effort be made to provide them with urgent humanitarian relief, but their legitimate and inalienable rights must be restored to them forthwith, including their right to self-determination without external interference, their right to national independence and sovereignty and their right to return to their homes and property. At the same time as the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are recognized, including the right to statehood, the legitimate right of the State of Israel to exist within secure and recognized borders must also be recognized.

On account of Israel's continued presence in the Arab territories occupied since the 1967 war, Israel must necessarily answer to the world for its actions in those territories. It is a matter of regret that the record in this regard is deplorable. Israel's unilateral acts pertaining to the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, in violation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) have further undermined the viability of that resolution to the detriment of any prospects of peaceful settlement based on it. Consequently the major share of responsibility for the erosion of such prospects must be laid at the doorstep of Israel.

It is Thailand's position not to recognize Israel's annexation of Jerusalem or its becoming Israel's capital. It also considers any change in the demographic status of the occupied territory, including Jerusalem, as being contrary to United Nations resolutions and not in conformity with international law.

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

My delegation continues to believe that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) provides the most tenable basis for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Consequently my delegation urges all parties concerned to desist from any further actions which would jeopardize the chances for an effective and expeditious implementation of that resolution. Moreover, other relevant United Nations resolutions with special regard to the question of Palestine must not be ignored, as they reflect the consistent trend and increasing weight of world opinion. My delegation therefore urges all parties concerned, particularly the occupying Power, to exercise the required restraint and statesmanship in order to secure the sovereign existence of all States in the area, as well as the attainment without delay by the Palestinian people of their legitimate and inalienable rights, especially the right to determine their own future without external interference or coercion. It is also essential, as a means of ensuring the free exercise of self-determination, that all Israeli forces be withdrawn from the occupied territories and that the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is recognized by the General Assembly as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, be given the appropriate role to which it is entitled.

The world has far too long witnessed the plight of the Arab people, including Palestinians, who have been uprooted by the continued foreign occupation of their territories in violation of the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. Such actions can never be condoned by the international community, for otherwise there will be no end to aggressions or armed interventions, and mankind will always find itself on the brink of catastrophe. Furthermore it has become evident that pent-up frustrations breed violence, which in turn begets violence.

In a world of interdependence, the explosive situation in the Middle East threatens the safety and well-being of the rest of the world. With the present dilemma of more entrenched attitudes, the prospects for a comprehensive settlement of the conflict are not clear, and the most desirable approach is receding beyond our grasp with each passing day. Is the road now approaching the point of no return, or a turning-point? Can the present session lead us inexorably towards a cataclysm, or can it lead us back from the precipice?

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

Those are the relevant questions facing all of us. While we are aware of the dangers, my delegation hopes that we are also conscious of the danger of allowing other Palestines to exist and develop in other parts of the world. Therefore we must endeavour with renewed determination to uphold the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, to effect the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; and to ensure for the Palestinian people the exercise of their rights, especially the right to self-determination, without further delay.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. BLUM (Israel): There are two sides to the Arab-Israel conflict.

In this debate the Assembly has been treated almost exclusively to one side of the conflict. Members are fully aware of the imbalance, the falsities and the fabrications which have been parroted here ad infinitum, as if the ritual of their endless repetition would somehow sanctify them and give them a ring of truth.

The limits imposed on the proper exercise of the right of reply preclude my responding to all the distortions of fact, history and law that have been peddled here - and to be frank I am not sure what point a detailed rebuttal would have as regards many States represented in this Assembly, which have long closed their ears and mind to rational argument and dialogue. I would refer those who still have open minds to the considered treatment and repudiation of many of the working assumptions and concepts apparently guiding the Assembly by a leading contemporary authority, Professor Julius Stone, presented in the annex to my letter of 3 July 1960 to the Secretary-General, A/35/316-S/14045.

All of us also know that serious peace talks are going on elsewhere. It is to those who are genuinely concerned for the peace process and involved in it that I wish to address my reply.

Consequently, I should like to note with satisfaction the reaffirmation of Egypt's commitment to the peace process made in the address by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Egypt last Friday. Israel shares that commitment. However, there were certain points in his remarks to which we must take exception.

Since its establishment in 1948, Israel has sought peace with all its neighbours. For three decades, the entire Arab world refused to recognize Israel's existence, not to mention its right to exist. In keeping with that attitude, Arab countries staged four wars against Israel with the express purpose of destroying it. As soon as Egypt accepted Israel's offer to sit down and negotiate, peace between our two countries became a reality. It is only the refusal of the other Arab States to sit down and negotiate with Israel that prevents the attainment of a comprehensive peace in our region.

(Mr. Blum, Israel)

I cannot let pass the accusation that Israel is reneging on the obligations which it undertook under the Camp David framework accords.

The Camp David frameworks are firmly based on Security Council resolution 242 (1967). That resolution is the only agreed basis for peace-making in the Middle East. As is well known, it speaks of Israel's right to secure boundaries and thus excludes the restoration of the territorial situation that existed prior to the June War of 1967.

It will also be recalled that all attempts made in the Security Council at the time to phrase resolution 242 (1967) in a manner that might have called for Israel's return to the pre-1967 lines were defeated.

The Camp David frameworks for peace in the Middle East address themselves squarely to the question of the Palestinian Arabs. They see the solution of this question in terms of full autonomy for the Arab residents of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District, to be expressed through a self-governing administrative council, during a transitional period of five years, until an agreement on the final status of those areas is reached. Nowhere do those frameworks speak of a Palestinian authority endowed with legislative, executive and judicial powers.

The frameworks do not envisage the establishment of a second Arab State on the territory of the former Palestine Mandate, in addition to Jordan. They provide that the final status of the areas concerned will be determined in a peace treaty "between Israel and Jordan" by the end of the transitional period.

There is nothing in the Camp David frameworks which precludes the Jewish presence in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District. The establishment of Jewish villages in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District is in conformity with international law, and since our position has frequently been stated in various organs of the United Nations, I see no reason to repeat it here.

Moreover, the Peace Treaty with Egypt in no way relieved Israel of the grave threat to its security from the north and east. The Arab rejectionist States have mobilized on the so-called "Eastern Front" a massive array of weaponry and firepower. They also see in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District

(Mr. Blum, Israel)

important bridgeheads through which they might take acts of hostility, terror and subversion to the very outskirts of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and every other town and city in Israel. In these circumstances, Israel has not only the right but also a duty and an obligation to strengthen its presence in the areas concerned.

By mutual agreement, Jerusalem was not mentioned in the Camp David framework accords. To read such a reference into the accords runs counter to their letter and spirit. Israel's position on Jerusalem is well known and a matter of public record. It was reaffirmed in a letter of 17 September 1978 from the Prime Minister of Israel to the President of the United States. That letter was annexed to the Camp David framework accords of the same date, and it read as follows:

'I have the honour to inform you, Mr. President, that on 27 June 1967, Israel's Parliament (the Knesset) promulgated and adopted a law to the effect: 'The Government is empowered by a decree to apply the law, the jurisdiction and administration of the State to any part of Eretz Israel (Land of Israel-Palestine) as stated in that decree'.

"On the basis of this law, the Government of Israel decreed in July 1967 that Jerusalem is one city, indivisible, the capital of the State of Israel."

Israel has acted and will act in conformity with the position stated in that letter.

The Camp David frameworks are only the first step towards a comprehensive peace. But demonstrable progress has been made. A peace treaty and the normalization of relations between two former enemies cannot be simply derided, let alone be repudiated. With regard to other regions and other international issues, the General Assembly has welcomed many initial steps, primary agreements and partial progress in political and other spheres.

But in the present case, when two sovereign States have demonstrated their resolve to solve a chronic conflict, the enemies of peace in the Middle East have turned the United Nations against its very raison d'être, the prevention of war and the promotion of peace.

(Mr. Blum, Israel)

It is essential, therefore, that those of us who are committed to making peace should not lend a hand to the political warfare being waged in this Assembly and should stand united and firm behind the first constructive approach to peace in our region which has emerged for over 30 years.

Mr. GHALI (Egypt)(interpretation from French): I listened most attentively to the reply of the Israeli representative. I do not wish to revert to the arguments already adduced in my earlier statement: I should simply like to state with concern the fact that the Government of Israel has understood nothing and apparently has not heard the condemnation pronounced by the international community concerning its policy on the West Bank, in Gaza and in Jerusalem.

For hours upon hours, representatives coming from every corner of the earth - North, South, East and West -- have condemned Israel's illegal actions on the West Bank, in Gaza and in Jerusalem; they have condemned its violation of human rights; they have condemned its negative attitude.

Do not the Israeli authorities realize that by their actions they are jeopardizing peace and security in the Middle East? Can they not understand that they are going to doom to failure a unique initiative to restore peace - peace which is so dear to us and for which we have been striving so arduously? Do they not understand that Jerusalem is the capital of Islam and Christianity just as much as it is the capital of Judaism, and that they have no right to annex or to seize that Holy City?

The Israeli representative, in exercise of the right of reply, referred to Mr. Begin's letter to President Carter during the Camp David negotiations. Why has that representative ignored President Sadat's letter to President Carter concerning Jerusalem? Why has he ignored President Carter's reply recalling the position of the United States -- a position which is in consonance with the Arab position and with the position that has been supported here by the community of nations?

(Mr. Ghali, Egypt)

That statement of the Israeli representative, after five days of speeches, must leave this Assembly feeling quite concerned and with the determination to redouble its efforts to preserve peace and security, which are imperilled in the Middle East. What he is proposing is a dialogue of the deaf, while the historic initiative undertaken by President Sadat called for a dialogue between men of good will - men of peace.

In exercise of the right of reply, as as in his earlier statement, he has pursued a monologue which the community of nations refuses to listen to because it no longer convinces anyone, not even among his own people, who reject Israeli expansionism and call for peace, which the Israeli Government is unable to offer them because of its behaviour.

I reiterate my appeal to the Israeli people and to the Palestinian people to embark upon true dialogue - one between brothers that will take into consideration the aspirations of the community of nations and the generous ideas that have been expounded at this emergency special session of the United Nations.

Mr. AL-ZAHAWI (Iraq): This Assembly seems to be witnessing a strange spectacle indeed. Strange as it may be, however, it is still rather enlightening: it shows us all, and it shows the world, why this Assembly had to hold this emergency special session.

Now, we have heard two of the parties to the Camp David accords in obvious basic disagreement with each other and with each other's interpretation of those accords. And yet the Zionists still maintain that they are the way to peace and that the world should forget about the Palestinian problem and not impede what they call this "progress" towards peace.

The Zionist representative has referred in his statement just now to a so-called study that he had presented to the General Assembly, contained in document A/35/316, which supposedly refuted what the Arab side or what experts had been saying about the truth of the question of Palestine. Time does not allow me to refer to that document in detail, but I should like to point to one paragraph only, as an example of the "veracity" which is mentioned by the Zionist representative.

Paragraph 41, for instance, claims that Israel does not derive its legal existence from the Partition resolution of the General Assembly. It goes on to say that the admission of the Zionist State to membership of the United Nations similarly was not predicated on the Partition resolution. Now, the application of Israel for membership of this Organization was approved by resolution 273 (III), of 11 May 1949. The preamble to that resolution which made it possible for Israel to be accepted reads, in part, as follows:

"Recalling its resolutions of 29 November 1947 and 11 December 1948 and taking note of the declarations and explanations made by the representative of the Government of Israel before the ad hoc Political Committee in respect of the implementation of the said resolutions,

"The General Assembly,

" ...

"Decides to admit ... ",

and so forth and so on.

(Mr. Al-Zahawi, Iraq)

Now, those two resolutions referred to - the Partition resolution, 181 (II), of 29 November 1947; and the other, on the repatriation of refugees, resolution 194 (III), of 11 December 1948 - established the conditions in which the State of Israel was admitted to membership of this Organization. Of course, that was only a sham: as soon as Israel was admitted, it repudiated its undertaking. This was best stated by the Zionists in the Israeli Yearbook of 1950, at pages 140-142, from which I quote the following:

"Some members of the United Nations wished at this opportunity to test Israel's intentions with regard to the refugee, boundaries and Jerusalem issues before approving its application for admission. In a way, Israel's attitude at the Lausanne talks aided its delegation at Lake Success in its endeavour to obtain the majority required for admission. The clarification of its position at Lake Success and its declaration convinced the greater majority of representatives in the United Nations that Israel was truly seeking peace and had the right to a place in the United Nations."

(Mr. Al-Zahawi, Iraq)

This is but an example of the mendacity practised by the Zionists in order to mislead the international community and make believe that they are really seeking peace.

He said that Israel had sought peace with its neighbours for a number of years. When was this, in fact? Was it at the Lausanne talks just referred to, which the Arab States agreed to and Israel reneged on? Was it the Jarring mission, which some Arab States agreed to and which Israel refused to accept? Was it the Rogers plan, which certain Arab countries accepted and Israel refused? Israel accepted the Camp David framework only because it was a surrender to Israeli demands exactly as they have been mentioned here - Jerusalem was not mentioned and Israel had the right to settle in and to annex the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This is exactly the reason why, after all these years, Israel agreed to sit down with Egypt; it was because the so-called framework for peace was a capitulation to the Zionists' demands.

Resolution 242 (1967) is often mentioned now as the only basis for an agreed solution of the problem, but that resolution, as we all now know, does not address itself to the question of Palestine and does not refer to the rights of the Palestinian people. It seeks, perhaps, to settle the conflict between Israel and some of the neighbouring States around Palestine. The Camp David framework for peace was highly selective in its treatment of resolution 242 (1967). It emphasized the rights of all States in the area to exist within secure and recognized boundaries, but it neglected to mention the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and it neglected to mention the withdrawal of all forces from the occupied Arab territories.

And then he spoke of a transitional period after which the Palestinian people would have a right to take some part in their future. But that transitional period is, as we all see, being utilized to further consolidate the occupation of the territory and to annex it.

Finally, the representative of the Zionists has called upon all who wish to make peace not to lend a hand to the political warfare here. His appeal, in fact, boils down to a call to lend a hand to the Zionist annexation of the whole of Palestine, including the city of Jerusalem; that the world community should accept this Zionist diktat and surrender to the fait accompli.

Mr. BLUM (Israel): The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Egypt has repeatedly called for a dialogue. Israel seconds that call. We have taken note of the remarks of the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Egypt, and I trust that he has taken due and careful note of what I have said.

The Iraqi representative's attempt to meddle in the peace process in the Middle East is, to say the least, pathetic in the light of his country's sad record since 1948 and its stubborn refusal to date to accept Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

A number of attempts have been made here over the past week, including that made a few moments ago by the representative of Iraq, to invoke General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947. The aim is not only to try to justify present-day positions, but also to make a belated claim to the legal benefits deriving from the resolution in question.

Those who have so recently become enamoured with that resolution proceed on the assumption that after 33 years memories have dimmed, both as regards the historical circumstances of the resolution and the reactions of the Arabs to the resolution after its adoption. They wilfully ignore the fact that as a result of those reactions that resolution was overtaken by the events of 1947-48 and effectively aborted by the Arabs at that time.

The fact is that all the States members of the Arab League, including Iraq, in 1947 categorically rejected General Assembly resolution 181 (II). Those States formally reserved their complete freedom of action and then set out to destroy that resolution by the illegal use of force from the moment of its adoption. On 5 March 1948, on 1 April 1948 and again on 17 April 1948, the Security Council appealed for an end to the acts of violence in Palestine. The Arabs, within and without Palestine, openly defied those resolutions.

With the termination of the British Mandate over Palestine on 14 May 1948, the armies of seven Arab States illegally crossed the international boundaries of Mandated Palestine in clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations and in breach of general international law. Thereafter, the Arab States refused to comply with subsequent cease-fire resolutions and appeals of the Security Council and the United Nations Mediator. In the face of this unabating Arab defiance, the Security Council, in its resolution 54 (1948) of 15 July 1948,

(Mr. Blum, Israel)

taking into consideration that Israel expressed its readiness to prolong the truce and that

"the States members of the Arab League have rejected successive appeals of the United Nations Mediator, and of the Security Council in its resolution 53 (1948) of 7 July 1948",

determined that the situation constituted a threat to international peace within the meaning of Article 39 of the Charter of the United Nations, ordered the Governments and authorities concerned to desist from further military action and declared that failure to comply would require immediate consideration by the Security Council

"with a view to such further action under Chapter VII of the Charter as may be decided upon by the Council".

None the less, Arab violence against the fledgling State of Israel persisted. While this aggression was successful in destroying General Assembly resolution 181 (II), it failed in its other avowed purpose, namely, that of crushing the Jewish State. The fact that the Arab States failed in their armed aggression aimed at destroying Israel does not legitimize their violation of international law. At the same time, that armed aggression precludes their invoking in any form the benefits of a General Assembly resolution which they both rejected and destroyed by force of arms.

The United Nations documentation of these historical events is unequivocal, and it was laid out in the annex to my letter of 12 December 1978 to the Secretary-General circulated as document A/33/488-S/12966. But the essential point remains irrefutable: the Arabs cannot claim any legal entitlements under that resolution after their lawless resort to violence against it. Any suggestion that they can is completely untenable, not to say repugnant to elementary considerations of justice, equity and good faith.

The flower of Israel's youth laid down their lives to defeat Arab aggression in 1947 and 1948. It was that heroic sacrifice, and not aborted resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, which brought the State of Israel into existence.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who wishes to make a statement in reply.

Mr. AQL (Palestine Liberation Organization): That was a most enlightening statement made by the Israeli representative. The timing could not have been better, as we are meeting in this emergency special session to discuss how the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine, already recognized and reaffirmed by this body, can be exercised by them and the fact that there is in our part of the world a perilous and serious situation because of Israel's arrogance and intransigence. As we are in session, the Israeli representative has both the audacity and the tenacity to speak about peace and to refer to the Camp David accords as a framework for peace, while in the same breath he depicts the Camp David accords as a framework for peace, explicitly and clearly stating that there is nothing in the Camp David accords that excludes Jerusalem - in other words, that Israel is entitled to have Jerusalem as its eternal capital, according to Menachem Begin's expression.

(Mr. Aql, Palestine Liberation
Organization)

The Israeli representative also reiterates the view that there is nothing in the Camp David accords - that framework for peace - which prevents Israel from maintaining a permanent presence in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Indeed, these settlements have, by an astonishing dispensation of fate - and by his semantic acrobatics - acquired a new name: villages.

The settlements have been the subject of discussion in the Security Council. The Council has condemned the establishment of Israeli settlements. Yet the Israeli representative now calls them "villages". He sees nothing in international law or in the Camp David accords that prevents the Israelis from establishing further settlements in the occupied territories.

Therefore, the Camp David accords, which are supposed to be a framework for peace, entitle Israel to keep Jerusalem as its eternal capital, to establish further settlements in the occupied territories, and not only to maintain a permanent presence in the West Bank and Gaza - which they refer to as Samaria and Judaea - but even to strengthen and bolster that Israeli presence, against the wish of the international community.

Israeli settlements have been condemned by the Security Council. Israel's behaviour in regard to Jerusalem has been condemned. The Security Council has on more than one occasion asked Israel to rescind all its measures in the city of Jerusalem. And yet in an official statement in this emergency special session convened to discuss the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine, the Israeli representative tells us that Jerusalem is theirs, that there are going to be further settlements and that they are not violating any codes of international behaviour. They are going to maintain and even enlarge their presence in the West Bank and Gaza.

And yet the Israeli representative refers to the Camp David accords as a framework for peace. Oh peace, how many crimes have been committed in thy name.

Mr. AL-ZAHAWI (Iraq): If my delegation refers to General Assembly resolution 181 (II) and Security Council resolution 242 (1967), it is not because Iraq is now ready to recognize those resolutions. No; from the very beginning we pointed out that they were unjust and unbalanced, and even illegal. We have referred to the resolutions now only for the benefit of those who still believe that the State of Israel, which accepted the resolutions, is abiding by them.

We wish to point out that, as the statement by the representative of the Zionists clearly demonstrates, Israel in fact rejects these resolutions and does not consider itself bound by their provisions. We have pointed out from the very beginning that the Zionist acceptance of the resolutions was but a sham, a political ploy. Unfortunately, time has shown how correct our interpretation was. We were aware from the very beginning what the Zionists wanted. We were aware from the very beginning of their greed for all of Palestine. They never were satisfied with the partition. They never were satisfied with Jerusalem's being a corpus separatum.

The Biltmore Programme declared in 1942 what the Zionists had in mind. In 1943, General Patrick Hurley, aware of the Biltmore Programme, and after consulting with the Zionist leaders, reported the following to President Roosevelt:

"The Zionist Organization in Palestine has indicated its commitment to an enlarged programme for: (1) a sovereign Jewish State which would embrace Palestine and probably eventually Transjordan; (2) an eventual transfer of the Arab population from Palestine to Iraq; (3) Jewish leadership for the whole Middle East in the fields of economic development and control".

That quotation is taken from a United States Department of State document, "Foreign Relations of the United States: Near East and Africa", Washington D.C., 1964, volume IV, pages 776 and 777.

I believe that the world has come to see for itself the accuracy of what the Arabs have been saying for the past 30 years. No amount of misstatement, falsification or blatant lying can alter the truth as the whole world now sees it.

Mr. GHALI (Egypt) (interpretation from French): I should like to exercise my right of reply once again in order to state to the representative of Israel - who has told us that he accepts a dialogue - that only if his Government recognizes the Palestinian nation, recognizes the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, will it be possible to engage in a dialogue. In other words, it is with the Palestinian people that the Government of Israel must engage in a dialogue. My country has no mandate to speak on behalf of the Palestinians. No Arab State can claim to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people.

So I should like to say this once again to the representative of Israel: Address yourselves to the Palestinian people if you wish to have a true dialogue. Take the international consensus into account if you wish this dialogue to have its true scope.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States, who wishes to make a statement in reply.

Mr. MAKSOUD (League of Arab States): It is a matter of grave concern that at this moment, when the world community is asking Israel to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories, to restore Jerusalem to its rightful inhabitants, to cease its violations of the rights of the Palestinian people, at this moment when we are debating the means by which the Palestinian people may be allowed to exercise their inalienable rights, we find the Israeli representative seeking to filibuster, to deflect the debate from its proper focus, to introduce irrelevant elements, and making the usual dogmatic, ex cathedra assertions about Jerusalem. We find the Israeli representative - as the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization just stated - calling the illegal colonial settlements "villages", in preparation for softening up, in a logistical manner, the West Bank and Gaza for the ultimate purpose of annexation.

We have listened with great interest to the debate that has taken place between two parties to the Camp David agreements. It is important to realize that in protesting against the embarrassing interpretations of the Camp David accords made by the Israeli representative, the Egyptian Minister of State was trying to promote the dialogue which seems to be intermittently interrupted.

(Mr. Maksoud, League of Arab States)

We in the League of Arab States are deeply concerned about the entrapment in which Egypt finds itself and at the fact that after more than two years of debates and discussions and negotiations and ego trips by the Israeli and the Egyptian leadership, what was evident and elementary in the Zionist objectives is causing no surprise to the Egyptian leadership. In our view, the miscalculation known as a "peace initiative" arose from a misreading of Zionist objectives and an attempt to see in Israel's designs the characteristics of those of a potentially normal State, whereas Israel is in fact the nucleus of a Zionist imperialist design. It is this misreading, this miscalculation, that has led to Egypt's entrapment as a result of which, in searching for a role to play, it abandoned its proper function within the Arab nations and dislocated itself from them. For a long time, the Israeli delegation has been trying to cover up its true design of creating an exclusively racist State in Palestine by means of institutionalized discrimination and by uprooting, if possible, those who did not belong to the religious faith Zionism sought to represent.

Now, when the partition plan in General Assembly resolution 181 (II) was adopted, it was not, as the Iraqi delegation has just stated, that we accepted that partition plan in any form, because at that time, when colonialism was dividing and ruling, colonialism in Palestine was dividing and leaving. Then, irrespective of the claims and legitimate existence of the Palestinian people, the Zionists sought to colonize, perceiving the population of Palestine as human obstacles to their unfolding colonialist plan. The partition was deliberated on and decided in this Assembly at a time when the United Nations General Assembly was restricted to a minority of mankind, when the majority of mankind was disenfranchised either by the colonial racists or by imperial design. But as the liberation movement in modern history began to unfold, all of the new Member States joined the international community of nations, and the General Assembly gradually but purposively began to rectify the historical error it had committed against the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Maksoud, League of Arab States)

Thus, the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people were recognized at the time of the partition, in the aftermath of the Second World War, when a situation prevailed in which the European countries, seized by a crisis of conscience, thought that the emergence of a partitioned State, a Jewish State in Palestine, could ease their consciences at the expense of the Palestinian Arabs. With the record of Israel replete with crimes against the Palestinians and against all the Arab States as it continues to populate and expand the Israeli empire into Palestine and other Arab countries, we find that the crisis of conscience embodied in resolution 181 (II) is being remedied by the United Nations General Assembly now it has become universally recognized.

The meeting rose at 8.15 p.m.

