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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIXTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 23 April 1982, at 10.30 a.m.

President:

Mr. KITTANI

(Iraq)

- .. Question of Palestine /5/ (continued)
- Organization of work

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82-61326/A

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

AGENDA ITEM 5 (continued)

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

Mr. CORREIA DA COSTA (Brazil): Less than two years ago we assembled in this same hall to consider the "Question of Palestine". Since then this problem has been constantly examined by the Security Council and the General Assembly, without much success. None the less, I dare say there is still time for action although, by now, decisions must be promptly taken.

As is well known, the situation in the occupied Arab territories has done nothing but deteriorate, and at a faster rate than could have been expected. In addition to a succession of crises which have for long bedevilled the area, we are now confronted with new and disturbing events, about which we are deeply concerned. It seems as if the issues relating to the peaceful existence and future of the Palestinian people are doomed to be perpetuated, notwithstanding countless resolutions of the United Nations which rightly reflect the international consensus.

Time and again my delegation has joined others in expressing its disapproval of the continuation of a situation which is so fragile. And we have done so not only because we are firmly convinced that a peaceful settlement of the situation in Palestine has to be urgently found, in order to put an end to the present state of instability, but, above all, because the Palestinian people, like all other peoples, cannot be deflected from their inalienable right to self-determination and statehood, within the framework of a lasting peace.

I do not want to repeat facts well known by each member in this hall and, consequently, I shall refrain from citing all the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly on this matter -- and we must confess, adopted to little avail. However, all of us -- or most of us -- can vividly recollect the hours spent in negotiations. But, unlike some who think that this work was unfruitful or a waste of time, or even that it was just a way to gather majorities, we feel that to resort fully to the mechanisms of the United Nations is the only alternative to the use of force.

(Mr. Correa Da Costa, Brazil)

For years Brazil has been restating its position on this issue. Thus, I should like to recall the words of the Minister for External Relations of Brazil when he addressed the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, to the effect that there are four indispensable conditions for peace:

"... the complete withdrawal of occupation forces from all Arab territories; the exercise of the right of the Palestinian people to return to Palestine and the recognition of their right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty; the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the peace negotiations; and the recognition of the right of all States in the region to live in peace within recognized borders." (A/36/PV.5, p. 13-15)

Nor should it be forgotten that to these essential foundations, basic as they are, we must add the ideas contained in operative paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 465 (1980), concerning the legal validity of measures taken in relation to Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

In our relentless pursuit of peace, we should not forget that peace is within our reach as long as we are determined to achieve it. The path may be tortuous, long or difficult, but we must persist. By protracting it, we risk serious confrontations conjuring up images of death and destruction, which we are only too anxious to forget.

It is my strongest hope and that of my Government that we shall not let this opportunity slip through our fingers. Quite to the contrary, we must grasp it with determination.

Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): The resumption of the seventh emergency special session became urgently necessary in view of the persistent refusal of Israel to carry out the decisions adopted by the United Nations on the Middle East and the Palestine question and, in particular, in view of the new escalation of Israel's policies, which imperil peace.

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic is convinced that under your able guidance, Mr. President, this special session will take a successful course.

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic Republic)

It is now almost two years since the General Assembly at the first part of its seventh emergency special session took important decisions with a view to implementing the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

Through the adoption of resolution ES-7/2 by the vote of an overwhelming majority of United Nations Member States, the key elements for a settlement of the question of Palestine - like the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homes, their right to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent sovereign State - were underscored. At the same time Israel was called upon to start before 15 November 1980 its complete and unconditional withdrawal from all Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem.

However, today we are confronted with the fact not only that has Israel unscrupulously disregarded the demands contained in resolution ES-7/7, but that also in provocative defiance of international law it has dangerously escalated its policy of aggression and oppression.

There is a long list of acts of aggression, annexation and terrorism perpetrated by Israel since the convocation of the seventh emergency special session in 1980. They range from the internationally illegal annexation of Jerusalem and of the Syrian Golan Heights, the act of piracy against Iraqi facilities for the peaceful use of nuclear energy and criminal incursions into Palestinian refugee camps, villages and towns in Lebanon, to the acts of violence perpetrated by the Israeli rulers against the elected Palestinian mayors and municipal councils of El Bireh, Nablus and Ramallah and onslaughts against important historical and religious shrines in Jerusalem, which were denounced only a few days ago by the Security Council. All this is accompanied by brutal terrorist acts of the occupation régime against the Palestinian people, including undisguised murder.

The German Democratic Republic resolutely condemns the Israeli policy of unconcealed plunder and State terrorism, planned with a long-term view, against the Arab population as a grave violation of human rights and as posing a constant threat to peace in the Middle East region and throughout the world. An ever-increasing number of States rightly demand that, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, effective measures be taken to force Israel to cease its dangerous policy.

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic Republic)

Both in the course of this debate and before the United Nations Security Council, the representatives of many States have warned that the Israeli policy is aimed at the complete annexation of all Palestinian and Arab territories illegally occupied since 1967. That policy is designed not only to deprive the Palestinian people of its alienable rights, but also, as a first step, to crush the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Beyond that, the question is ever more often asked whether the Israeli rulers have set themselves the goal of physically annihilating Palestinians on a mounting scale and in this way of bringing about a so-called "solution" to the question of Palestine.

It has been rightly pointed out time and again that the provocative course of action taken by the Israeli leaders in their defiant attitude towards the international community does not exist in isolation but must be seen in the context of the aggravation of the international situation caused by imperialist forces.

At a time when the most reactionary forces of imperialism are spurring the fateful course of confrontation and super-armament, when ranking politicians of the United States are seeking to accustom mankind to the possibility of a nuclear war, when the imperialist policy of blackmail and threats gives rise to new hotbeds of crisis in the world - at that very time Israel sets out to hasten the implementation of its expansionist designs in the Middle East.

Thus the current escalation of the Israeli policy of aggression and oppression is obviously only the prelude to yet another large-scale act of international piracy.

Following a tremendous Israeli military build-up along the border of southern Lebanon, the Israeli aggressor has now broken the nine-month-long cease-fire and launched another attack upon Lebanon. Using combat planes supplied by the United States, the Israeli aggressor for hours bombed peaceful Lebanese villages, indiscriminately killing men, women and children and causing heavy material damage.

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic shares the deep concern of all peace-loving States and peoples that what is already an explosive situation in that region is thus drifting towards a dangerous deterioration, moving the world nearer the threshold of a new, devastating Middle East war.

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic Republic)

In this connexion the delegation of the German Democratic Republic wishes to draw special attention to the fact that Israel is receiving comprehensive political, military and economic support and assistance from the United States. Not only does this place Israel in a position to be able arrogantly to defy all norms of international law and constantly to violate the Charter of the United Nations, but it is also becoming increasingly clear that the so-called strategic alliance between the United States and Israel provides direct encouragement to Israel to continuously intensify its policies of aggression and annexion. The facts prove that an all-embracing, just and, above all, peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict does not fit in with the global concept of the United States of America. Rather, the principal imperialist Power is anxious to reinforce its military presence in the Middle East and in South-West Asia and to extend its course of confrontation and competitive armament to the States in that area. Obviously, this is also the reason why during the last few days and weeks the United States has several times used its veto in the Security Council to provide protection to the Israeli aggressor.

With this policy the United States is assuming a heavy burden of responsibility for another dangerously sharpening of the situation in the Middle East.

The German Democratic Republic emphatically supports those warning voices that advocate a return to the collective search for an all-embracing solution to the Middle East conflict on a just and realistic basis. The Israeli drive for expansion and aggression should give way to reason, a sense of realism and the will to live in peace with the Palestinian people and all other Arab neighbours.

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic Republic)

For more than five years the international community has been in possession of a programme of action for the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people -- for example, in the form of the recommendations of the United Nations Committee on Palestinian rights, which at its thirty-first session the United Nations General Assembly confirmed by its resolution 31/20 of 2 November 1976.

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic therefore supports the request contained in the communiqué on the Extraordinary Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries held in Kuwait this month that the United Nations Security Council endorse those recommendations.

All peace-loving forces are following with great sympathy the powerful militant actions taken by the Palestinian population in the occupied Palestinian territories against terrorism, repression and the deprivation of rights. The front of those who support the Palestinian people in its just struggle keeps broadening.

The German Democratic Republic, which has from the very beginning felt closely linked with the Palestinian liberation struggle, assures the Palestinian people of its unqualified solidarity, especially at this time.

This principled position was underscored by the first official State visit to the German Democratic Republic last month of the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yasser Arafat, and by the agreement on that occasion to raise the status of the Palestine Liberation Organization office in the German Democratic Republic to that of an embassy.

On the occasion of that visit of friendship the Chairman of the German Democratic Republic State Council, Erich Honecker, reaffirmed the principled position of the German Democratic Republic on the Middle East and the Palestine question when he stated the following:

"The complete withdrawal of Israel from all occupied territories and the realization of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to return to its homes, its right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State are indispensable prerequisites for peace and security in the Middle East.

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic Republic)

This demand has the support of the socialist countries and the non-aligned States as well as of many sober-minded politicians in the imperialist countries. We regard the calling of an international conference with the equal participation of all sides as a realistic and timely approach to eliminating the hotbed of crisis in the Middle East. This must include, as a matter of course, the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

I assure the Assembly that the German Democratic Republic will continue to take an active stand for the just cause of the oppressed people of Palestine.

Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, allow me to express the hope that under your skilful guidance the General Assembly will in the second part of this important session adopt stands which will give a strong impulse to the over-all efforts of the international community aimed at solving the Palestinian question and thus create conditions for the settlement of the whole problem of the Middle East crisis.

By resolution ES-7/2 of 1980 the General Assembly defined the most important components of the Palestinian question and gave the basis for solving it, and determined the foundations for a lasting, complete and just peace in the Middle East. That resolution, like many other General Assembly documents and Security Council decisions on the Middle East, has regrettably remained unimplemented.

However, if anything has changed in the Middle East since that time it has been for the worse, and that has adversely affected, above all, the position of the people of Palestine.

The main causes of the situation are the unchanged Israeli policy of aggression and annexation of foreign territories by force, violation of the already minimal rights of the population under occupation, and above all denial of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national independence.

Furthermore, illusions are still entertained that lasting results can be achieved without the fulfilment of the national aspirations of the Palestinian people or even by opposing them. Steps which circumvent or

(Mr. Komatina, Yugoslavia)

ignore the ever-more-rarely-disputed fact that the question of Palestine is the essence of the Middle East crisis are based on such illusions.

The mass protest of the Palestinian population in the West Bank has once again shown that the policy of force and aggression has not broken, nor can it break, the will of the Palestinian people to live in freedom and independence. This message should be understood by all, including those few who support Israel or upon whose support Israel has based its policy of expansion, which constitutes a permanent threat to peace in that region and beyond.

The struggle of the Palestinian people has become part of contemporary history as an example of persistence in liberation struggle. In spite of great temptations they have not only not given up; in their search for liberation, their morale is rising. Their struggle denies aggression and energetically defends their right to independence and freedom, and it is therefore of universal significance. It is a living example of the political will and national conscience which open up moral perceptiveness and strategic horizons. Their strength lies neither in their number nor in their armaments but in their resolve to defend their national identity. They have not met terrorism with terrorism but with the overt struggle of a subjugated people, and for that reason they have deserved the widest support.

The intensified Israeli policy of aggression is making that most dangerous hotbed of crisis in the world even more acute. In its substance this crisis involves the basic principles of international relations. Therefore it is not surprising that developments in international relations are reflected on the Middle East and vice versa. The complexity and gravity of this crisis constitute the most direct threat to the world situation in general.

The situation is becoming worse, with the General Assembly considering this acute question in conditions of deteriorated international relations caused by intensified bloc confrontations in the arms race and the attempts to enlarge existing spheres of influence and to acquire new ones.

That is reflected in the frequent use of force by means of various forms of interference and pressure and interventions against the independence,

(Mr. Komatina, Yugoslavia)

territorial integrity and sovereignty of mostly economically and militarily weak countries. That development prevents the solution of the present foci of crisis and leads to the concentration of the military potential therein; it promotes the creation of new and even more dangerous zones of confrontation and possible armed conflicts, with unforeseeable consequences.

Because of the development of the situation in the region and in the world as a whole, the question of Palestine is entering a phase in which many of its elements are reaching a turning-point and facing the international community with a very decisive test of will-power and courage.

It is not only a question of the moral obligation that stems from the fact that 30 years ago the world Organization took the responsibility of solving the question of the fundamental national rights of the Palestinian people; in addition, the elimination of this most dangerous hotbed of war is indispensable in the interests of peace and the security of us all, because what is happening now in the Middle East will inevitably lead to a conflict the direct and long-term consequences of which we shall all have to bear.

(Mr. Komatina, Yugoslavia)

This is illustrated by such facts as the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, which followed shortly after the annexation of Jerusalem and the extent of which is still not known; the situation in south Lebanon, where the most recent aggressive attacks prelude a new large-scale aggression; the dissolution of elected bodies and the removal of Palestinian and Arab officials in the West Bank and the measures of reprisal against the population there. The most recent examples include the obliteration of the national, historical and religious character of Jerusalem and the flagrant sacrilege perpetrated against the holy sites of the Al Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock.

There are, however, encouraging signs in the whole situation. The ever-more numerous signs of the evolution of the recognition by the international community of the basic constants in the Palestinian problem and their significance for the solution of the Middle East crisis in general are undoubtedly positive phenomena. That is, there would be almost no dilemma if the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, the recognition and realization of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and the guarantee of the right of all peoples and countries in the region to a peaceful and secure life were acknowledged to be the only possible and acceptable basis for a lasting peace in the Middle East.

The recognition of the legitimate right of the Palestine Liberation Organization to represent the Palestinian people is also widely accepted, as is the fact that without that recognition the peace process in that region cannot be successfully launched. An ever-greater number of countries, international bodies and organizations have established, and maintain, relations characteristic of the relations between sovereign States with the Palestine Liberation Organization, which has affirmed itself as a constructive member of the international community.

(Mr. Komatina, Yugoslavia)

The development of the situation in and around the Middle East, primarily in connexion with the unsolved question of Palestine, leads to the conclusion that today more than ever before, urgent and firm action by the United Nations is necessary for the solution of this increasingly acute focus of crisis in the world.

This was clearly pointed out in the programme of action of the non-aligned countries contained in the final communiqué of the recent Ministerial Meeting on Palestine of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries held in Kuwait. At that meeting the non-aligned policy of support for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and for the endeavour to create the conditions for a lasting and just peace in the Middle East was expressed.

Of great significance in this context are those parts of the programme of action which call on the Secretary-General to undertake as soon as possible appropriate steps to initiate contacts with all parties involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East, with the aim of finding a concrete way to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting solution in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and relevant United Nations resolutions, and which state that the Security Council should recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, declare the annexations null and void and apply mandatory sanctions against Israel. The resumption of this special session is the result of action by the non-aligned countries.

Such an approach by the non-aligned countries is another confirmation of the fact that they were and have remained the most reliable supporters of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their struggle for the realization of their fundamental national and other rights. At the same time, they are the most consistent defenders of those principles which can constitute the basis for a solution to the question of Palestine through the elimination of faits accomplis carried out by force and the recognition of the right of all peoples and all countries to live in peace and security.

(Mr. Komatina, Yugoslavia)

Non-aligned and socialist Yugoslavia, which condemns any policy of aggression, has always paid particular attention to the question of Palestine. Our position concerning the solution to that problem has always basically proceeded from the need to find ways to realize the just aspirations of the Palestinian people and to find a solution to the Middle East crisis on the following bases: the withdrawal of Israel from all Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; the realization of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to the creation of their own State; the recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and of its right to participate on an equal footing in all efforts aimed at finding a solution to the Middle East crisis; the assurance of the rights of all peoples and countries in the region to live and develop in security; and the active role of the United Nations in the implementation of all decisions relating to this issue.

We shall, for our part, continue to support every effort and all actions in that direction.

Mr. BARANYANDUZA (Burundi) (interpretation from French): During this resumed seventh emergency special session on the question of Palestine, we are all witnesses to the continuing tragedy of the Palestinian people. That people has been subjected daily to brutal repression through the occupation and expropriation of its lands and property.

The bloody tragedy which today is devastating the Middle East derives from Israel's constant refusal to abide by the many resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the question of Palestine -- resolutions which call upon it to allow this neighbouring people to enjoy its inalienable rights to its homeland and fully to exercise its rights.

(Mr. Baranyanduza, Burundi)

Israel's unwillingness to co-operate, as well as its intransigence and ever-growing aggressiveness, have created a situation in which all the efforts undertaken by our Organization have not been able to meet with the desired success. Some recognize, however, that Israel's boldness in its expansionist policy is the result of the fact that it is assured of the total paralysis of the only body of the United Nations which is competent to call it to reason but which at present cannot do so because of the abuse of the veto, which Israel can count on in the Security Council.

As a natural result of this, Israel, which fears neither measures nor sanctions on the part of the international community, no longer feels the obligation to bow even to those resolutions unanimously adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly of our Organization.

Israel has thus committed itself to a course which is not that of the search for peace in the Middle East. But peace is indispensable for all the States of the area, so that they can devote themselves to economic and social development in order to assure the well-being of their respective populations. Israel cannot assure its national security by means of the violence and aggression that it is carrying out against its neighbours, particularly against the Palestinian people, to whom Israel denies even the right of coexistence.

I do not think it would be useful for me to dwell on the provocative policies which Israel continues to pursue, even beyond its own borders. The policy of Jewish settlements and the concomitant expropriation and displacement, not to mention expulsion, of thousands of Palestinian Arab families and the policy of intimidation which often does not stop short of murderous violence are contrary to all the principles of international law and, more particularly, to the Fourth Geneva Convention relating to the Protection of Civilian Populations in Time of War.

No country which is concerned only with the security of its territory would ever pursue the kinds of plans that Israel is considering in the territories it has occupied since 1967. Consequently, it is clear that the various annexations of Arab lands as well as projects such as that to dig a canal connecting the Dead Sea with the Mediterranean are only part of Israel's expansionist policy and that Israel has no intention of returning to its own borders.

(Mr. Baranyanduza, Burundi)

Consequently, the General Assembly must reaffirm the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to recover their land, establish an independent State and exercise their rights like all other peoples of the world.

This Assembly must unequivocally condemn the illegal occupation of Arab territories by Israel and the annexation of Jerusalem and the Syrian Arab Golan Heights. It must voice its indignation at the killing of innocent persons gunned down by Israeli soldiers. Israel's arbitrary dismissal of the lawfully elected mayors in the occupied territories and its brutal repression of civilians - sparing neither women, children nor the elderly - are acts that destroy the kind of climate needed for negotiations.

While we must condemn Israel's expansionist and aggressive policies, they should not unduly surprise us if we think about its special alliances with the bastions of anachronistic colonialism and impenitent imperialism throughout the third world. These same imperialist circles which give it moral, political and military support are indeed the very ones which unscrupulously try to impose their hegemony and seize whatever they desire, on the fallacious pretext of defending their vital national interests outside their own territories.

The solution to the question of Palestine has been delayed because of the interests being pursued by those same Powers in that part of the world. Therefore, as long as those interests remain and until those Powers decide to recognize the interests of the other countries of the region, as long as the Security Council remains paralysed, as long as hatred and intransigence hold sway and until there is tolerance and moderation in the hearts of all the parties concerned, there will never be the kind of climate necessary for negotiations and hence there will never be peace in the Middle East.

Before I conclude, I should like to reiterate Burundi's firm support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people and its sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Finally, my hope is that the principles for the settlement of disputes among nations - non-use of force in international relations and mutual respect - will prevail in relations among all States and peoples of the world.

Mr. LIPATOV (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)(interpretation from Russian): Since the suspension of the work of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly nearly two years have passed and, unfortunately, we must note that the resolution adopted then, which provides a sound basis for a settlement of the question of Palestine, has not been implemented. Israel has again thrown down a challenge to the international community and continues flagrantly to violate the United Nations Charter and universally recognized norms of international law and to ignore with impunity numerous resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

Prospects for an over-all settlement of the problem of the Middle East seem more remote now than they did two years ago. Since then the situation in that explosive part of the world has seriously worsened, owing to Israel's policy of increasing aggression and expansion. The international community has witnessed with great alarm the dangerous developments in that part of the world.

The Security Council, the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies have constantly and attentively considered this question. It should suffice to recall that over the past almost four months of this year the Security Council has met four times, in addition to an emergency special session of the General Assembly, to consider the question of the consequences of the annexationist, aggressive policy of Israel. The statements of representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) at Security Council meetings in March and April of this year have shown the proportions that have been assumed by the flagrant and massive violations of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine in the occupied territories.

Many representatives have quite rightly compared the methods of terror and repression used by the Israeli authorities with the criminal Nazi practices, and the distressing statistics that have been adduced in this regard serve only to confirm that conclusion. In the 15 years of occupation, more than 250,000 Palestinians have been interrogated, thrown into Israeli prisons, tortured or humiliated. More than one third of the land illegally seized from the Arabs has been expropriated and more than 60 per cent

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of the Palestinians have been driven out of Palestine. In the course of 10 years more than 1,500 leaders of the Palestinian community have been deported. The policy of colonization of the seized lands continues at a tempestuous rate and has assumed particularly large proportions since the Camp David plot. Terror and violence against the Palestinian people have been elevated to the status of State policy in Israel. In other words, intolerable conditions are being created for the Palestinians and a deliberate policy of changing the historical character of the occupied Arab lands is being pursued as a preliminary step towards their final annexation by force. That is what took place before in regard to the east part of Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights.

The events of last month very clearly reminded the world once again of the tragedy of the long-suffering 4 million Palestinian people. The outrage and indignation of the Arab population of Palestine were caused by the provocative decision of the occupying Israeli authorities to dissolve the Municipal Council of the town of El Bireh and dismiss the legally elected mayor. Soon after that a similar fate befell the leaders of Nablus and Ramallah. A tidal wave of mass protests and demonstrations against this criminal policy of the ruling Zionist circles of Israel swept through the streets of the towns and cities of the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This was a natural reaction on the part of a people deprived of its inalienable rights. The Israeli military machine has attempted to find a way out of the crisis by inciting militaristic, chauvinistic and expansionist passions, as well as by using weapons against the defenceless civilian population.

Less than two weeks ago we witnessed a new terrorist act -- the shooting of worshippers in the Al Aqsa Mosque in East Jerusalem, which has been occupied by Tel Aviv. As a result there were new victims: dozens killed and wounded, among them children, women and old persons. The fierce and cruel repression carried out by Israel is pursuing one clear purpose: intimidating the Palestinians to force them to give up their inalienable rights and to

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agree with so-called administrative autonomy provided for by the anti-Arab Camp David plot. It is quite clear that Camp David has proved a dead-end for its authors and set back the cause of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem. The attempt to solve one of the key issues of this problem without the participation of the representatives of the Arab people of Palestine has proved a total failure.

If there is anyone left in the Arab world who cherishes any illusions about the true intentions of the United States in the Middle East and its ability to pursue a realistic policy in the Arab-Israel conflict, the establishment last November of the so-called strategic alliance between the United States and Israel put an end to any such illusions.

(Mr. Lipatov, Ukrainian SSR)

Responsibility for Israel's defiant conduct must be shared by the United States, which has been arming and financing the aggressor and providing political cover for the annexationist policy of Tel Aviv, thereby urging it on to ever newer criminal anti-Arab actions. The United States is directing its strategic alliance, both directly and indirectly, to the commission of further crimes, because such crimes are in harmony with the over-all strategic policy of the United States in the region, consisting of the establishment of political, economic and military domination over the Middle East, which has been declared a sphere of United States vital interests. At all times and in all circumstances, in the final analysis it justifies and covers up any aggressive action - any anti-Arab raid - carried out by the Israeli military machine.

Incidentally, in the statement made at the 2356th meeting of the Security Council, the representative of the United States reconfirmed the convergence of interests of the two strategic allies and declared that that would:

"remain the basis ... of a long and fruitful association in years to come". (S/PV.2356, p. 66)

Two days ago, the whole world witnessed a further act of aggression in the long series of criminal actions by the Israeli extremists. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic categorically condemns the new piratical raid carried out by the Israeli air force against peaceful Lebanese populated areas, which took dozens of civilian lives. We wish to express our solidarity with the Government and people of Lebanon, the Palestine resistance movement and all Arab peoples that are valiantly defending their lawful rights and interests.

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, like all socialist countries, has consistently stood for an honest, collective search for a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East on a just and realistic basis, with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole, legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. Such a settlement should provide for the cessation of Israeli occupation of all Arab territories seized in 1967, the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to the creation of its own State, and guaranteeing the security and sovereignty of all States of that region.

(Mr. Lipatov, Ukrainian SSR)

The long-suffering Arab people of Palestine expects the resumed seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly to adopt effective decisions that will bring about a just solution to the Palestinian problem and eliminate the acute crisis prevailing in the region, which constitutes a genuine, major threat to international peace and security.

Mr. PASTINEN (Finland): This seventh emergency special session has been reconvened in a complex political situation. On the one hand, the expected final withdrawal of Israel from the Egyptian territory of Sinai is only a few days away. This would bring the process of withdrawal and mutual recognition, as between Egypt and Israel, to completion. Yet the comprehensive peace in the Middle East envisaged in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) seems as remote as ever. This breeds continued frustration and violence, which is aggravated by Israel's settlement policy and its other illegal acts, both on the occupied West Bank and in the Golan Heights. The Security Council was recently seized of yet another act of violence - an act of desecration against the Dome of the Rock. A wave of protest has swept across the world of Islam. The situation in Lebanon, ravaged by years of conflict, looks more precarious than ever. That country is constantly subjected to internal as well as external threats. The recent Israeli attack against targets in Lebanon is but the latest demonstration of this and puts in jeopardy the fragile cease-fire, achieved after painstaking effort. The Government of Finland appeals to all parties to refrain from violence and border violations and to respect the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of Lebanon, which is a prerequisite for the restoration of Lebanese authority over its own territory.

Yet these circumstances, regardless of their gravity, cannot be considered in isolation from the over-all situation in the Middle East, which continues to pose the most persistent threat to international peace and security. Every act that aggravates the situation compounds that threat.

(Mr. Pastinen, Finland)

Finland remains committed to a political settlement of the Middle East conflict through negotiation, in accordance with the basic documents of the United Nations which would govern the achievement of such a solution.

In accordance with its policy of neutrality, Finland has taken a balanced and conciliatory position on the various controversial issues in the Middle East. We have thus maintained good relations with all nations concerned, including the most immediate parties to the dispute. It is our firm intention to continue this policy and thereby preserve the confidence of all parties to the conflict in the Middle East. Thus we have been able to render to all concerned such peaceful services as are required. A tangible expression of that is the contribution which Finland has been making to the United Nations peace-keeping activities in the area from their very beginning.

The Government of Finland continues to consider Security Council resolution 242 (1967) the basis for the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It has lost none of its relevance. If anything, recent events serve to underline the continuing validity of the basic principles of that resolution. That resolution emphasized the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war. In its key provisions it called for the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the 1967 conflict, termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, free from threats or acts of force.

(Mr. Pastinen, Finland)

Those principles, which are the basis for a comprehensive process of peace, have yet to be put into effect. Nevertheless, they constitute a basic requirement for a just solution in the realms both of international law and of practical politics. It is essential that nothing be done by any party to the conflict, either by omission or by commission, in contravention of those principles. By the terms of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) it is imperative that the ultimate status of occupied territories not be prejudged before a comprehensive solution has been found.

Time has undeniably shown that the core of the problem is the need for recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Therefore, the recognition of those rights should not remain an abstraction. It is a reality that cannot be ignored. No one questions that the right of the Palestinians to self-determination must be part and parcel of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East. We therefore support the right of the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the most significant representative of the Palestinians, to participate in the negotiations on the implementation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians within the framework of a comprehensive solution to the Middle East problem.

Yet justice for one cannot be done by doing injustice to the other. Israel, like all other States in the area, has the right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

Those elements should constitute a basis for an evolving international consensus and a structure for peace in the Middle East. It is our hope that the proceedings of this resumed seventh emergency special session, for their part, will contribute to that end.

Mr. SUJA (Czechoslovakia): The fact that the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly has been resumed under your experienced leadership, Mr. President, at the request of non-aligned countries constitutes an unequivocal expression of the increased and fully justified concern of those countries over the continued aggression and the expansionist policies of the Israeli ruling circles in the Middle East. It is a logical response to the cynical trampling upon the inalienable rights of the Arab Palestinian people.

(Mr. Suja, Czechoslovakia)

It is a concentrated expression of their dissatisfaction at the fact that Israel continues to ignore the principles embodied in the United Nations Charter and to disregard resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, including General Assembly resolution ES-7/2, adopted by the Assembly earlier in this seventh emergency special session.

Czechoslovakia too regards the very fact of the resumption of this session as proof of the extraordinary importance that is attached by the international community to the question of Palestine at a time when Israel is once again aggravating the situation in the Middle East, thus threatening the very foundations of international peace and security.

The new wave of terror and repression against the Palestinian population unleashed by Israel on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, and the further unlawful measures taken by Israeli occupation authorities in those territories, in Jerusalem and in the Golan Heights - which were described in detail by the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Mr. Farouk Kaddoumi, by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Syria, Mr. Khaddam, and by a number of other speakers who addressed the Assembly from this rostrum - testify to the fact that those acts are a deliberate prelude to a new display of Israeli wilfulness. They are obvious proof that, following on the annexation of East Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights, Israel is preparing another annexation, in order to perpetuate and to consolidate its gains in Arab territories acquired by force. At the same time, Israel is again bombing the territory of Lebanon, turning that country into a present-day Carthage. Together with the separatist forces in the South, it is preparing a new wide-ranging aggression against the northern part of the country.

Regrettably, one cannot but note once again that Israel is acting thus under the full protection, and with the military, economic, diplomatic and moral support, of the United States, securing the "vital interests" of the United States in that region, as well as pursuing its own expansionist intentions. In an effort to upset the strategic equilibrium in the world, the United States is relying on rapid deployment forces and is establishing new bases for further military adventures in that extremely sensitive part of the world. There is no doubt that the policy of the United States, designed to strengthen its military and political presence in the Middle East, leads only to a further growth of tension throughout the world.

The growing violence, repression, terrorism and annexation - those basic attributes of the non-peace-loving national policy of Israel - reveal the utter failure of its approach to the solution of the question of Palestine in accordance with the Camp David scenario, which was presented to us by its authors as an "example of peace" in the Middle East. There is a growing awareness that those agreements cannot and could not have resolved the situation in the Middle East, because they were concluded without the participation, and behind the backs, of the Arab Palestinian people and its sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization. By deciding about them without them, which has well-known historical parallels, these agreements completely ignore their legitimate rights and strive to perpetuate Israeli occupation of Arab territories.

Today it is quite clear - and it was quite clear from the very beginning - that a just solution to the Palestinian issue represents a conditio sine qua non for the settlement of the conflict and a fundamental condition for stability in the Middle East. That objective, however, cannot be achieved either by the "step-by-step policy" of the United States or by the Camp David agreements. In our opinion, as recently reiterated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, Comrade Bohuslav Chnoupek when he received heads of diplomatic missions of the Arab States in Prague, it is necessary not only to reject those agreements, but also to strive for a comprehensive political settlement by means of an international conference with the participation of all the interested parties, including the PLO.

In a communiqué issued yesterday at the conclusion of the visit of the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister to Iraq, it was stated that

"Both sides emphatically condemned the Camp David agreements, which run against the interests of the Arab people, sanction aggression and the annexation of Arab territories, deny the national rights of the Palestinian people, and strengthen the influence of American imperialism in the region.

(Mr. Suja, Czechoslovakia)

"The parties expressed their full support for the struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization as its sole legitimate representative. Both sides condemned the continuing hostile policy of the United States conducted against the Arab countries and the Palestinian people and directed at the unequivocal and unconditional support of Israel."

The current mass resistance of the Arab population of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip offers irrefutable evidence of the firm determination of the Arab Palestinian people to fight for their national rights under the leadership of the PLO until their final victory. The just resistance of the proud and unvanquished people of Palestine, several generations of whom have now lived as refugees, confirms that its aspirations to freedom and to peaceful life in its own State will be implemented at some time. The establishment of a Palestinian State is a basic prerequisite for the solution to the question of Palestine. The sooner that reality is understood by Israel itself and its allies, the better it will be for peace and security in the Middle East and throughout the world.

I should like to affirm from this rostrum that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will continue to strengthen and expand all-round mutual friendly relations with the Palestinian people and its sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

A comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the situation in the Middle East, striven for by the peace-loving forces of the whole world requires: First, the unconditional and complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem; secondly, the safeguarding of the inalienable national rights of the Arab Palestinian people, including the right to the establishment of its own independent State; and thirdly, the safeguarding of the sovereignty and security of all the States of that region. That is a basic position to which my country has consistently adhered.

The long-lasting tragic development in the Middle East shows that a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the situation can be achieved only by serious, collective efforts of all the interested parties, including the PLO as an equal participant in that settlement.

(Mr. Suja, Czechoslovakia)

Since Israel has consistently refused to take note of the will of the overwhelming majority of the international community, we too share the view that there is no other way open to the United Nations but to adopt effective measures in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

Mr. BALETA (Albania) (interpretation from French): The resumption of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations was made necessary by the unbridled escalation of aggressive actions on the part of the Israeli Zionists against the Palestinian people and by the extremely grave situation which prevails in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and the Middle East in general.

The crimes, the massacres, the racist policy of genocide, the large-scale acts of terrorism which the Israeli Zionists have been carrying out for decades in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, have become ever more intense and have assumed new and more dangerous proportions since the first part of the seventh emergency special session convened in July 1980. That has been amply demonstrated by the many speakers who have preceded us at this rostrum. Everything shows that the crimes of the Israeli Zionists and their patrons, the American imperialists, against the Palestinian people are becoming more numerous and more odious every day.

The strategy of the martyred Palestinian people, which has lasted far too long, is being felt very deeply by everyone everywhere. The peoples, the progressive world, the peace- and freedom-loving peoples are ceaselessly condemning with indignation the aggressive acts of the Israeli Zionists and their growing arrogance and unparalleled cynicism. Solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people and support for their just cause is being manifested vigorously, as it always has been, by progressive peoples and forces.

But it should also be noted that it is becoming ever more clear after each act of aggression of the Israeli Zionists that those ruthless butchers of the Palestinian people and the bloody instrument of American imperialism do not have the slightest intention of heeding the voice of protest of world public opinion or of slowing down the escalation of their aggressive annexationist actions. The most recent evidence of that is the decision to annex the Golan Heights and the brutal

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

bombing recently carried out by the Zionist air force against Lebanon. That new crime against the Palestinian and Lebanese people is an act of defiance of the international community and the United Nations. It is clearly part of the whole traditional policy and practice of the Israeli Zionists and their American imperialist masters. It is in vain that the latter have attempted to distance themselves from the misdeeds of their protégés by alleging their discontent and displeasure at certain Israeli actions when the whole world is well aware that they are encouraging and in fact giving their blessing in advance to, as well as aiding and abetting, all the acts of the Zionists.

There can be no doubt that the Israeli Zionists would long ago have been placed in a position where they could not continue so arrogantly and so disdainfully to carry out their barbarous acts of aggression against and military occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories without the comprehensive and uninterrupted aid and open protection of the United States, which has thus become a direct accomplice in all the crimes committed by Israel, including those committed most recently. The United States is also one of the principal protagonists in all the perfidious plots which have been hatched so far against the cause of the Palestinian people and against the legitimate rights and interests of the peoples and countries of the Arab world.

With every passing day it is becoming clearer how much Israel has benefited and continues to benefit from the dangerous situations and the many difficulties which have been created for the Arab countries and peoples and the Middle East because of the bitter rivalry and the bargaining which is ceaselessly taking place between the two imperialist super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, to dominate the Middle East region and to extend their spheres of influence. The Soviet Union, which calls itself a friend of the Arab peoples, has, like the United States, none the less stabbed them in the back and busied itself in undermining their unity or in selling them out whenever that suited the ambitions of Soviet social-imperialism in the Middle East or elsewhere. The stepping up of American and Soviet interference in the Middle East, the anti-Palestinian and anti-Arab plot of Camp David, the launching and the continuing of Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan and the armed conflict in the region of the Persian Gulf have all been, for Israel, favourable opportunities which it has eagerly grasped to accelerate the application of its age-old expansionist and annexationist designs.

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

The Albanian delegation once again vigorously condemns the continuation of Zionist imperialist aggression against the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples and all the plots aimed at undermining the struggle of these peoples and preventing them from restoring their national rights. The Palestinian people, so sorely tried but battle-hardened in a long national liberation struggle, is still involved in an unequal but glorious fight against the Israeli Zionists, the American imperialists and the hostile policies of many other reactionary forces. But we are sure that this heroic people, led by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), its sole and authentic representative, will triumph over its enemies thanks to its indomitable fighting spirit and will without fail succeed in regaining its country and recovering its inalienable rights.

As was said by the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha:

"The Albanian people is linked by sincere and longstanding friendship with the Arab peoples. We have supported and we shall continue to support to the utmost and energetically the just struggle of the Arab peoples for the liberation of their territories occupied by the Zionist Israeli aggressors and for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the martyred Palestinian people. The heroic Palestinian people and its legal representative, the PLO, have had and will continue to have in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and in its people sincere friends and determined defenders of their just national cause."

Mr. ROCA (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): The Republic of Argentina has on other occasions already expressed its serious concern over the question of Palestine.

My country sympathizes greatly with the suffering of all the peoples of the area over the past three decades.

We have given concrete expression to our concern through our participation in the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine (UNTSO) and in our actions both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council.

(Mr. Roca, Argentina)

The most recent events in the area show that there is an even greater need to consider without delay whatever means can put an end to a situation which has become a growing threat to international peace and security and also to take up the just cause of the Palestinian people.

The solution we seek must reflect the purposes and principles of the Charter of our Organization and take into account the interests of all the parties in a just and equitable manner.

Since the 1967 conflict, our position has been consistent and unchanging: Israel must withdraw unconditionally from all the occupied territories.

Thus we have condemned the illegal measures adopted by Israel to alter the legal status, geographic character and demographic composition of these territories. These measures are in open violation of the international obligations imposed by resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and by the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention.

We have also been very clear about the Holy City of Jerusalem. Already in 1949, Argentina took the initiative in drafting what later became General Assembly resolution 303 (IV), which advocated a special status for the Holy City. It is a place of vital importance for Christianity, Judaism and Islam. For its part, Security Council resolution 476 (1980) made it quite clear that the status of Jerusalem cannot be resolved in keeping with incidental strategic or military interests but must take into account the values of the history, religion and culture of the three communities just mentioned.

I should like now to reiterate our position with regard to the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of its own sovereign State. As we have already stated in the General Assembly, these rights must be exercised freely by a Palestinian authority having full jurisdiction over its territory and its natural resources.

In the 1980 General Assembly emergency session, we maintained that a solution could not be imposed by violence or through a lack of respect for the legitimate rights of the parties. Formulas must be found enabling them to recognize the possibilities for peace and rapprochement, and it is the responsibility of this Organization to help them to do so not only by drawing attention to well-known dangers but also by redoubling our efforts in the search for peaceful and lasting solutions.

(Mr. Roca, Argentina)

As I said at the beginning of my statement, the most recent acts of violence underscore the urgency of this session. The newspapers tell us of Israel's air attacks in areas of Beirut, and we are well aware of the serious confrontations in the West Bank, the Syrian Golan Heights and the Holy City of Jerusalem.

The dissolution of the Municipal Council of El Bireh and the dismissal of its mayor, as well as the dismissals of the legally elected mayors of Nablus and Ramallah and the actions of the Israeli occupying authorities, unquestionably aggravate the critical situation. They are concrete proof that the question of Palestine requires, ever more urgently, a just and realistic solution based on the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

We must vigorously condemn Israel's violations of Lebanese air space and its bombings of Palestinian settlements in Beirut this week. Such actions systematically stand in the way of any progress towards international peace and security. The international community must react unanimously to this breach of the cease-fire agreed upon last July.

We do not believe that these new attacks against the Palestine Liberation Organization are the proper means to resolve the conflict. On the contrary, they reflect Israel's stubborn resort to the use of force, which the United Nations must reject. The Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, must be a party to the negotiations leading to an urgent and definitive solution.

(Mr. Roca, Argentina)

As long as there remain conditions that prevent the continuity and prosperity of Palestinian settlements, it is clear that confrontations, which are the concrete manifestations of that crisis, will continue.

A lasting settlement requires, first, recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to establish a sovereign State; secondly, the right of all States in the area to exist and to live in peace within secure and internationally recognized boundaries; thirdly, Israel's withdrawal from all the Arab and Palestinian territories it has occupied since 1967; and fourthly, recognition of a special status for the Holy City of Jerusalem in accordance with General Assembly resolution 303 (IV).

The United Nations has a fundamental role to play and it cannot shirk its responsibility. On many occasions it has issued appeals to both parties for conciliation and mutual respect. Furthermore, it has reiterated to the Government of Israel the overriding need to abide by the resolutions that the Security Council and General Assembly have adopted as indispensable stages on the path towards a settlement of the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East.

Mr. MAINA (Kenya): Mr. President, I should like to pay a tribute to you for the efforts you have made in handling the work of the General Assembly since you took office last fall. We have faith and hope that during your presidency this Organization will find solutions to some of the knotty problems that have eluded solution for so long.

We have assembled here once more on the question of Palestine. As we do so, we are fully conscious of the many resolutions that have been adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly for the solution of the problem of Palestine. However, judging by the conduct of Israel in the past, we cannot see anything that encourages us to believe that one more resolution by this Assembly would be heeded by Israel. We have listened carefully to the response given by the representative of Israel to the charges levelled against his Government regarding violations of international law and human rights in the Palestinian territories Israel has unlawfully occupied since 1967, and we find it very unsatisfactory. In the past, Israel has pleaded that it went to war in 1967 as a pre-emptive act of self-defence. That argument has in the

(Mr. Maina, Kenya)

course of time been superseded by claims that the territories it occupied by force were its territories recovered from others. There must be terrible inconsistencies that lend credence to the charges levelled against Israel that it harbours insatiable expansionist designs, which will continue to endanger peace and security not only in the Middle East but in the world as a whole.

We cannot fail to observe the little regard Israel has for peace and security and, worst of all, for human life, judging by the diversionary attacks launched barely two days ago on Lebanon. We believe that those callous attacks on Lebanese territory were designed to divert the attention of the Israeli people from the firm action required to evacuate the persons in the remaining part of occupied Sinai. To say this is not to underestimate the inflamed public opinion in certain segments of Israeli society, which had been misled over the past 15 years to believe that the territories invaded and occupied during the war of aggression of 1967 would remain part of an expanded Israel. Israel has a major responsibility to ensure that its people are not led to believe that there is no limit to the expansion of their State and territory at the expense of their neighbours.

The current military advantages enjoyed by Israel vis-à-vis its neighbours should be used to consolidate peace and security by coming to terms with its neighbours and to restore the usurped inalienable rights of the Palestinian people with a view to establishing permanent peace and security for all in the region. The use of force to create permanent wrongs and grievances will only produce permanent insecurity and danger for all.

All the activities of the Government of Israel in the territories illegally seized from its neighbours in 1967 show the determination of that Government to annex those territories to Israel on a permanent basis. The reasoning given in this hall and elsewhere does not represent any logic or truth on which a permanent peace can be established in the area.

My delegation has long emphasized that the solution to the problem of Palestine must be found through implementation of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) of the Security Council and, above all, acceptance of the right of all States in the area to exist in peace within recognized, accepted and therefore secure boundaries. We have also stressed the need to solve the

(Mr. Maina, Kenya)

problem of the displaced people of Palestine by establishing a free, independent and truly sovereign home for them. We have always addressed this call to Israel and its Arab neighbours. We think many opportunities have been lost in the last few years to solve the problem of Palestine permanently. We renew this call and urge Israel, as well as its Arab neighbours, to ponder the dangers inherent in perpetuating injustice by defying resolutions of the United Nations and international law.

On this occasion we must condemn the Israeli practices in the occupied territories, in particular the indiscriminate killing of and attacks on unarmed Palestinians by Israeli troops. That constitutes a gross violation of human rights. The decision to extend civilian rule to the occupied territories sets a bad precedent and serves only to frustrate further the search for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem. That action of the Government of Israel deserves condemnation by all peace-loving Members of this Organization.

(Mr. Moina, Kenya)

On this occasion, when events elsewhere in the world are drifting dangerously towards chaos and conflict, it is right and proper that we also pay attention to other areas of the world in which peace and security, for which this Organization stands, are being wantonly destroyed. The most recent occurrence -- the invasion and occupation of the Falkland Islands by Argentina in defiance of international law and specific appeals by the Security Council -- must be condemned.

Argentina has blatantly ignored a mandatory resolution issued by the Security Council calling upon it to withdraw from the Falkland Islands, which it has invaded under the pretext of debatable claims of sovereignty. The acquisition of territory by force of arms is unacceptable to all the peace-loving people of the world. My delegation calls upon Argentina to comply with Security Council resolution 502 (1982) by withdrawing its invasion forces from the Falkland Islands and seeking a peaceful settlement of its dispute with Britain. Any attempt to turn logic and reason upside down by describing Britain as the aggressor on this occasion will not succeed, as the non-aligned countries will not support the dangerous resort to the use of force in the settlement of international disputes.

We take no pleasure in referring to these dangerous trends, but we feel duty-bound to do so since remaining silent may be misinterpreted as condoning them. These trends are entirely contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law. This is not just a stricture against Argentina, though it is the latest Member of the United Nations to join the club of the notorious few who defy or frustrate the peace-making efforts of this Organization. We include in this category all those who have in the last few years resorted to the use of arms to press their territorial claims in contravention of the Charter of the United Nations. Unless this trend is halted and reversed, all the efforts of this Organization to build a structure of peace and security through the peaceful settlement of disputes over the last 36 years will have been in vain. We must renew our resolve, and we must not fail.

Mr. KIRCA (Turkey): The question of Palestine remains unresolved and thereby continues to pose a grave threat to world peace and security. Developments and events in the region since this emergency special session began almost two years ago have most regrettably served to erode even further the fragile prospects of a just and lasting settlement in the area, indeed, the prospects of solution of the Palestine question are significantly dimmer today than ever before.

Our purpose here is not to prophesy doom; rather, it is to emphasize that the situation in the Middle East is extremely serious and that it is getting worse every day. We are very concerned. We also know that the entire international community is very concerned and watching with great apprehension the terrible events unfolding in the territories occupied by Israel. We believe that the need for restraint and moderation by all the parties, and in particular for Israel to restore some degree of responsibility and reason to its policies and actions, is urgent and imperative.

The Government of Turkey hopes that the General Assembly will at this seventh emergency special session find it possible, through its discussions and the resolution it will eventually adopt, to make a positive contribution towards the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Arab Palestinian people. If at the end of the current debate we discover that not the cause of justice and peace but the destructive tendencies of intransigence and of escalated confrontation have been served as a result of our present endeavours, shall we not have defeated our own purpose and our desire to be helpful in the solution of the Palestine question?

The United Nations General Assembly, and particularly the Security Council, must resolutely pursue those efforts aimed at finding appropriate, realistic and feasible ways and means of reaching a just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the question of Palestine, which constitutes the crux and core of the Middle East problem.

The situation in the Palestinian and other Arab territories under Israeli occupation since 1967, including Jerusalem, is fast deteriorating. The extension of Israeli law and administration to the Syrian Golan Heights - in short its annexation - the arbitrary dismissal of democratically elected municipal officials in the occupied territories, and the continuing bloodshed and oppression of innocent and unarmed civilians in the occupied

(Mr. Kirca, Turkey)

territories are the most recent manifestations of Israel's intransigence and aggression. The universally condemned criminal sacrilege perpetrated at Al Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock has also deeply inflamed the emotions of all believers everywhere and has further increased tensions in the already volatile occupied territories. A potentially catastrophic trend has set in. The responsibility for this most dangerous deterioration rests with Israel, which in utter defiance of the United Nations resolutions arrogantly persists in its policies of aggression, expansion, illegal settlements and annexation. Of all the States of the region, it is in our view Israel that has to strive the hardest for the establishment of genuine conditions of peace and security by first respecting the inalienable rights of the Arab Palestinian people rather than attempting systematically to liquidate the Arab Palestinian cause of national fulfilment.

We urge Israel once again to abandon the path of one-sided notions of justice and to be realistic and respectful of the rights of others. The use of force and the acquisition of territory by force, the application of oppressive policies against the civilian population under its occupation, and ignoring all opportunities for reconciliation will not bring about the peace Israel claims to favour. Nor will they suffice for the suppression of the legitimate struggle of the valiant Arab Palestinian people for the restoration of their inalienable rights.

We call on Israel to abide by United Nations resolutions, to respect the principles of international law, in particular the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, and to observe those pertinent rules of international law, in particular the Fourth Geneva Convention, that are applicable to all territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem.

(Mr. Kirca, Turkey)

We seize this occasion also to urge the friends of Israel to exercise their influence over Israel with a view to impelling it to be reasonable and responsible. If Israel and its friends wish Israel to be secure and in peace with its neighbours, they must work hard for it and realistically acknowledge the entire contents of the balance sheet that will bring about the desired state of affairs in the region.

The Government of Turkey believes, as we have reiterated on many previous occasions, that a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East can be established only after the achievement of a just solution to the Palestine question on the basis of the full and unfettered exercise by the Arab Palestinian people of their inalienable rights.

Such a settlement must ensure inter alia the withdrawal by Israel from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories under its occupation since 1967, including Jerusalem; respect by Israel for the special status and unique character of the Holy City of Jerusalem; the rights of the Arab Palestinian people regarding their homes and property and, particularly, their right to self-determination without external interference and to national independence and sovereignty, including the right to establish their own independent sovereign State.

Such a settlement must also ensure the equal participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinian people at all times and in all undertakings within the United Nations system concerning the question of Palestine.

Turkey, as a member of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, feels that the endorsement of the recommendations of the Committee by the General Assembly would attest once again to the continuing validity of the principles and elements contained in them. We hope that the Security Council will at an early and opportune time find it possible to act upon those recommendations.

(Mr. Kirca, Turkey)

Furthermore, Turkey will not fail to support and encourage all reasonable initiatives designed to solve the question of Palestine on the basis we have just explained - initiatives which have the support of the Arab Palestinian people and provide for the equal and effective participation of its representative, the Palestinian Liberation Organization. In this regard, the Government of Turkey would like to recall the constructive initiative taken by Saudi Arabia.

The Government of Turkey will strive for the peaceful and honourable solution of the Palestinian question. The Turkish people will not deviate from their consistent support and fraternal dedication to the legitimate struggle of the Arab Palestinian people. We know that justice will ultimately prevail. We pray that the road to justice will be paved not with more bloodshed, but with reason.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: I should like to refer briefly to two matters: first, the schedule of this resumed seventh emergency special session, and secondly, the resumption of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

As representatives know, the list of speakers on the "Question of Palestine" is closed. There are still 35 speakers to be heard. It is my intention to conclude the debate on Monday afternoon, 26 April. I would therefore request those delegations having draft resolutions to submit them to the Secretariat as soon as possible so they may be considered and voted on Tuesday morning, 27 April.

As I have already informed the Chairmen of the Regional Groups, it is also my intention to reconvene the thirty-sixth regular session of the General Assembly on Wednesday, 28 April, for three purposes:

First, I shall report on any developments on agenda item 37, entitled "Launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development" which, as members will recall, remains on our agenda for the thirty-sixth session.

Secondly, I shall inform the membership about developments with regard to another item which is still on our agenda, namely, item 60, relating to the financing of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency.

(The President)

Thirdly, I would invite the attention of delegations to a letter dated 22 April 1982 - that is, yesterday - from the President of the Economic and Social Council dealing with a matter of concern to the Executive Board of the United Nations Children's Fund. At its special session on 16 April 1982, the Executive Board adopted by consensus a recommendation to expand the membership of the Board from the present 30 to 41. The Economic and Social Council, at its thirteenth plenary meeting yesterday, 22 April, considered that recommendation as a matter of urgency and has submitted a draft resolution, entitled "Enlargement of the Executive Board of the United Nations Children's Fund", for adoption by the General Assembly at its earliest convenience. The letter to me from the President of the Economic and Social Council has been circulated in document A/36/872, with the draft resolution as annex II of that document.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.