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Seventh emergency special session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Saturday, 26 June 1982, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. KITTANI (Iraq)
later: Mr. MAHMOOD (Pakistan)

- Question of Palestine /5/ (continued)
- Temporary adjournment of the seventh emergency special session

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82-61374/A

The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 5 (continued)

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): In many bodies and on many occasions Nicaragua has spoken on the item now under discussion. Today I shall not recapitulate everything that has gone before, because we value action over words. Moreover, there are numerous resolutions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Non-Aligned Movement on the question of Palestine, many of which have been treated with disdain and contempt by the Government of Israel.

Today more than ever it is necessary for the Security Council to take specific measures obliging Israel to end its crimes in the Middle East. It is inconceivable that we should allow Israel to continue to act with impunity as it violates all the rules and principles of international law, acquiring territory by force, failing to observe internationally recognized boundaries, massacring civilian populations and systematically flouting the resolutions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Non-Aligned Movement.

This morning a lamentable event took place. The Government of the United States again vetoed a draft resolution, this time submitted by France, which was designed to put an end to the hostilities in Lebanon. As the representative of France rightly said, even though the resolution did not offer a definitive solution, it could be a start to bringing peace to that afflicted region. Once again the Security Council, the supreme body responsible for international peace and security, was unable to act because of the continuing veto of a permanent member. Once again the United States is condoning the crimes of the people of Israel against the Palestinian people and Arab nation, and is therefore implicated in the infliction of destruction and death on the Lebanese people. The time has come to assign clearly the responsibilities and condemn the guilty. We must not let pass unnoticed the support given to Mr. Begin at the Washington meeting recently, when the two Governments said that they shared many strategic interests but made no reference in their talks

(Mr. Chamorro Mora, Nicaragua)

to the invasion of Lebanon. It is logical to suppose that that encouraged Israel to renew its attacks with even greater ferocity, indiscriminately bombing Beirut and opening another front.

It is time for the United States to put an end to its mistaken war policy, which may, through confrontation, bring the world to the brink of a large-scale war which nobody wants, apart from it. That policy is not only a reflection of its irresponsible foreign policy but is also seriously harming the credibility of the United Nations, particularly of the Security Council, as a body able to solve disputes or conflicts through dialogue and political arbitration.

The international community, particularly the friends and allies of the United States, which may have some influence on that country, however minimal, should make it review its position. That would not only help that country but would serve the world as a whole. We are sure that, if the obsessed minds of those concerned were set at rest, the situation in the Middle East caused by Israeli aggression would change immediately, because the Zionists would not act with such impunity because they would not have the political, economic and military support of the present United States Administration and could not rely on its use of the veto in the Security Council, which licenses all their excesses by preventing that body from taking measures in accordance with the Charter.

There is still time for us to act. We can still reverse the damage done to this Organization by Israel's irresponsibility and the United States lack of consideration, thus ensuring that the international community, which today is disillusioned, regains its confidence in the Organization.

We hope that the draft resolution which Nicaragua is co-sponsoring together with a good many non-aligned countries will contribute effectively to achieving peace through the implementation of Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) and of other necessary measures.

It remains for me to reiterate only that we stand without reservation in solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is unquestionably the vanguard of the much afflicted and suffering people of Palestine and which, sooner rather than later, will achieve the final victory and attain for its people a sovereign State in Palestine.

(Mr. Chamorro Mora, Nicaragua)

Similarly, I wish to repeat our support for the Government and people of Lebanon in the face of the massacre to which they are being subjected.

Mr. GONZALEZ CESAR (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): As this seventh special emergency session is resuming in such tragic circumstances, my delegation wishes to place on record the condemnation, already expressed by the Mexican Foreign Minister, of Israel's most recent act of aggression, which he described as a most barbarous onslaught not only against Palestinian military positions but also against numerous defenceless civilian settlements in the very heart of Lebanon. In view of the gravity of the Israeli aggression, which in the present circumstances is a real threat to international security, we unequivocally demand the implementation of Security Council resolutions 508 (1982), 509 (1982) and 512 (1982).

(Mr. Gonzalez Cesar, Mexico)

To seek to annihilate one's enemy is an exercise in futility because it leads to an increase in the violence which it is supposed to end.

Hence, political repression is by definition doomed to failure, especially when, as is the present case, the vast majority of the international community is calling for respect for, and compliance with, the national rights of the Palestinian people, whose representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, is continuing to perform its historic task.

For all those reasons, Mexico will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Assembly.

Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): Armed aggression has once again led to devastation of immense proportions and the loss of thousands of lives in the neighbouring and friendly country of Lebanon. The Israeli aggression, with its indiscriminate killing of women and children and the leaving of hundreds of thousands of people homeless, is sad proof that the law of the jungle prevails at present in world relations. It is indicative of a world of force and domination. The Israeli action strikes at the root of the Charter of the United Nations and its principles, for which mankind stands.

Under the pretext of provocation, Israel has committed a crime against humanity in utter disregard of international law and every concept of morality. Mankind's hopes for a world of law and order have been further dashed and the sad impotence of the United Nations to enforce its decisions and maintain international peace and security has been further demonstrated.

The continued lack of an effective system for international security as provided for by the United Nations Charter lies at the root of the grave deterioration in the world situation today, as can be seen in the acts of aggression and anarchy which take place.

The position of my Government on the question of Palestine is very well known; it has been reiterated on several occasions in various international forums, as well as in bilateral contacts. We regard the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We support the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights to self-determination and national independence and sovereignty.

(Mr. Moushoutas, Cyprus)

As the representative of a country half free and half occupied and of a people two-fifths of which have been forcefully expelled from their ancestral homes and lands, we support the Palestinian people's rights to return to their homes. Passage of time cannot in any way attenuate these rights of refugees - whether in Palestine, Cyprus or anywhere else. The Palestinian question is the core of the Middle East problem and calls for a just and peaceful solution.

Shortly after the Israeli attacks against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples started, the President of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, gave instructions that all possible assistance be given to the suffering Palestinian people, and especially medical and hospital treatment to the wounded.

On 10 June the House of Representatives of the Republic of Cyprus adopted unanimously a resolution condemning the Israeli aggression and expressing solidarity with the cruelly tried Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

It is in line with those actions that we have cosponsored the draft resolution before this body. It is for those reasons that, we repeat, the Israeli aggression should end immediately and Israel should forthwith withdraw all its military forces unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundary of Lebanon.

Mr. OMARDIN (Malaysia): Israel's aggression against and invasion of Lebanon is concrete testimony of the real motive and intension of its authorities to eliminate and annihilate the Palestinian people and deny them the exercise of their inalienable rights in their just struggle to return to their homeland.

These acts of aggression against the lives of innocent, ordinary Lebanese and Palestinian civilians cannot and must not be accepted by the international community as an act of self-defence in pursuit of Israeli security interests. Indeed, the Israelis have defied all the basic purposes and principles of this Organization. They constitute a challenge to the very fundamentals of peaceful conduct among States and the resolution of conflict through peaceful means under international law and in accordance with the basic norms of behaviour among States.

(Mr. Omardin, Malaysia)

This Organization, on the very first day of Israel's aggression against the Lebanese people and its reprehensible invasion of Lebanon, was urgently seized of the crisis and since then has acted in unity in an attempt to prevent another inhuman and heinous crime by the Israeli authorities, who have claimed -- from the very creation of their nation as a result of the Balfour Declaration -- that Israel wants to live in peace with its Arab neighbours. The fallacy of that contention and Israel's obstinate and belligerent intransigence in the face of world public opinion and actions cannot be condoned. Therefore, it is time for this emergency special session to act, and act immediately, to stop once and for all the Israeli indiscriminate killing and holocaust against the Palestinian people.

Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) were correct measures adopted by this Organization. But the Israeli authorities have preferred war, acts of attrition, indiscriminate killing, annihilation and holocaust in pursuit of so-called self-defence and national security interests.

My Government and the people of Malaysia cannot and will not tolerate or accept such blatant disregard of, and acts of delinquency against, civilized international conduct. Therefore, my delegation has joined with others in this hall in sponsoring the draft resolution before us, which is designed to stop this arrière-pensée of the Israeli authorities: to dismember a Member State of this Organization and annihilate the Palestinian people.

In this connexion my delegation would like to urge the world community and every citizen of the world to come forward and provide immediately the humanitarian and relief assistance needed by the Lebanese people, which are victims of this inadmissible war of aggression. In response to the Secretary-General's appeal, my Government has announced a pledge of 100,000 Malaysian dollars as its modest contribution to this noble objective.

This war, which pursues insolent and unjust claims, cannot be tolerated and be allowed to become the basic norm of international conduct and behaviour among States. It is an act against mankind. It will be recorded in the annals of human history as the most wanton, irredeemable and inadmissible incident.

Mr. SLIM (Tunisia)(interpretation from French): What we are witnessing today is an outright attempt to exterminate an entire people, a premeditated operation of genocide carried out with obvious complicity, counting on the helplessness of some and the indifference of others. After aggression and invasion, after the illegal occupation of territories, after the oppression and repression, after the mass destruction of towns and villeges, we come now to the stage of physical liquidation. The pictures coming out of Lebanon show a systematic drive to massacre and slaughter, in which neither women nor children are spared, a systematic drive to crush and stifle a population by force of arms and blockade of any attempt to bring in supplies of humanitarian relief.

Forty years after Hitler and nazism, which we thought we had buried for ever, here we have Begin seeking to make history by resorting to the same terrible outlawed methods of genocide. For Begin to stain his hands with the blood of a people is not really surprising - it is his little way, it is in his nature and in the nature of the ideology he touts. But for Begin to undertake this endeavour and pursue it methodically, in full view of all and with the knowledge of all, without the world taking the slightest practical measure to stop him in his evil designs is strange; it is something of a surprise. Where is the prompt reaction of those who pride themselves on seeking to defend liberty, those who profess support, on principle, for just causes? Where, I say, is the prompt reaction we are used to seeing when principles, and principles alone, are jeopardized in other parts of the world? We are at a loss in the face of this inertia, which borders on indifference.

We are even more disturbed to note that the great democracy, with its much-vaunted defence of freedom, justice and human rights, maintains towards it ally an attitude of barely disguised benevolence. This benevolence which is read as encouragement, is maintained even though the fate of a people is at stake, and that is inexplicable today and will be incomprehensible in the eyes of history.

(Mr. Slim, Tunisia)

It is true that this is not the time for speeches. We have to take decisions in accordance with the seriousness of the situation. Every member of the international community must shoulder its responsibilities and give practical meaning to its adherence to the principles of our Charter, which should govern international relations. The situation in Lebanon, where a Member country of the United Nations is seeing its independence and sovereignty trampled underfoot, its territory occupied and its people massacred, the situation of the people of Palestine, who are facing extermination and decapitation, make it incumbent on us to take practical and effective measures in accordance with our obligations under the Charter.

We are duty-bound to condemn Israel most vigorously. We are duty-bound to call for the withdrawal forthwith and unconditionally of the occupying aggressor forces. We are duty-bound to see that the people of Lebanon and of Palestine, who are suffering atrociously in the most inhuman conditions, may be able to receive the aid, assistance and relief to which in all humanity they are entitled.

These present demands, which are set forth in the draft resolution before the Assembly for consideration, are the least that the international community owes to the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. It would be beyond our understanding should a single vote be lacking in favour of this draft resolution. In voting for the draft resolution we shall help to allay, however slightly, the apprehensions of our peoples in the face of our inaction and to respond to their appeals to put an end to the law of the jungle and make the rule of law, in which we have made our profession of faith, a reality.

Today more than ever before it is our credibility which is in question; it is the very existence of the Organization and its usefulness. We solemnly appeal to members of this Assembly, particularly to the members of the Security Council, including the United States of America, to see that this supreme body, responsible for maintaining international peace and security, is no longer immobilized as a result of a systematic misuse of the veto.

(Mr. Slim, Tunisia)

President Habib Bourguiba of the Republic of Tunisia has just made a statement on this subject, and I shall now read out the text:

The second veto just used by the United States in the Security Council, this time against a draft resolution submitted by France calling for an end to the bloodbath in Beirut, raises a problem of conscience for all those who share with the United States the ideals of freedom, justice and law. Everything is proceeding as though the genocidal operation being carried out by Israel against the people of Palestine had the support of the United States Government. This not only saddens us but obliges us to shoulder our responsibilities as Tunisians, as Arabs, as Moslems."

In conclusion may I, on behalf of Tunisia, its people and its Government, extend to the people and Government of Lebanon our heartfelt condolences on the loss of life they have suffered and our promise of active support in the defence of their unity and independence.

To the people of Palestine and its sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, we also convey our condolences and at the same time salute their heroic resistance in the exemplary struggle for the triumph of their just cause. Their harsh experiences today are just an episode in that struggle which they will continue with the same resolution to victory.

Mr. AL-ATASSI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic):

We are resuming this seventh emergency special session urgently in completely different conditions from those of earlier sessions because, imbued by our sincere and absolute faith in the justice of the Palestinian cause, we have decided to co-operate in defending the rights of the Palestinian people and in making every possible effort to ensure that they are regained and become a reality on Palestinian soil.

Year after year we have been successful in making the Palestinian cause known to international public opinion in order to gain its support and direct it to fruitful and practical action with the aim of ending the tragedy of the Palestinian Arab people who suffer under the yoke of the Zionist occupation in Palestine and in the countries where the Palestinian people have taken refuge.

During previous sessions we have been able to overcome and contain all the plots, manoeuvres and deals, including the Camp David conspiracy, and we have succeeded in preventing the loss by the Palestinian people of their rights as defined in the relevant General Assembly resolutions. The valiant battle in which we have together engaged has not only clearly shown the way for the future of the Palestinian people but has consolidated the hopes and prepared the ground for other persecuted peoples.

Today the Zionist aggression, which has assumed terrible dimensions, inspires us to work together in order to exert even greater resistance in order to safeguard, strengthen, deepen and dedicate our ideals. The rights of the Palestinian people without the existence of that people - which God forbid - would make of our action a simple cry of hope. That must never happen, for the Palestinian people has faith in its rights and is able to defend itself, thanks to the solidarity of its brothers in Syria and the other countries of the entire Arab nation of which we form part.

Israel, supported by the immense destructive potential of the United States, is committing the crime of genocide against the Arabs in Palestine and in Lebanon in order to eradicate the traces of the crime committed without equivocation and without shame in 1948 and then in 1967, which led to the expulsion of the Palestinian people from its territory and its properties, so that it was disarmed.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

What is now happening in Lebanon and what we are expecting to happen to the Palestinian people in the occupied Arab territories and to the Syrians in the Golan is contrary to international law and, in particular, the 1951 Convention prohibiting genocide. The irony is that that Convention, which defines international responsibility and provides for the imposition of sanctions against all those who commit that crime or plan, are accomplices in or incite it, was originally adopted in order to prevent a repetition of crimes against humanity such as those committed by the Nazis against the European peoples, in particular their Jewish citizens or those who professed the Zionist faith based on the European colonialist concepts and practices.

Today we see those who claim to have been the victims of Nazism committing, with arrogance and effrontery, the same crimes in Lebanon, in particular against innocent unarmed civilians and our children in the occupied Arab territories.

We believe that the United States of America is responsible for that genocide, whether through collusion or through incitement. But sooner or later international justice will demand that accounts be settled with the culprits, their accomplices, the instigators and those who profit from that crime.

The Syrian Arab Republic defends and will always defend the interests of the Palestinian people, its existence and its right to return with dignity to its homeland. It will never permit Israel to continue its aggression against Lebanon. We will defend the interests of the Arab nation and we will continue our struggle, with our Palestinian brothers outside Palestine and the Arab nation, so that that great people may recover its national rights. The hour of liberation is not far off, as history shows, and whatever it may take.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Assembly that the following countries have joined in sponsoring draft resolution A/ES-7/L.4: Angola, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea-Bissau, Hungary, Iran, Kenya, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Nigeria, Seychelles, Somalia, Togo, Turkey and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

I shall now call on representatives who wish to explain their vote before the voting. I remind representatives that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by them from their seats, and that sponsors may not explain their votes.

Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): My delegation is gravely concerned at the serious developments in Lebanon that Israel's invasion has brought about since the beginning of this month. My delegation condemns Israel's non-compliance with Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) and will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

My delegation takes this opportunity to reiterate my Government's stand on the tragic situation in Lebanon.

On 4 June Israeli forces began large-scale air strikes and artillery, mortar and rocket attacks on various parts of Lebanon. On 6 June Israeli ground forces launched an invasion of South Lebanon. The Israeli military operations continued and further intensified, with its forces advancing as far as the outskirts of Beirut, in open defiance of Security Council resolution 509 (1982), which demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli forces to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon.

We condemn Israel's invasion of Lebanon and its violation of Lebanon's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence. My delegation demands that all the parties concerned cease hostilities at once. We also demand that Israel withdraw its forces immediately and unconditionally, in accordance with Security Council resolution 509 (1982).

(Mr. Nisibori, Japan)

My Government wishes to express its profound sympathy to the Government and people of Lebanon, which are confronted with this serious situation. It also expresses its deep regret at the great number of civilian casualties, the deprivation and displacement suffered by the inhabitants, both Lebanese and Palestinian, and the heavy destruction of property in Lebanon. My delegation further urges that all the parties concerned, in particular the Israeli occupying forces in Lebanon, co-operate fully with the international organizations engaged in humanitarian relief activities for those people in Lebanon affected by the action, who are in dire need of emergency assistance.

My delegation earnestly hopes that this draft resolution will be adopted by an overwhelming majority and that its adoption will contribute to the improvement of the situation in Lebanon.

Mr. ANDERSON (Australia): The reconvening of this seventh emergency special session on the question of Palestine reflects the mounting concern of the international community at the grave situation which has developed in Lebanon. The seriousness of that situation requires that the General Assembly adopt without delay a resolution designed to stop the fighting.

Because of the need for urgent action, my delegation decided not to add its name to what was an already swelling list of speakers in this debate. As the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs stated on 7 June, the Australian Government condemns the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The Minister added that the Government was convinced

"that the use of force is not the answer to provocations by either side or acts of terrorism"

and that it called on all parties to return to the cease-fire of July 1981. The Minister stated further that the Australian Government completely endorsed the resolutions of the Security Council calling for a halt to all military activities and for the withdrawal of Israeli military forces forthwith and unconditionally.

The Australian Government is deeply concerned by the continuing violence in Lebanon, by the heavy loss of life and by the tragic suffering caused so many innocent men, women and children. To help alleviate the plight of the homeless and the dispossessed, my Government has announced initial contributions totalling 400,000 Australian dollars to the emergency appeals launched by the International Committee of the Red Cross, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, and the United Nations Disaster Relief Organization.

The draft resolution contained in document A/ES-7/L.4 embodies, in the view of my delegation, a number of essential elements which can contribute to bringing about the cessation of military activities in Lebanon and to the restoration of respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence of that country. The draft resolution also enjoins all States and relevant international agencies and organizations to render humanitarian aid to the greatest extent possible to the victims of the fighting in Lebanon.

The text before us is not, perhaps, perfect, and my delegation wishes to make clear that there are certain elements in the text on which it has reservations, including the eleventh preambular paragraph. Subject to those reservations, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador)(interpretation from Spanish): Ecuador regards as fundamental the principle of the non-use of force in international relations, as well as the principle that armed occupation gives rise to no territorial rights and can be a basis for neither valid agreements nor valid treaties unless they are accompanied by the return of the territories which had been occupied by force. Consequently, Ecuador reaffirms its traditional rejection of all occupation of foreign territory and all use of force to acquire territory or to consolidate political positions or hegemonic aspirations in any region.

Only peaceful negotiations can produce settlements of international disputes in accordance with the Charter, and only through such negotiations can treaties be achieved which are freely entered into and which can rely on the full support of public opinion in the countries concerned. Hence, the delegation of Ecuador, which rejects the violence engaged in by the parties concerned in the serious situation in the Middle East, will vote in favour of the draft resolution under consideration today. We shall do so to reaffirm the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, and because all the countries of the region and all the armed forces engaged in the conflict must be called upon to respect Lebanon's sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity, political independence and recognized boundaries. For what is necessary is an immediate cease-fire and a withdrawal of foreign forces from that afflicted country, with which Ecuador maintains friendly relations.

Lebanon is a founder Member of the United Nations, a country which loves peace and the law, the heir to an ancient culture, and it is worthy of the respect and the support of the entire international community. All - absolutely all - the foreign troops should leave the territory of Lebanon. Lebanon alone has the right to decide its future, in completely free and full exercise of its sovereignty, so that its citizens can live free from fear and can decide on its political or religious preferences according to the will of the people, the majorities or minorities, its own traditions or values - all of which deserve the respect of the democratic countries of the civilized community.

(Mr. Albornoz, Ecuador)

It is therefore to be hoped that in response to the international will expressed in the draft resolution before the Assembly the Israeli troops and all other foreign troops will be withdrawn from the territory of Lebanon, and that that country will be left to decide its own future, as we have already said, and, of course, to participate in negotiations for a lasting peace with the representatives of Israel and of the Palestinian people, on a basis of equality.

In that way the principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes, of the democratic system and of the United Nations Charter will prevail, so that peace can be achieved in the explosive region of the Middle East.

Mr. PEREZ (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): As we have repeatedly said in this forum, my country is convinced that a stable and lasting peace in the Middle East depends on the full observance of the fundamental principles set out in this connexion by the Security Council in its relevant resolutions, especially resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us because it is convinced that recourse to violence must never be admitted as a legitimate means of settling international disputes. The use of force cannot and must not be condoned. My delegation has no reservations at all in that regard.

The people and Government of my country are particularly saddened by the suffering Lebanon is undergoing today. We cannot but protest at the horrors visited upon the Lebanese people. The intervention of foreign armed forces is unacceptable; they are using the territory of Lebanon to air disputes which, most of the time, are foreign to that country.

(Mr. Perez, Chile)

That is why, as was said a few weeks ago by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile in the General Assembly special session on disarmament, it

"... is also with great concern that Chile has followed the recent worsening of the situation in the Middle East, a situation which has brought renewed suffering upon the people of Lebanon after so many years of being shattered by bloody struggles. We wish to reiterate our support for the relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and the efforts of the Lebanese Government to maintain the territorial integrity and independence of the country." (A/S-12/PV.11, p. 116)

We understand that the explicit reference in the draft resolution to resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) derives from our special interest in putting an immediate end to the situation now afflicting Lebanon, which in no way means that the other relevant resolutions of the Security Council, particularly resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which established the fundamental bases for a stable and lasting peace in the Middle East, have been superseded.

We reiterate our resolute support for the fundamental principles underlying this draft resolution, in particular the non-use of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes and non-recognition of the occupation of territory by force. But my delegation is obliged to express its reservation on the last preambular paragraph for well-known reasons of principle.

Finally, my delegation states again that there is a need to uphold the provisions of the Charter on the powers and functions of every organ of this Organization and to preserve the principle of the universality of the United Nations. These principles should be borne in mind in interpreting this draft resolution, most particularly its operative paragraph 7.

Mr. KERGIN (Canada): Canada views the present hostilities in Lebanon with profound sadness. A human tragedy is unfolding in a small country whose recent history has been marred by recurrent periods of violence and destruction. Again the world community is faced with an eruption of conflicts which is having the most horrendous effect on the security and well-being of the

(Mr. Kergin, Canada)

civilian population. The fighting must stop in that unhappy country so that the rebuilding can begin.

We should not minimize the complexities of the situation; we recognize that Lebanon is an integral part of the region, which itself is in the grip of a long-standing conflict. We are not confident that Lebanon can emerge completely from its present anguish unless wider issues in the Arab-Israeli dispute and the problem of the Palestinians are addressed and resolved. Lebanon's territorial integrity, sovereignty, unity and strength, for which we so fervently hope, can only be ensured in the framework of a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East that guarantees peace and security for all States in the region, including Israel, and the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

Canada has spoken out on the recent events in Lebanon. On 9 June Mr. Trudeau, the Canadian Prime Minister, in a public message to the Prime Minister of Israel, said the following:

"With Israeli air-raids in Lebanon and rocket attacks on northern Israel already in progress, my letter to you on June 5 counselled restraint to avoid the dangers that further military action would bring. In that same letter I said we deplored and condemned as heinous crimes acts of terrorism against targets in Israel and elsewhere; but I also said that it was important to avoid actions which fuel rather than dampen the flames of violence and hatred in the Middle East.

"I am dismayed by the subsequent escalation of the conflict represented by the massive movement of Israeli forces into Lebanon. Great human suffering is being caused, and the rapid northward expansion of Israeli operations is posing an increasing risk of a wider war. We in Canada understand your natural concern for Israeli lives in the Galilee, and believe that acts of violence against Israel and its citizens as well as against all others in the area must cease. But we cannot accept the proposition that the present military activities are justified or that they will provide the long-term security which you seek for the Israeli people.

"I appeal to you to respond positively to the unanimous Security Council resolution by agreeing to a cease-fire and withdrawing immediately and unconditionally from Lebanese territory so that the difficult but

(Mr. Kergin, Canada)

necessary task of working for reconciliation in the area can begin again."

Thus ends my quotation from Mr. Trudeau's message to Mr. Begin.

With respect to the draft resolution before us, my delegation supports its main thrust and we therefore intend to vote in favour of it. We do, however, wish to express our concerns and reservations regarding certain of its elements.

Specifically on the reference in the preambular part to "acts of aggression" by Israel, my delegation would wish to note that under Article 39 of the Charter the Security Council has the sole responsibility for making a determination of the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression. Canada therefore considers it inappropriate for this Assembly to imply such a determination in one of its resolutions.

Since we do not recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, we should also like to point out that the preambular part implies a status regarding the Palestine Liberation Organization which my Government has not endorsed.

Moreover, contrary to the assertion in the preambular part, we believe that there are a number of other issues central to the Arab-Israeli conflict besides the Palestinian question. Equally important is the existence of Israel in the Middle East and of its right to secure and recognized boundaries. This principle, enshrined in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), is fundamental to our policy and a prerequisite for peace in the region.

In the present critical and rapidly evolving situation in the Middle East, my delegation calls on all parties to exercise maximum restraint in their actions to prevent any further deterioration or widening of this conflict. In the days ahead it is essential that nations truly apply the basic principles of international law carefully developed over time and embodied in the United Nations Charter and other documents -- that is, respect for territorial integrity, non-use of force in resolving disputes, and universal observance of basic human rights and freedoms. Only on this basis will a solid peace be secured in the Middle East.

Mr. LICHTENSTEIN (United States of America): The United States wishes to stress again its deep and abiding commitment to the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries. We are also deeply and at this very moment actively committed to helping bring the tragic conflict now taking place in Lebanon to a just and lasting end as rapidly as possible.

The United States fully recognizes that the draft resolution before us reflects the profound emotional anguish felt by everyone of goodwill at the continuing loss of life and human suffering in Lebanon. None the less it is regretfully an unhelpful gesture at this delicate stage.

(Mr. Lichenstein, United States)

The United States cannot be party to an unbalanced statement which may well have the effect of heightening the underlying animosities in Lebanon and actually increasing the danger of a wider conflict. A just and lasting settlement cannot be achieved by issuing declarations and ultimatums motivated sometimes by vindictiveness and even by hatred, but requires an urgent effort by all nations committed to the principles of the United Nations Charter to lessen the tensions and find a path to peace.

The humanitarian task of aiding the victims of the conflict in Lebanon is surely no less urgent than the goal of bringing the conflict to an end. The concern of the United States Government was demonstrated by President Reagan when he made an immediate initial allocation of \$15 million for humanitarian aid and also requested from the United States Congress an additional appropriation of \$20 million. The Congress, reflecting the deep human concern of the entire American people, not only approved the President's request, but indicated its wish to provide an additional \$20 million of assistance. The United States of course stands ready to provide any further assistance as and where it is needed.

Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway): The devastation and human suffering in Lebanon is a matter of deep concern to the people and Government of Norway. The reports of widespread death, suffering and destruction resulting from Israel's invasion have caused strong reactions in my country.

The Israeli invasion and occupation of major parts of Lebanon are in clear violation of international law. Let me on this occasion reaffirm the support of the Government of Norway for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries.

The Norwegian Government has expressed its support for Security Council resolution 509 (1982) demanding that Israel withdraw all its military forces

(Mr. Vraalsen, Norway)

forthwith and unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon and also demanding that all parties cease immediately and simultaneously all military activities within Lebanon and across the Lebanese-Israeli border. For those reasons, the Norwegian delegation supports the draft resolution now before us, and my delegation will consequently vote in favour of it, in spite of having reservations on some of the preambular paragraphs of that draft resolution.

Let me add that Norway also supports Security Council resolution 512 (1982) on the humanitarian aspects of the situation in Lebanon. The Norwegian Government has so far contributed 15 million Norwegian kroner, the equivalent of US\$2.5 million, since the Israeli invasion. That contribution has gone to various humanitarian organizations working to alleviate the suffering of the civilian population in the area.

Mr. SANZ de SANTAMARIA (Colombia)(interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Colombia wishes to state that it will vote in favour of draft resolution A/ES-7/L.4. We wish to say again that our country is a law abiding State and therefore opposes any act of force against any sovereign State. It wishes to enter a reservation with regard to the eleventh preambular paragraph.

Colombia is a nation friendly towards the parties to the conflict that is now causing the deaths of innocent people. We will support, as far as possible, any action designed to bring about the end of hostilities and to provide a peaceful solution respecting the rights of the countries involved, as well as any action conducive to the success of the appeal contained in operative paragraph 8.

Mr. TUENI (Lebanon): My delegation did not co-sponsor the draft resolution now before us because we were hopeful yesterday that the Security Council could act on a draft resolution of its own based on the French proposal. Regrettably, in spite of infinite efforts to achieve unanimity, that has not been the case.

While supporting the draft resolution before the Assembly today, my Government wishes to state that our vote does not mean that we are renouncing our right to call for a special emergency session should the Council fail to act when called upon again. The present special emergency session was originally convened to discuss the item "Question of Palestine", yet how could we not concurrently debate that other and now equally poignant question, the question of Lebanon?

Once more, Israeli attacks have brought Lebanon and the Palestinians closer together in a unique sense of kinship and solidarity, both seeking survival and the fulfilment of legitimate rights, namely, the national right of the Palestinians to their own State in their own homeland and the right of the Lebanese to live in peace and to restore their sovereignty and resume unhindered their historic commitment to their Arab world.

Therefore, to those who have alluded to or discussed Lebanese-Palestinian relations in the context of this Organization and Assembly, my Government wishes to say that that question has been and is being discussed at present in a spirit of fraternity, solidarity and respect for mutual rights within the more appropriate regional framework. My Government is confident that the dramatic events of the past weeks will strengthen our ability - Lebanese and Palestinians alike - to meet the challenges of the present and of the future and to overcome the tremendous dangers and confront the threats. Today more than ever we are determined to preserve for Lebanon our national unity, our territorial integrity and our independence.

The savage war that was waged in these past days by Israel with unprecedented violence has caused my country and my people to suffer as no other people has

(Mr. Tueni, Lebanon)

suffered in similar circumstances. So many speakers have described the holocaust and genocide that my delegation's testimony here would be superfluous. May I, however, say once more how appreciative and how grateful we are for such manifestations of support and friendship? May I also, in the name of my Government, express Lebanon's gratitude to the various international agencies that have come to the assistance of Lebanon and to those countries that have found it possible to contribute to the relief and rehabilitation effort now under way?

Finally, we wish to thank the Secretary-General who, pursuing his efforts, yesterday appointed a most distinguished group to conduct a most important task, one, I am sure, all the members of this Assembly desire to see carried out with the utmost urgency.

Mr. PASTINEN (Finland): Finland will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly, despite reservations on some of the formulations contained in it. We will do so as an expression of the deep anxiety and mounting concern that we feel in Finland over the violence that Israel has unleashed in Lebanon, contrary to its own initially declared intentions. Israel's acts have assumed the dimensions of a full-scale war waged with the most modern means of destruction and causing suffering to thousands of people, including the innocent civilian population. Finland joins the rest of the international community in condemning Israel for the invasion of its northern neighbour, a State Member of this Organization, which has the right to the protection of the Charter of the United Nations against the threat or use of force against its territorial integrity or political independence.

(Mr. Pastinen, Finland)

In a statement issued on 9 June the Government of Finland condemned the invasion as a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. The statement deplored the grievous suffering and massive loss of life, particularly among the civilian population.

My Government pointed out in its statement that the hostilities have also put in jeopardy the United Nations peace-keeping troops and prevented them from carrying out their task.

The Security Council, by its resolution 509 (1982), has demanded that Israël withdraw all its military forces immediately and unconditionally from Lebanon and that all parties cease all military activities within Lebanon and across the Lebanese-Israeli border. That resolution has the full support of the Government of Finland.

Israel has invaded and occupied, and continues to occupy, a major part of the territory of a sovereign State Member of the United Nations. Israel has chosen to ignore the repeated calls by the Security Council and by the international community as a whole to cease its military activities in Lebanon. It is not only continuing but increasing the intensity of its military action in that country.

It is appropriate that the General Assembly has, at this resumed emergency special session, discussed the situation in Lebanon, which has a grave impact on the situation in the Middle East and serious consequences for international peace and security. In the General Assembly all Member States have an opportunity to put forth their views. Yet it is the Security Council which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Therefore Member States are entitled to expect that the Security Council will exercise its responsibilities in a manner which will lead to the prompt withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. Respect for the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of Lebanon is a prerequisite for the restoration of Lebanese authority over its own territory.

Finally, it is the joint responsibility of Member States to do their utmost to alleviate the human suffering in Lebanon inflicted by the Israeli invasion. The victims of the acts of war in Lebanon are in pressing need of aid and assistance. For its part, the Government of Finland has provided funds for this purpose, particularly through the International Red Cross and the United Nations Children's Fund.

Mr. ORTIZ SANZ (Bolivia) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Bolivia, concerned about the conflict in Lebanon, bearing in mind in particular the suffering the civilian population of that country has endured because of these disastrous events, and bearing in mind also the commitment of all States to resolve their disputes and problems by peaceful means, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, and the inadmissibility of any occupation or annexation of territory by force of arms, will vote in favour of the draft resolution under discussion.

None the less, we must note, with regret, the obvious lack of a direct warning to the armed groups that are using Lebanese territory as a base for warlike activities against other States. The delegation of Bolivia further considers furthermore, that the imposition of Security Council sanctions or condemnations are within the direct purview of the Security Council, and not of the General Assembly.

Mr. BLUM (Israel): Israel did not participate in the orgy of hatred, misinformation and distortion that went under the name of a General Assembly debate in what by now has apparently become the seventh permanent emergency special session of this Assembly. We refrained from participating in that debate out of our firm conviction, shared by so many knowledgeable observers in this building and around the world, that this exercise was not motivated by any genuine concern for the agony of Lebanon and for the suffering of the sorely tried people of that war-torn land. Quite to the contrary: many, if not most, of the participants in this debate were motivated by considerations not only irrelevant to the restoration of Lebanese sovereignty to the Lebanese people, but even inimical to the attainment of that goal. There can be little doubt that the draft resolution about to be adopted by the Assembly is also duly reflecting this motivation.

Let me therefore at this stage briefly state Israel's position on the situation in Lebanon. I do so in full awareness of the fact that truth has become a rare and increasingly irrelevant commodity in this building.

(Mr. Blum, Israel)

For a decade and more the tragedy of Lebanon has been unfolding in full view of a cynical and indifferent world and has cost the lives of about 100,000 persons. About a quarter of a million have been wounded and more than a million Lebanese have been displaced. Since the causes of the tragedy are common knowledge and well known to all of us, I need not elaborate on them here today.

At a time like this it behoves all of us to speak with honesty and with candour. It behoves us all to refrain from making empty accusations. It behoves us all to forgo the habit which many of us seem to have acquired in this building and in this hall of engaging in hollow pontification. This is a serious time for all of us. It is a serious time for the peoples of Israel and of Lebanon.

As far as Israel is concerned, for the past decade and more, Lebanese territory has become the launching-pad and the staging-ground for indiscriminate terrorist attacks on the civilian population of Israel. There have been hundreds of such outrages, the targets of which deliberately have been the children of Israel, the women of Israel, the civilians of Israel, as well as the diplomats of Israel. International terrorism has converted Lebanon into one of its major centres, indeed into its world headquarters. The terrorist PLO, which has systematically undermined and subverted Lebanese sovereignty ever since the early 1970s, has welcomed to Lebanon its terrorist guests from other parts of the world. Operation "Peace for Galilee" was prompted solely by dictates of self-preservation and self-defence, which is an inherent right of every State and recognized also by the United Nations Charter. The operation was ordered because of the intolerable situation created by the presence in Lebanon of a large number of terrorists operating from that country, equipped with modern long-range weaponry threatening the lives of the civilian population of my country. Israel has been stunned in recent weeks by the immense quantity of arms and ammunition found in Lebanon that had been put at the disposal of the terrorists there by various quarters and by the elaborate infrastructure established by the terrorists on the territory of a sovereign State, a Member of our Organization.

(Mr. Blum, Israel)

As unfortunately always happens in times of war, many innocent civilians have been caught up in the hostilities in Lebanon. Israel regrets as much as anybody else, and I dare say more than most, any civilian casualty, irrespective of nationality or creed. As far as Israel is concerned, every civilian casualty is one too many. But we categorically reject and unequivocally condemn the attempts at falsification and the horror propaganda that we have witnessed in recent weeks here and elsewhere, when wild, unsubstantiated and grossly exaggerated figures of civilian casualties and displaced persons have been deliberately bandied about by some professional and other not-so-professional liars. Thus, for instance, in the cities of Tyre, Sidon and Nabatiyeh 460 civilians have lost their lives - indeed, as I said before, 460 too many; but it is fortunately a far cry from the wild figures that have been mentioned by our enemies and their supporters, some of whom even interspersed their wild accusations with foul and obscene language. According to the best estimates available to us, some 20,000 persons have become homeless, which again is a far cry from the equally wild figures mentioned in this connexion.

The responsibility for all this misery and suffering must be borne fully and squarely by the terrorist PLO and must be attributed to its total disregard for human life, so vividly manifested in its cowardly practice of shielding behind civilians and establishing its encampments, as well as arms and ammunition depots, deliberately in civilian population centres as well as within hospitals, mosques and schools.

(Mr. Blum, Israel)

Israel is already contributing its share, bringing relief for the civilian population of Lebanon under its control to the point where, according to the competent international relief organizations, there no longer exist any problems of food shortages or medical aid in those areas.

From the start of the operation "Peace for Galilee", the Israel Defence Forces have been at pains to ensure adequate food supplies for the civilian population. To this end the Israel Defence Forces distributed bread and milk powder, as well as a large quantity of tents, within 48 hours of entry into Lebanese towns and villages. The Israel Ministry of Energy has assumed responsibility for the allocation of fuel supplies. The Israel Defence Forces are repairing the water, electricity and communications systems, where damaged, as well as carrying out road repairs. The Government of Israel has appointed a member of the Cabinet to co-ordinate aid to the civilian population in south Lebanon and has also set up a committee on humanitarian aid to Lebanese civilians, headed by the Director-General of Israel's Foreign Ministry. Last but not least, volunteer groups formed by Israel civilians are collecting food, clothing and blankets for immediate dispatch to suffering Lebanese civilians. Volunteer fund-raising is being organized and sponsored by various civic organizations, women's groups, the Israel Broadcasting Service, newspapers and individuals.

No one in the Middle East is as eager as Israel to see Lebanese sovereignty restored, its internal strife resolved, the Syrian occupiers removed, the PLO subdued and freedom and tranquillity returned to that war-torn land. Israel will do everything in its power to maintain good-neighbourly relations with Lebanon. Israel wants peace in and with Lebanon. Israel has no quarrel with Lebanon - only with those who have subjugated it.

(Mr. Blum, Israel)

Israel has no territorial ambitions whatsoever in Lebanon. We do not covet even one square inch of Lebanese territory. We do not want to stay in Lebanon or in any part thereof. But we are entitled to demand that proper arrangements be made so that Lebanon should no longer serve as a staging-ground for terrorist attacks against Israel's civilian population. We are entitled to demand that concrete arrangements be made that would permanently and reliably preclude hostile action against Israel and its citizens from Lebanese soil.

Israel fully supports the restoration of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon. Israel stands for the restoration of the territorial unity of Lebanon within its internationally-recognized boundaries, under the authority of its lawful Government and free from any foreign intervention. Let Lebanon be Lebanon. Let Lebanon be returned to its own people.

The PRESIDENT: I wish to announce that Bulgaria has become an additional sponsor of draft resolution A/ES-7/L.4.

The Assembly will now proceed to the vote on that draft resolution.

A recorded has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait,

Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

Against: Israel, United States of America

The draft resolution was adopted by 127 votes to 2 (resolution ES-7/5).*

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who have expressed a desire to speak in explanation of vote after the voting.

Miss DEVER (Belgium) (interpretation from French): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution just adopted. This decision is in keeping with the concerns aroused by the tragic situation in the Middle East.

My delegation wishes, nevertheless, to state its reservations on the second and eleventh preambular paragraphs concerning the representative character of the PLO with regard to the Palestinian people.

* Subsequently the delegations of El Salvador, Ethiopia and Rwanda informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.

Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): My Government had no hesitation in voting in favour of the draft resolution, but I should record that we do have some reservations on the wording of the second, tenth and eleventh preambular paragraphs, and our position in this regard remains as set out in the Venice Declaration of 13 June 1980.

In addition, we understand the reference in the eighth preambular paragraph to the principles of the Geneva Conventions to be a reference to the provisions of humanitarian law. These are more than principles: they are law.*

Mr. van HOUTUM (Netherlands): Although we voted in favour of the draft resolution just adopted, my delegation wishes to express certain reservations on the wording of the second and the last two preambular paragraphs of the resolution. The Netherlands position remains as set out in the Venice Declaration of the European Community of June 1980.

Mr. LOUET (France) (interpretation from French): The French delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted by this emergency special session of the General Assembly. This text does indeed reflect the very deep concerns aroused by the situation resulting from the invasion of Lebanese territory by Israeli military forces. It will be recalled in this respect that France gave its wholehearted support to Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), which called for a cessation of hostilities and for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal by Israel of all its military forces to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon. Those resolutions are recalled in operative paragraph 3 of the resolution just adopted. Once again we are faced with preserving the sovereignty of a State, its territorial integrity, its independence and unity. That is what France has recently been working tirelessly to achieve, particularly in the Security Council. But first of all

* Mr. Mahmood (Pakistan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Louet, France)

an end must be put to the ever-mounting suffering of the people living in Beirut. As was stated on 24 June by the President of the French Republic, we continue to believe that the neutralization of the combat zone in Beirut, particularly West Beirut,

"... constitutes a precondition for the early opening of negotiations necessary to ensure the existence, security and other legitimate rights of each of the States and peoples involved in the conflict, particularly those of Lebanon itself."

France remains convinced that in the face of the existing dangers, it is necessary to give the highest priority to the humanitarian tasks which have to be performed for the benefit of the people which has been the victim of the fighting. That is why, a few days ago, my delegation submitted the draft which was adopted by the Security Council as resolution 512 (1982).

(Mr. Louet, France)

But France believes that we should go further and bring about a reciprocal disengagement of the forces in conflict in Beirut, so that the city may be preserved from total destruction. My delegation deplores the fact that this very morning the Security Council was unable to reach agreement on measures to that end. We believe that it is for the Security Council to continue to discharge its obligations under the Charter.

The gravity and urgency of the situation undoubtedly required the immediate expression of the gravest concern by the whole international community. Nevertheless, my delegation does not wish its affirmative vote to be interpreted as meaning that it subscribes to the wording of all the provisions of the resolution that has just been adopted, particularly with regard to the representativeness of the spokesman in this Assembly of one of the parties to the conflict and the respective responsibilities of the General Assembly and the Security Council, which remains seized of the question.

Mr. van WELL (Federal Republic of Germany): My delegation voted in favour of the resolution, because it supports its general thrust, but it has reservations about the wording of preambular paragraphs 2 and 11.

Mr. SHELDON (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): My delegation wholeheartedly supported the resolution that has just been adopted by the General Assembly. Believing that time is of the essence, we have decided to confine ourselves to a brief statement in explanation of vote.

The Israeli aggressors, sowing death and destruction, have invaded a sovereign State, Lebanon, and are implementing a policy of genocide against the Palestinians. Many thousands of peaceful inhabitants, Lebanese and Palestinian refugees, old people, women and children, have fallen victim to the aggressor. Tel Aviv is trying to drown in a bloodbath the Palestinian people which is struggling to exercise its inalienable right to freedom and independence.

(Mr. Sheldov, Byelorussian SSR)

The current Israeli aggression is one further example of crimes committed against not only the Palestinian people but all Arab peoples. This crime has been committed with the consent and support of the United States, Israel's strategic ally. Tel Aviv's armed banditry in Lebanon is a direct consequence of the Camp David conspiracy and the American-Israeli alliance. The tragedy of the Palestinians is one more blot on the conscience of the current American Administration, which has expressed wholehearted solidarity with the Israeli aggressors and expansionists, who have for long been bulwarks of American imperialism in that part of the world.

However, the designs of the Israeli Zionists and their overseas protectors are doomed to failure. No one will ever succeed in crushing the Palestinian people's struggle for liberation, ensuring its inalienable right to self-determination and independence, to the creation of its own State, territorial integrity and sovereignty, has been, and will always remain, the very core of a Middle East settlement. Without a solution to that problem, which is the principal problem, lasting peace in the Middle East will be impossible.

Once again we strongly demand the immediate cessation of aggression by Israel against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples and immediate compliance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

At this critical time, when the situation in the Middle East threatens to erupt into a dangerous, major explosion, for which Israel and its protectors are to blame, an explosion with serious consequences for international peace and security, we must take the most decisive measures against this unbridled aggressor.

Mr. ULRICHSEN (Denmark): My delegation voted in favour of the resolution that has just been adopted, as we support its contents as a whole. However, we wish to express some reservations about the last preambular paragraphs. My Government's position on the issues in those paragraphs remains unchanged and is reflected in the statement by the representative of Belgium on behalf of the States members of the European Community.

Mr. BLANCO (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): Uruguay voted in favour of the draft resolution because of its firm decision to contribute to peace and respect for international law and to promote the proper functioning of the organs of the United Nations in keeping with their respective commitments and responsibilities and with their terms of reference under the Charter. This is an imperative resulting from the legal and political principles underlying my country's international conduct. It is also a guarantee for all countries that force will not ultimately prevail and that peaceful means, based on law, can be found.

In the face of the horrors of war, the United Nations cannot remain silent and without an immediate response; that would leave the small countries in a state of uncertainty regarding guarantees of international security.

My country feels very close to Lebanon and feels solidarity with that country, with which we are closely linked and which has had more than its share of the present sacrifices. That suffering must stop and never be repeated.

The peace-loving nation of Lebanon, which is to be admired for its culture and democratic institutions, must be fully respected by all. Its territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence must be fully respected. In summary, its right freely to determine its own future, without foreign interference, must be fully respected. In my Government's view a strong independent Lebanon is essential for peace throughout the region. The international community must make every effort to see that the people and Government of Lebanon are helped to achieve those objectives. All parties should adopt a firm policy to that end.

Uruguay's vote is not an isolated act. It is part of, and is consistent with, its Middle East policy, which aims at the establishment of peace through negotiated agreements between the parties concerned, without violence and therefore with justice, so as to guarantee for all concerned the opportunity to live within recognized, secure boundaries in accordance with international law and Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Uruguay's vote, therefore, is a vote for peace and thus an emphatic rejection of violence and terrorism.

In that spirit Uruguay is participating in the multinational force in Sinai, and we are ready to do everything possible to co-operate in the various measures taken to consolidate and extend the process leading to real peace in the region, to the exclusion of outside interests and destabilizing factors. It is worth repeating that the objective of peace in the Middle East undoubtedly implies the existence of, and recognition of, the State of Israel and its right, like that of other nations, not to be attacked.

(Mr. Blanco, Uruguay)

Of course it will also be necessary for the international community to ensure for the people of Palestine a political solution making it possible for them to exercise their right of self-determination in full freedom.

In this regard, and with reference to the last preambular paragraph of the resolution just adopted, it is worth pointing out the role of the Palestine Liberation Organization as provisional spokesman, as stated by the delegation of Uruguay on 29 July 1980 at this same special session.

My Government is pleased to see that the resolution just adopted mentions the resolutions recently adopted on the subject by the Security Council and strives to achieve harmony with them, in order to keep the proper balance between the organs of the system and strengthen the political basis of their decisions. Similarly, we wish formally to express Uruguay's support for, and confidence in, the Secretary-General in the accomplishment of the delicate mission entrusted to him. My Government is ready at any time to support an extension of his mandate and the strengthening of United Nations action in Lebanon.

In the past the lack of juridical, political and material elements has often to some extent hampered international action, with unfortunate results. In this instance, there is an effort to avoid this situation through firm international action and prompt humanitarian relief.

Mr. BALETA (Albania) (interpretation from French): The Albanian delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/ES-7/L.4. By that vote it wished once again to express its solidarity with, and support for the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples in their just cause and heroic struggle. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people have supported and will continue to support the struggle of the martyred people of Palestine. As we have always done, we condemn with the greatest indignation the barbarous Fascist aggression which the Israeli Zionists are continuing in Lebanon. We condemn the horrible crimes they continue to commit so arrogantly, cynically and with such ferocity against the Lebanese and the Palestinians.

(Mr. Baleta, Albania)

Following the further escalation of Zionist-imperialist aggression, the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples are now experiencing very hard and tragic times. They are the victims of an aggressive war being waged with the most deadly and destructive weapons, invented and manufactured in the United States of America. The Israeli Zionists have once again with criminal rage unleashed an invasion of Lebanon, having received in advance the blessing and encouragement of their masters, the American imperialists, and confident of the political, military and diplomatic support of the United States of America. The Israeli Zionists are trying to drown Lebanon in a bloodbath so as to achieve their criminal designs, that is, to exterminate the Palestinians in Lebanon, destroy Palestinian resistance and eliminate the national liberation struggle and the cause of the Palestinian people. The heroic Palestinian soldiers are today fighting courageously against the monstrous Zionist war machine, at a time when the situation throughout the Middle East remains very dangerous and complicated and when the unity of the Arab peoples and countries has been terribly eroded as a result of the anti-Arab plots of the imperialist super-Powers, Zionists and Arab reactionaries.

The Albanian delegation, as in the past, vigorously condemns the assistance and support which the American imperialists, in spite of all the crimes perpetrated by Israel, continue so generously and constantly to give to the Zionists in Tel Aviv in exterminating the Palestinians and destroying and occupying Lebanon. We also condemn all plots, all Zionist-imperialist intrigues or all bargaining among the enemies of the Palestinian and Arab peoples in an effort to end their resistance and the liberation struggle against Zionist aggression and force them to lay down their arms and abandon the Palestinian people.

We remain convinced that, whatever the difficulties faced by the Palestinian fighters and the Arab peoples at this time, the Israeli Zionists, the American imperialists and the other enemies of the Arab peoples will never succeed in destroying Palestinian resistance, stifling the liberation struggle of the Arab peoples or burying the Palestinian cause, which is the common cause of all Arab peoples. The valiant people of Palestine, the

(Mr. Baleta Albania)

Arab peoples and all the Moslem peoples of the Middle East suffering from aggression and occupation by the Zionists, imperialists or social-imperialists are indomitable because they are waging a just struggle.

We are convinced that the heroic struggle and the just cause of the Palestinian and Arab peoples will eventually triumph over Zionist imperialist aggression. We continue to believe firmly that, in spite of the brutal attacks, the perfidious intrigues, the constant interference in internal affairs and the many anti-Arab plots, the enemies of those peoples will never succeed in achieving their ambitions. The Zionists and the imperialist super-Powers have tried everything to destroy the unity in the struggle of the Arab peoples and countries, but they will not succeed in destroying this unity for ever and will not be able to prevent it from being rebuilt. By forging their unity in struggle and by strengthening their solidarity with the Palestinians in their cause, the Arab peoples will succeed in their struggle against Zionist imperialist aggression, liberate the occupied territories and restore the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): I had the opportunity on 18 June in the Security Council to express my Government's views with regard to the situation that had arisen as a result of the invasion of Lebanon by Israel. In the context of the interim extension by the Security Council of the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), I stated that the invasion flagrantly violated the independence of Lebanon and the authority of the Security Council. Israel's refusal to implement the legally binding resolutions of the Security Council, particularly resolution 509 (1982), has been condemned by my Government. I also stressed on that occasion Israel's duty to facilitate the humanitarian efforts of the international community and to comply with the humanitarian obligations embodied in the Geneva Conventions of 1949.

My Government is convinced that the war in Lebanon will once again make it evident that the question of the future of the Palestinian people cannot be settled through the use of force. It will also become evident that Israel cannot secure its right to live within secure and recognized boundaries by military means. All parties must realize that the cycle of violence has to be brought to a halt. Only through negotiations can a lasting peaceful solution be attained.

My delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted by the General Assembly. I wish to point out, however, that some of the formulations do not fully correspond to the Swedish view with regard to the responsibilities under the Charter of the General Assembly and the Security Council respectively.

Mr. LA ROCCA (Italy) (interpretation from French): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution which has just been adopted for reasons made clear in the statement made by the Permanent Representative of Belgium, speaking on behalf of the ten members of the European Economic Community. I should simply like to add that these are humanitarian and political reasons to which the Government of Italy attaches the highest importance. My delegation shares the reservations expressed by other delegations regarding the wording of the second and eleventh preambular paragraphs.

Mr. DORR (Ireland): Ireland voted in favour of the draft resolution just adopted. We are very deeply concerned at the present grave situation following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and Israel's failure to comply with Security Council resolutions. Our position on these matters was set out in the statement made here today by the representative of Belgium on behalf of the member States of the European Community. Our views have also been given full expression in several statements on behalf of Ireland which I have made recently in the Security Council and also in the votes which Ireland cast there as a member of the Council.

We remain strongly committed to the full implementation of Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982). I simply want to add one comment about the present General Assembly resolution, which we have just supported.

In that resolution several preambular paragraphs refer to the question of Palestine, the rights of the Palestinian people and the role of the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people. Since a particular importance is sometimes attached to the exact formulation of texts dealing with these matters, I simply want to say that our present vote does not imply a change in Ireland's known position on any of these questions. We continue, of course, to emphasize the need for a comprehensive peace settlement to deal justly and adequately with all aspects of the Middle East problem. Ireland's position has been set out fully on several occasions by our Prime Minister and our Foreign Minister it also finds expression in our continuing support for the European Economic Community's Venice Declaration of June 1980.

The PRESIDENT: The Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization has asked to be given the opportunity to make a statement. I have noted that on several occasions in the past the Assembly has deemed it appropriate to allow the Observer to speak on this item after delegations have spoken in explanation of vote. In line with that precedent, I now call on the Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to make a brief statement.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): Only two chose to be the outcasts, and those two are the strategic allies, Israel and the Government of the United States. The international community has just taken a firm stand, and I wish to express the gratitude of the Palestinian people to the international community.

The unanimous condemnation of Israel, the unanimous support of the rights of the Palestinian people - this stand by the international community, affirms and further justifies our faith and trust in the efficacy of the United Nations.

Earlier today the representative of the United States explained his country's veto to prevent the adoption of the Security Council resolution demanding the immediate implementation of resolutions 508 (1982), 509 (1982) and 512 (1982) and the deployment of United Nations military observers to supervise the implementation of those resolutions. In justifying his veto the representative of the United States said:

"... the draft resolution ... fails to call for the essential requisite for the restoration of the authority of the Government of Lebanon, that is the elimination from Beirut and elsewhere of the presence of armed Palestinian elements ..." (S/PV.2381, p. 11)

I thought I would elaborate on that, particularly to express my disgust at the word "elimination". Elimination is exactly what the Israeli neo-Nazis had in mind, the elimination of a people. But my brother, the representative of Lebanon, has just given the proper reply to the representative of the United States when he said that relations between the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples are discussed within the more appropriate regional framework. In other words, he just told the representative of the United States, "Do not look for pretexts".

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

If the United States wants to affirm its endorsement of Israel's crimes, of its plan to eradicate the Palestinian people, of its acts of genocide, the Government of the United States had better search for other pretexts. But, regardless of pretexts or excuses, the Palestine people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, is encouraged by the support it receives, as demonstrated here today - support for our cause, our just cause and our legitimate struggle to regain our rights in our own country. Chairman Yasser Arafat has reiterated our commitment to observe strictly the demands of the Security Council for a cease-fire, but let me make it very clear that our people will not abandon its right to defend itself or its right to survival.

In accordance with the resolution just adopted, for compliance with its provisions and the provisions of Security Council resolutions 508 (1982), 509 (1982) and 512 (1982) there remain only six hours ahead of us - remember, it is almost midnight according to Beirut time. These resolutions, I should remind the Assembly, demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon. They also demand the immediate and simultaneous cessation of all military activities within Lebanon and across the Lebanese-Israeli borders.

We trust, we hope, that the international community, the United Nations, will not come back to us within eight hours to say that Israel has violated those resolutions and that Israel has not started to comply with the demands of the Security Council.

We trust that by now Israel and its strategic ally have learned a good lesson: that their war machine cannot and will not bring peace by eliminating the Palestinians. Peace can be achieved solely by doing justice and by enabling our people, the Palestinian people, to exercise its inalienable rights in our homeland - in Palestine.

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TEMPORARY ADJOURNMENT OF THE SEVENTH EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION

The PRESIDENT: The seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly is now adjourned in accordance with the terms of paragraph 10 of resolution ES-7/5 adopted at the present meeting.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.





