



UNITED NATIONS

DIVISION FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS

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2. Resumed Seventh Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine
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1. Condemns the criminal massacre of Palestinian and other civilians in Beirut on 17 September 1982;
2. Urges the Security Council to investigate, through the means available to it, the circumstances and extent of the massacre of Palestinian and other civilians in Beirut on 17 September 1982, and to make public the report on its findings as soon as possible;
3. Decides to support fully the provisions of Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), in which the Council, inter alia, demanded that:
 - (a) Israel withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon;
 - (b) All parties to the conflict cease immediately and simultaneously all military activities within Lebanon and across the Lebanese-Israeli border;
4. Demands that all Member States and other parties observe strict respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries;
5. Reaffirms the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force;
6. Resolves that, in conformity with its resolution 194 (III) and subsequent relevant resolutions, the Palestinian refugees should be enabled to return to their homes and property from which they have been uprooted and displaced, and demands that Israel comply unconditionally and immediately with the present resolution;
7. Urges the Security Council, in the event of continued failure by Israel to comply with the demands contained in resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) and the present resolution, to meet in order to consider practical ways and means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;
8. Calls upon all States and international agencies and organizations to continue to provide the most extensive humanitarian aid possible to the victims of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon;
9. Requests the Secretary-General to prepare a photographic exhibit of the massacre of 17 September 1982 and to display it in the United Nations visitors' hall;
10. Decides to adjourn the seventh emergency special session temporarily and to authorize the President of the latest regular session of the General Assembly to resume its meetings upon request from Member States.

Full text of the statements of the Chairman and the Rapporteur of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People are as follows:

Mr. SARRE (Senegal), Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (interpretation from French): Sir, the assuredly well-deserved congratulations that my country intends to express to you on the occasion of your meritorious election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly will be conveyed to you, Sir, in due course by the head of my delegation, who will have occasion during the next few days in the general debate of the Assembly.

Nevertheless, I should at this stage like to pay a personal tribute to an eminent diplomat, well-versed in international affairs. I am persuaded that under your presidency, our session will achieve positive results that will serve the cause of peace. The same tribute is due to your illustrious predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Ismat Kittani, whose outstanding presidency will be written large in the annals of our Organization.

For the fourth time this year, we are holding an emergency special session to deal with the grievous tragedy which is being suffered by the fraternal people of Palestine together with the fraternal people of Lebanon, in particular after the genocide of Sabra and **Shatila** which the international community as a whole condemns outright. My country, through its President, Mr. Abdou Diouf, described this as a heinous crime and at the same time invited Members to give serious thought about the future of our civilization.

The frequency of our meetings necessitated by the continuing nature of the threat which events in the Middle East presents to international peace and security is particularly timely when escalation of violence has reached indescribable proportions.

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Indeed, after the removal last March of the democratically-elected mayors in the occupied Palestinian territories, after the invasion of Lebanon at the beginning of June and the war imposed on the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, we now witness an organized massacre which has stunned and shocked the whole international community. That carnage, the direct outcome of the invasion of West Beirut by Israeli troops of aggression in violation of the evacuation agreements concluded among all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), opens a new chapter in the campaign of intimidation and terrorism against the Palestinians, whose resistance they seek to stifle at all cost. By this indescribable criminal act, its authors are also carrying out the next step in an insane logic which is clearly predicated on the total denial of the rights of the Palestinian people.

The Lebanese-Palestinian tragedy speaks for itself. It arose from and is fed from the dream of its initiators to convert force into law, notwithstanding the elementary rules of international law and universally accepted moral standards. The moral authority of our Organization which, through the Security Council, has since last June adopted no less than 10 resolutions which have remained ineffective, has unfortunately not come out of this enhanced in any way.

In the light of this tragedy, we do not believe that this is the time for rhetoric or to review the background of the Palestinian problem, especially since our Organization long ago set down a valid framework within which it should and can be ended. I am referring to the Palestinian tragedy.

At present, two things are at stake -- first, the survival of the Palestinian people as well as of the independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon. The responsibility of the United Nations in seeking a solution to this problem is all the greater since it is directly responsible for, and the guarantor of, the creation of the Israeli and Palestinian States.

Of course, interim measures have been taken and solutions have been suggested outside the walls of this Organization. These should be welcomed since they all stem from the same desire to find a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to the question of Palestine.

Senegal, which has always been a staunch advocate of negotiated peaceful settlements among all parties concerned, cannot but lend its support to these efforts, particularly since they are in line with the United Nations recommendations regarding a just and lasting settlement of the Palestinian problem.

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Nevertheless we do believe that this international Organization should continue to serve as the main tool for bringing about peace and, to quote the actual words of the Secretary-General in his report to the thirty-seventh regular session of the General Assembly, as

'a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of common ends'.

In this particular case, the common end is to provide the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples with a future of peace and dignity through recovery of their rights to sovereignty and national independence. The other peoples of the region should also be able to aspire to and enjoy such a future. If that were to be brought about, the mutual lack of understanding and the defiance that has been demonstrated thus far would give way to peace.

Crises are not always signs of new misfortune. Very often they herald an acute stage of an illness that has been going on for some time and for which we have not been able to find a timely remedy. From this point of view the tragic events in West Beirut are but another stage in Israel's master plan to engage in territorial conquest and regional hegemony. To eradicate this evil, a first attempt at a solution might be for the Assembly at this session to see to it that Israel bows to the international consensus on the question of Palestine.

At this particularly delicate stage in the Middle East conflict we venture to hope that the international community will be able to display

a greater degree of creative imagination in seeking a definitive solution to the Palestinian problem. By doing so we could break out of the deadlock in which Israel is bent upon involving us at the very time when Palestinians and Arabs are more than ever resolved in initiate political negotiations in order to find a solution to this painful conflict.

It is in this context that I have the honour to introduce on behalf of its sponsors - Afghanistan, Benin, Cuba, Cyprus, India, Kuwait, Mali, Mauritania, Pakistan, Panama, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Sudan, the United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia - the draft resolution in document A/ES-7/L.8, on the question of Palestine.

This draft resolution, which is before the General Assembly for its approval, stems, as I have already said, from the desire of its sponsors to create conditions propitious for the restoration of peace to the Middle East, and particularly to Lebanon, after the tragic events I have described.

As Members may note, the draft resolution is based on pertinent resolutions - Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) - which, it will be recalled, were adopted unanimously. It also recalls a principle to which we are all very much wedded as Members of the United Nations, and that is the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. The draft resolution also refers to resolution 194 (III), to which we are also profoundly attached, which deals with the possibility of the Palestinian refugees returning to their homes. The draft resolution requests the Security Council, a principal organ of this Organization, to take all appropriate measures to ensure that Israel abides by its recently-adopted resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982).

That is why - after the indescribable events to which I have referred, and in connection with which we are sometimes tempted to remain silent because in certain situations silence is more eloquent than words - the sponsors are calling on the Members of the Assembly to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

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Before I conclude I should like to draw the attention of Members to operative paragraph 9 of the draft resolution, which requests the Secretary-General to prepare a photographic exhibit to give an account of the events in Shatila and Sabra. This paragraph is not innovative in any way, it may be recalled that a similar exhibit was organized by the United Nations on the occasion of the tragic events in Sharpeville, South Africa.

Those are the comments I wished to make in connection with the draft resolution. On behalf of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I would express the conviction that in adopting this draft resolution the Assembly would once again be following a consistent policy. The Assembly would thus show its participation in the ardent desire to restore peace in the Middle East in a spirit of constructive co-operation. The creation of the United Nations was, after all, based on the ideals of peace and brotherhood, and I am convinced that this Assembly will do everything in its power to ensure that this draft resolution is adopted.

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Mr. GAUCI (Malta), Rapporteur of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People: I am painfully reminded that the temporary sound of my voice in this hall contrasts starkly with the permanent silence in the graves of the countless victims of the recent massacre in Lebanon. I am also conscious that our debate will offer scant consolation to the surviving relatives of the deceased. For them the rest of their lives will be permanently marred by their personal loss and the nightmarish vision of the atrocity they witnessed. Indeed, one is bound to wonder whether debate will not in fact magnify the sorrow and the resentment and give rise to further acrimony, which I have always urged that we should try to avoid. On balance, however, a few observations are certainly called for.

In the first place we can only hope that our sense of indignation is matched by the feeling of guilt and shame of those who were directly or indirectly responsible for the atrocious massacre. As William Wordsworth might have observed in these circumstances, "dull would he be of soul who could pass by a sight so touching in its tragedy".

Someone has definitely blundered, and blundered very gravely. The dialogue of the deaf between Israeli troops and the Palestinian people was interrupted by a sudden burst of gunfire which transformed that dialogue into the silence of a mass graveyard.

The result is that, in the words of the International Committee of the Red Cross, "hundreds of children, adolescents, women and old people have been killed, their corpses lying scattered in the streets".

It may not be out of place to point out that, in the best traditions of parliamentary democracy, a Minister with responsibility for actions or omissions in specific areas is bound to resign when events which take place constitute a complete reversal of what was publicly forecast or announced. The fact of having allowed the barbarous slaughter, or of not having apprehended or even stopped the perpetrators when it was discovered, is extremely disturbing, to say the least. Yet, the whole world is told that an investigation by reliable and independent sources is not permissible.

As Rapporteur of the Palestine Committee, I repeat that our deep feeling of outrage is magnified by the conviction that a positive start in a planned programme of implementation of internationally recognized rights by the Palestinians, as suggested jointly six years ago, would have prevented this and the other tragedies that preceded it.

Cruelly, but with the dying embers of hope, we might perhaps derive some scant consolation from the thought that, with the universal shock engendered by the most recent events, a clarion call has now been heard which will put a stop once and for all to Israel's present policies. In that sense the innocent victims will not have died in vain in the squalor of their camps. Each one of us, in accordance with our action and inaction, also has a responsibility for the past, as well as for the future. Let those therefore who have remained indifferent in the past no longer do so henceforth.

One lesson remains crystal clear. The road to self-determination of a people does not lie in the extermination of that people by brute military force. If all of us agree on that fundamental premise, then, late as it already is, we can begin building the real blocks of peace in the months ahead.

We have to do so by listening first to what the Palestinians are saying, by allowing the people themselves to decide, by not trying to impose conditions in advance and from outside. We must plan for peace, but not through the injection of massive and deadly armaments. Those, simply put, are the ideas that the Committee on Palestine proposed six sanguinary years ago, with safeguards for all in the interests of peace, and with a prominent role for our Organization in overseeing the steps towards securing and maintaining that peace. We submit that that plan remains our only rational course.

3. Action taken by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People

In a letter dated 14 September 1982 from the Chairman of the Committee addressed to the Secretary-General, he emphasized the Committee's concern at the decision of the Israeli Government to establish ten new settlements in the occupied territories, in flagrant violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 and of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council resolution 465 (1980).

The Committee met on 15 September 1982 and considered its draft annual report to the General Assembly. At that meeting it approved a series of paragraphs which concerned action it had taken since the last regular session of the General Assembly.

In a letter dated 20 September 1982 from the Chairman of the Committee addressed to the Secretary-General, he conveyed the Committee's horror and consternation at the atrocious, large-scale massacres in the Shatila and Sabra Palestinian camps in West Beirut.

On 22 September 1982 the Committee met again and adopted its report to the General Assembly.

Letter dated 14 September 1982 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People addressed to the Secretary-General

In my capacity as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, while observing with satisfaction that an end has been put to the Israeli aggression at Beirut which, as is known, claimed many victims, I regret that I must once more emphasize the Committee's concern at the most recent reports received from the illegally occupied Palestinian territory of the West Bank, which tend to show that the violence of the Israeli aggression has scarcely been reduced.

According to The New York Times of 6 September 1982, the Israeli Government has allocated the sum of \$18.5 million for the construction of three new settlements on the illegally occupied West Bank and announced that it would authorize the establishment of seven others.

The 10 new settlements approved by the Israeli Government would raise to 109 the number of settlements on the West Bank and in Gaza, all of them built in flagrant violation of the fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 and of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, in particular Council resolution 465 (1980).

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Moreover, according to The Washington Post of 8 September 1982, the Israeli frontier police have shot and killed a young Arab 16 years of age near the town of Tulkarm on the West Bank. The same newspaper also reports the death of another young Arab, 18 years of age, shot by the Israeli frontier police at Nablus, on the West Bank, on 3 September 1982.

On behalf of the Committee, I reaffirm once more that appropriate vigorous measures should be taken without delay to protect the rights of the Palestinians living in the occupied territories.

I should be grateful if you would have the text of this letter circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under item 31 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

Letter dated 20 September 1982 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to the Secretary-General

As Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I wish to convey to you the Committee's horror and consternation at the atrocious, large-scale massacres in the Shatila and Sabra Palestinian refugee camps in West Beirut.

This tragedy, which parallels the worst horrors perpetrated during the Second World War, must forever remain a blot on the conscience of mankind. It is, moreover, a direct consequence of Israel's invasion of Lebanon which had already caused the killing of thousands of unarmed civilians, including women and children.

Israel's armed interference in the affairs of a neighbouring country is to be strongly condemned. Peace in the region requires that Israel be compelled to withdraw from Lebanon and all the territories it has illegally occupied.

The Committee has repeatedly pointed out that incidents such as this latest massacre, as well as the repeated injustices in the illegally occupied Arab territories, would continue as long as the Palestinian people are prevented by Israel from exercising their inalienable rights in their own independent State. The responsibilities of the United Nations in this regard need no stressing.

Once again, I wish to draw your attention to the Committee's conviction that tragedies such as the world witnessed last Friday would have been avoided if the Security Council had taken positive action on the recommendations of the Committee which have repeatedly been endorsed by the General Assembly.

On behalf of the Committee I wish to urge once again, and in the strongest terms commensurate with the scale of the massacre, that appropriate action to implement the Committee's recommendations be taken by the Security Council without further delay.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter issued as a document of the General Assembly, under item 31 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.