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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Saturday, 26 June 1982, at 10.30 a.m.

President:

Mr. KITTANI

(Iraq)

-- Question of Palestine /5/ (continued)

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

AGENDA ITEM 5 (continued)

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (interpretation from French): The representative of the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Chairman of the African Group for the month of June have already expressed, on our behalf, the position that any country aware of its responsibilities towards oppressed peoples and nations and of the need for a certain morality in international political life must adopt in this particularly tragic situation.

Three weeks have elapsed since Israel began its act of aggression against Lebanon and the act of genocide perpetrated against the Palestinian people - three especially long weeks to us, since we had the impression that Lebanon and the Palestinians were alone in their struggle in this unprecedented tragedy that has befallen them, and that certain circles were trying to invent so-called alternative solutions - solutions, however, primarily in conformity with their own policies - whereas responsible people should have reacted almost automatically if the provisions of the Charter still have any meaning at all. In short, these have been three weeks of excuses, of uncertainty, hesitation and subterfuge, as though the thousands of victims, the suffering of the civilian population and the enormous material damage had no weight at all in influencing decisions.

We can respond point by point to all the arguments put forward by Israel in its attempt to justify the unjustifiable and to legitimize it by invoking the "sacred right of self-defence". We can demonstrate once again the ins-and-outs of the policy of regional hegemony, annexation and expansion on the part of the Zionist entity, which we have always denounced. We can thus make comparisons with recent events elsewhere in the world to show the tolerance, indulgence and even complicity enjoyed by Israel. Finally, we can also appeal to the solidarity of the third world, which was so effective nine years ago.

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

We will be told, of course, that the facts of the situation are no longer the same, that we have to take into account that the international atmosphere is charged with Realpolitik, and even that impudence pays when values are reversed in the name of a new alliance of confrontation. But there remains an immutable element: the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. And if words still have any meaning, this last point, which needs no further elaboration, is a response to those who are over-inclined to rationalize - to toy with the destinies of peoples in their specious reasoning based on a partial view of the world.

In this regard, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar can brook no compromise, and as this is not the time for long dissertations on Palestine and the Middle East, I shall read out the text of the message sent by the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, His Excellency Mr. Didier Ratsiraka, on 8 June 1982 to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to which I alluded a week and a half ago in my statement on disarmament. The message reads:

"In the face of the barbarous acts perpetrated by Israel against Lebanon and its civilian population with the avowed purpose of terrorism and intimidation, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar vigorously condemns the Government of Israel, that bastion of imperialism responsible for this invasion and this flagrant aggression ...

"Its attitude is a challenge to the norms of the United Nations and of international law and attests once again to its expansionist and bellicose tendencies.

"We therefore ask you to remind Member States of the need for the United Nations to adopt specific measures against Israel and its accomplices in order to put an end to such acts and prevent their repetition in future so that the Middle East may finally know peace and the Palestinian people may recover its legitimate rights."

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

Everything I have just succinctly recalled justifies my delegation's sponsorship of the draft resolution that has been submitted to the General Assembly. That draft demands strict respect for Lebanon's sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence; the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops; the condemnation of Israel for its non-compliance with Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982); and, finally, to the Security Council, in the event of continued failure by Israel to comply with the demands contained in those resolutions, to consider practical ways and means in accordance with the Charter.

That is a minimum, but we of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar understand that there can be no genuine peace in the Middle East until Israel reconciles itself to the idea that the cause defended by the Palestine Liberation Organization and by the entire Palestinian people is just and legitimate, and that that cause cannot be defeated by force of arms or by any other act of violence.

Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Iran): I take refuge in Allah from Satan, the accursed, in the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.

"O ye who believe! Seek help in steadfastness and prayer. Lo! Allah is with the steadfast.

"And call not those who are slain in the way of Allah 'dead.' Nay, they are living, only ye perceive not.

"And surely We shall try you with something of fear and hunger, and loss of wealth and lives and crops; but give glad tidings to the steadfast,

"Who say, when a misfortune striketh them: Lo! we are Allah's and lo! unto Him we are returning.

"Such are they on whom are blessings from their Lord, and mercy. Such are the rightly guided."

That is an extract from the Holy Koran, Surah II, verses 153 to 157.

Colleagues have already given accounts of the calamities and misfortunes inflicted upon our brothers and sisters in Lebanon. The number of homeless, injured and martyred is indeed great. Many young school children have been massacred and bombed, and many others are being murdered and bombed even now.

It was indeed a catastrophe from the start to impose the imperialist base of the racist régime upon the people of the Middle East. It was evident 35 years ago that the installation of the Zionist cancer in the area would lead to further calamities. It was quite obvious that aggression and usurpation would generate further aggression and usurpation.

To reiterate the statistics of the problems, the murderous acts perpetrated against the people in Lebanon - Lebanese, Syrian, Palestinian and from other parts of the Moslem world - would be to repeat what all the peoples of the world have already seen on their television screens. Therefore, my delegation will not embark upon an exposition of painful experiences that are now known to all. I would rather briefly expose another aspect of the situation in the once beautiful Lebanon - the positive, constructive, humane aspect, the aspect worthy of pride.

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, Iran)

Those who are embracing martyrdom in the land of Lebanon - the Lebanese; the freedom fighters of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), our brothers and sisters from Palestine; the Syrians; and the Moslem volunteers of the Islamic Republic of Iran, who did not hesitate to join the honourable defensive war against the invading enemy - all of those courageous people are the archetypal representatives of human values and the embodiment of courage, honour and righteousness. Every drop of blood being shed by the criminal enemy is the seed of liberty, independence, morality and virtue. Human history will take pride in the memory of those great men. The Moslems of the world and the history of Islam are being honoured for offering such noble examples to the human race.

Every individual who is being martyred for the cause of Islam and in defence of Moslem land is achieving the utmost spiritual catharsis, is flying high to the highest of the high, and serves as divine light, illuminating the lowland of darkness in which hundreds of millions of men are now imprisoned. We are proud of those brothers and sisters. It is a great honour for us that we have been steadfast, regardless of the cost.

Our martyrs are not dead, the Holy Koran says; they are living an ever-lasting life, and we shall all follow their example.

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, Iran)

Each people has a role to play. Some have chosen to play the role of darkness. We are glad that each is playing its role pretty well. It has fortunately fallen to our lot to stand for courage, bravery, righteousness and virtue. The great satan and its collaborators and puppet régimes have by their own choice decided to represent darkness, sinfulness and vice. Let them remain what they have chosen to be. But let them also remember that we are fully determined to eradicate the source of misery and to emancipate our area from the satanic chains of Zionism and imperialism.

I have to congratulate the representatives of Lebanon, the Palestine Liberation Organization and Syria, and indeed all the representatives of the Moslem world, for what their brothers and sisters are now sacrificing on the path of God. My sincere congratulations go to all of my colleagues whose brothers and sisters are offering the best in the way of Allah.

Our divine book the Holy Koran tells us:

"And fight in the way of God against those who fight against you, but aggress not. Allah loves not the aggressors."

It also tells us:

"If, then, anyone attacks you, attack him in like manner as he attacked you. Fear Allah and know that Allah is with those who restrain themselves."

How shameful it is that those who have perpetrated the crimes of aggression against Lebanon are nowadays flatly praising disarmament although their whole filthy life is based on war and armament. Let the great satan know that the Moslem umma is prepared to meet the challenge and to operate successfully on the political cancer in the Middle East.

On 23 April, at the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, my delegation openly declared that the revolutionary Moslems of Iran, hand in hand with other committed and conscientious Moslems, would soon, by the grace of Allah, give a lesson to the Zionist usurpers that are the aggressors in the rest of the world on how to conduct themselves properly. The great expectation has been fulfilled, and besides millions of volunteers from the Islamic Republic of Iran, millions of them - a colleague tells me 15 million - have registered. Besides the millions of volunteers from the Islamic

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, Iran)

Republic of Iran, oceans of Moslems in different parts of the world are rising. I am sure that representatives have learned about the huge demonstrations in Lahore and Calcutta. Soon the rest of the Moslem world will join us. The good people of the world of various nationalities and faiths are also offering us their moral and political support. Inside the occupied land even the Jews are protesting against the murderous régime occupying Jerusalem.

We are addressing the miserable enemy from a position of strength and full confidence and advising it to cease immediately its satanic support of the racist Zionist régime before it is too late - although it is late enough already. We advise them, all of them, not to betray their own people by distorting facts and presenting them with false information and justifying the cancerous presence of the Zionist base of imperialism in our area. We advise them to give up this silly, fallacious argument of the peaceful coexistence of vice and virtue.

"Israel must not be," said the old master, Imam Khomeini; therefore it must not be.

Those who viciously uphold territorial integrity for all the countries of the Middle East - and by that satanic claim they always mean the preservation of their Zionist base of terrorism - must remember that so-called Israel is not a country; it is a forgery and shall never gain legitimacy, even if the whole of it becomes an atomic bomb. The ignorant enemies must not be fooled by their arsenals, aircraft carriers and bombers. They must remember that they can kill us but they cannot conquer us.

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, Iran)

We are the winners because ours is the age of the victory of the oppressed over the oppressors. Moslems are now quite aware of their divine power. They have rediscovered the meaning of faith in God. They know what a small group of decent and pious men can achieve. They also know the power of oil in their countries and the power of their assets and properties invested in the Zionist banks in the West. They know its power, and they know that they can boycott enemies and minimize their own needs for the consumer goods their enemies are producing. They know very well how to stop consuming many of the luxury items produced by their enemies. They can stop consuming them even under the present puppet régimes. They are well aware of immeasurable power of congregational prayer and the power of the cries of "God is great." They know what it means and how powerful it is.

Moslems are at this very moment going through the glorious month of Ramadan, and they know the magnanimity of this spiritual discipline, the discipline of fasting and contentment with the minimum of consumption and the mighty force it releases against the enemy, whose economy is merely established on and geared to consumption. Fasting itself is a battlefront. The enemy must know that Moslems are aware and powerful and that they can exercise the power of their own weapons, which are unique. The Moslems, particularly those of the Middle East, know their power, and they also know the vulnerable points of the enemy. The enemy must not and cannot count on some of the puppet régimes. These régimes are very transient, but the Moslem masses endure and will deal with the imperialist base in a fitting manner.

Even the illiterate Moslems understand the political situation of the area very well. They are well aware why the Iraqi aggression against the prayers in the congregations of Iran coincided with the aggression of the Zionist enemy against our brothers in Lebanon. Everybody knows the significance of the relief that the Zionist invasion of Lebanon eventually brought to the

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, Iran)

bloody régime of Saddam Hussein, and everybody knows how the Zionist usurper started a silly bomb fire that has now turned into a vast and dangerous fire trap, one it cannot escape from.

The classical tricks of politics and warfare and peace in the Middle East do not work any longer simply because the Holy Koran has given us the guarantee in the following words:

"Faint not, neither sorrow. You shall be the upper ones if you are believers."

And, by the grace of Allah, we have decided to be believers. The Holy Koran has also told us:

"Make ready for them whatever forces and strings of horses you can, to terrify thereby the enemy of God and your enemy and others besides them that you know not. God knows them, and whatever you expend in the way of Allah shall be repaid you in full. You will not be wronged." According to this verse, therefore, all the potentials of the area are to be mobilized on the path of God and for the cause of Islam and, indeed, for the cause of liberating the Moslem land.

Those verses of the Koran are the divine sanction for the victory of the Moslems. Even when we are killed, we remain victorious, because in the hereafter we are in Paradise and the enemy is in Hell, both here and in the hereafter.

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, Iran)

My delegation is therefore not requesting this General Assembly or any organ of the United Nations to solve our problem. We can solve our own problems pretty well. We can do it by the grace of God. After all, what the United Nations can offer is just a resolution, good enough to be a reference for a succeeding resolution, and then to be followed by another resolution and leaving behind a chain of resolutions, sometimes interrupted by delinquent acts of cheating called vetoes. That is the heritage of the United Nations so far as the great problems and disastrous situations of human society are concerned. So we know that there is nothing to be offered here or to be gained. Hence this perennial chain of resolutions. Let it belong to those who want it.

What we do expect from the United Nations, as my delegation mentioned, is not for it to solve our problem. The problem of the Moslems of the Middle East is to solve the problem of the United Nations - your own problem - and that is that among the representatives to the United Nations there is a fake one, a fake one indeed, who must be expelled if we are going to have a family atmosphere, a community of friends who are concerned not for their own personal interest but for the interest of humanity as a whole, a community of which each individual can represent the rest of the world and not only his own gang. If, then, we are going to have such a United Nations - and we do look forward to such a United Nations - then we have to eliminate the fakes. For this international club to regain its world community feeling and its internal tranquillity and peace - forget about the peace in the rest of the world, peace right here - it is necessary to kick out the fake ones, the forgeries, the Zionist usurpers who have arrogated to themselves a national entity just by forging and fabricating an entity out of scattered pieces from every corner of the world, with double and triple nationalities. They must be expelled from here. Only they have double nationalities. I ask members whether they know anybody else enjoying several nationalities. Even their representatives in this hall have their own accents. Some of them British, Oxford accents; some of them, American accents; others, Australian accents; some others, Canadian accents. They are from everywhere and belong to nowhere. They have only a criminal mission, a racist mission

(Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, Iran)

and they should not be mistaken for a nationality. Of course they can have one nationality, any nationality, when they go back home, but not in occupied Palestine.

Here you are, distinguished representatives, and here is your problem: a fake individual among you. Just kick him out - very simple - so that your ethical pattern and your commitment to principle, the principle of avoiding every compromise, satisfying everybody, even the enemy, avoiding this lack of substance, so that such moral principles will establish the pattern for other communities to expel their fake members. Let us hope that originality, decency, virtue and divine power will be the blessing of all the countries, bestowed upon all of them by Allah. And let us hope that all the fake members who play the role of Satan or who represent the Great Satan in every corner of the world will be expelled from this international community.

As for the problems of our people, we are prepared to solve them.

Mr. FRANCIS (New Zealand): New Zealand is deeply concerned at the appalling situation that has arisen in Lebanon as a result of the invasion by Israel's armed forces. Whatever the provocation the Government of Israel may have considered it was acting under, the scale of its response has been frighteningly disproportionate. Its invasion and the destruction that is continuing has got to stop. New Zealanders are shocked at the high civilian toll that the fighting has caused. At a time when nations have been speaking out in the special session on disarmament against the use of force to solve disputes between countries, Israel has acted in breach of this basic principle of the United Nations Charter. It continues to act in defiance of the decisions of the Security Council. The rights of all nations and territories, and particularly those which are small and defenceless, will never be ensured unless those principles and those standards of international behaviour - principles to which we are all committed - are respected and observed by all countries.

(Mr. Francis, New Zealand)

We urge all parties to the present conflict to work for the restoration of the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized frontiers. We fully support Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982). It is essential that Israel abide by their terms, which demand that Israel withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon. And there can be no peace until the demand that all parties to the conflict immediately cease all military activities within Lebanon and across the Lebanese-Israeli border is respected.

New Zealand also fully supports Security Council resolution 512 (1982) of 19 June, which calls upon all the parties to respect the rights of the Lebanese and Palestinian civilian populations and to take measures to alleviate the suffering caused by the conflict. That resolution also appeals to Member States to provide humanitarian aid. All of us must, above all else, be concerned for the welfare of the people caught up in the fighting. The New Zealand Government has pledged support for the work of the International Committee of the Red Cross and United Nations agencies which are co-ordinating emergency relief assistance for the civilian population in Lebanon.

Israel's invasion of Lebanon has increased tensions in the region and further frustrated the search for a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. The intertwined plight of the Lebanese and Palestinian populations points up the need for all the parties directly concerned with the situation in the Middle East to pursue efforts to achieve a peace settlement with urgency and determination.

New Zealand has consistently held that a key element in achieving a peaceful settlement must be the realization of the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people. Israel's continued refusal to recognize those rights and to accept the possibility of the establishment of an independent

(Mr. Francis, New Zealand)

Arab Palestinian State is a major obstacle to peace. We urge Israel to respect the rights and interests of the other States and people in the region and to live up to its responsibility to act as an acceptable neighbour. We address the same appeal to the other parties concerned. The situation in the Middle East is of the gravest concern to every Member of the United Nations. Instability, tension and fighting there threaten us all.

The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the next speaker, I should like to inform the Assembly that it is my intention to try to proceed to a vote before adjourning this meeting.

Mr. LING Qing (China) (interpretation from Chinese): In total defiance of Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) demanding that Israel cease fire immediately and withdraw its troops unconditionally from Lebanon, the Israeli authorities have stepped up their aggression and are intensifying their brutal assault on Beirut, the capital of Lebanon, from the sea, air and land. This has resulted in heavy casualties among innocent, peaceful inhabitants there and created an extremely serious situation. The Chinese Government and people strongly condemn Israel for these criminal acts of aggression and firmly support the Palestinian, the Lebanese and the entire Arab people in their just struggle against Israeli aggression and expansion.

This massive armed aggression against Lebanon has been premeditated by the Israeli authorities. Taking advantage of the present international situation, they attempt to write off the Palestinian people's struggle for their right to national self-determination and perpetuate Israel's armed occupation of the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip by smashing the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) bases in Lebanon and annihilating the arms forces of the PLO. It is also their intention to put Lebanon in the Israeli sphere of influence and to undermine the unity of the Arab people.

(Mr. Ling Qing, China)

Israel's reckless aggression and expansion, in defiance of world opinion, the Charter of the United Nations and all norms of international law, are inseparable from the shielding and connivance of the United States. The United States vetoed two draft resolutions in the Security Council condemning Israel and calling for Israeli withdrawal. The United States has actively supported Israel in attaining its strategic objectives in Lebanon and therefore bears the unshirkable responsibility for the serious situation in the Middle East resulting from the Israeli aggression against Lebanon. The United States Government should be condemned by the international community for the Israeli aggression.

The question of Palestine is at the core of the Middle East question and the Palestine Liberation Organization is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. There will be no peace or stability in the Middle East as long as the question of Palestine is not settled fairly. The Chinese delegation wishes to reiterate here what the Chinese Government has consistently held: that is, that Israel must withdraw from the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967 and the national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to their homeland, to national self-determination and to set up their own State, must be restored. The Middle East question must be settled in a comprehensive and just manner. Israel must comply with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council; that is, it must immediately halt its aggression against Lebanon and unconditionally withdraw all its troops from Lebanon. The independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon must be respected. We hope that the great Arab people, confronted with their arch-enemy, will strengthen their unity and persist in their struggle to achieve a just and reasonable settlement of the Middle East question. We call on all peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and peoples of the world to adopt all effective measures to support the just cause of the Arab people and to contribute to the defeat of Israel's aggression and expansion and to the maintenance of peace in the Middle East.

Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): The world is again witnessing a new act in the drama which is unfolding in the Middle East and nobody can remain indifferent to the fate of the Palestinian and the Lebanese peoples. For a whole month now, on the territory of Lebanon- a sovereign independent country, a full Member of the United Nations - the Israeli invaders have been methodically carrying out their barbarous plans in an arrogant and cynical manner. Once again the policy of genocide is masked by the apparently innocent words - "final solution"- which in fact are full of sinister meaning. However, this is not a paradox. This is further proof of the fact that those who choose the way of aggression and force always violate the norms of international relations among civilized countries and never hesitate to commit any sort of crimes as a result.

The fact that Israel has committed its aggression against Lebanon at the very time when the representatives of the international community are meeting to deal with the urgent problems of disarmament and of strengthening peace in the world is not fortuitous and it constitutes a cynical challenge to the world Organization. Non-respect for the fundamental principles of the Charter and for the elementary norms of international law has long been a characteristic trait inherent in Israeli policy.

Most disturbing news continues to come from Lebanon. Thousands of civilians - Lebanese and Palestinian refugees - are killed or wounded. The invader is right now at the gates of Beirut and is preparing new bloody attacks. However, neither scorched-earth tactics, nor massive killings, nor terror can ever force the Palestinian people, guided by its vanguard and sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, to give up its struggle for self-determination and for the creation of its own State. In this struggle the Arab people of Palestine can always count, as it has up to now, on the solidarity of the Bulgarian people.

It is no secret that Israel would never have dared undertake this new escalation of its aggressive acts without the agreement and support of Washington. Israel's aggression is the American-Israeli strategic alliance in action. It is also a consequence of the Camp David policy.

At the present time the United States is once again assuming, through its acts, a heavy responsibility. The support of all kinds given the aggressor, including the repeated vetos in the Security Council - the most recent one being this morning - the deployment of an armada in the eastern Mediterranean, the demonstrations of brute force, all these actions are fraught with new dangers for world peace and security and reveal Washington's intention to trample underfoot the legitimate rights and interests of the Arab peoples in order to achieve selfish political and military-strategic advantages and thus establish American supremacy throughout the Middle East through the intermediary of its Israeli ally.

Today more than ever it is imperative to take urgent action to implement the relevant decisions of the Security Council. It is necessary to establish an immediate cease-fire without preconditions and to obtain a withdrawal of the aggressor from the whole of Lebanese territory. The Security Council has the duty to take effective and decisive measures to stop the aggression without delay and to prevent further massacres of the civilian population that are being prepared by Israel.

The voice and the will of the international community are but a historical condemnation of the aggressor and of its protectors. They are also an expression of the international solidarity with Lebanon and with the heroic Arab people of Palestine.

Mr. NOWAK (Poland): Taking into account the truly horrifying scale of the recent criminal actions by Israel, one should not and cannot indulge in long speeches. Time is running out fast and victims of Israeli atrocities continue to die while we are deliberating. I shall therefore be brief and limit my intervention to pointing out the basic elements of my Government's position.

First, the Israeli aggression against Lebanon and against the Palestinians under the sarcastic name of "peace for Galilee" has not been provoked by any specific developments, contrary to what the Israelis try to maintain. Its real motive is the implementation of the Tel Aviv doctrine of total confrontation with the Palestinians in Lebanon and with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), their sole legitimate representative, terrorizing Lebanon and other Arab nations and intimidating the Arab population in the West Bank.

(Mr. Nowak, Poland)

The subject of our special concern is the barbaric bombing of Beirut. The pictures of houses razed to the ground, of fleeing civilians, of countless dead and wounded cannot but bring back the horror of the Nazi bombing and destruction of Warsaw in 1939. The invocation by Israel of the "legitimate right of self-defence" is a cynical affront to the intelligence of the international community. The Israeli aggression demands total condemnation as a violation of the basic norms of international law, of the principles of coexistence among nations and of basic notions of morality. It is a direct challenge to the United Nations, as demonstrated by Israel's contemptuous refusal to comply with Security Council resolutions 508 (1982), 509 (1982) and 512 (1982).

Secondly, the Polish Government calls for the immediate cessation by Israel of the hostilities and for the unconditional withdrawal of its forces from the whole of Lebanon's territory in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions. Continuation of the aggression threatens the extermination of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, further destruction of Beirut and the spread of the hostilities in the region, with grave consequences for international peace. The aggressor has to be stopped. The territorial integrity of Lebanon, its independence and the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people should be respected.

(Mr. Nowak, Poland)

Thirdly, the Israeli policy of aggression is facilitated by the attitude of its ally and protector, without whose military and financial assistance Israel would not be able to pursue its real imperialist designs. I am referring, of course, to the same great Power which was so quick in applying sanctions against my country because of the decisive actions we took on matters falling exclusively under our domestic jurisdiction.

In the case of the Israeli aggression the same Power decided it was enough to express its regrets and to protect the aggressor by vetoing the draft resolution submitted by France at 3 o'clock this morning. This is indeed the most striking example of a moral double standard that we have witnessed in a long time.

Fourthly, Poland reiterates its full support for the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and calls for their full implementation.

Mr. SALLAM (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): In the name of God the compassionate: our hearts are broken; we are shedding tears of blood; our hearts are filled with sadness and pain at seeing children massacred in the very flower of their youth and at the sight of innocent civilian women and men slaughtered in Sour, Saida and in Beirut, the jewel of the Mediterranean, as it was once called, as well as in other villages and towns in Lebanon.

The world's conscience has been shattered together with Lebanon. Human values have died with the death of Lebanon. Human dignity has been flouted, along with that of an authentic people whose Phoenician and Arab ancestors greatly enriched human civilization and made an immense contribution to its prosperity. All peoples are horror-stricken by the inhuman acts being perpetrated by the Zionist neo-Nazis, the vindictive Zionists, who, by those acts, have demonstrated their hatred of and scorn for peoples.

(Mr. Sallam, Yemen)

The Zionists are striving to send all peoples to hell so as to ensure that only "the chosen people of God" may exist on earth and Israel may reign supreme over all. The leaders of Israel - headed by Begin and Sharon - have gone mad, in the belief that by their hatred-inspired acts of barbarism they will be able to achieve their expansionist aims.

We regret the complacent attitude taken by the United States of America and condemn the policies of the leaders of that country, who have placed their weapons of mass destruction at the disposal of a horde of demented Zionists. The genocide and massacre of Lebanon can never be effaced from human history; history will attest to the barbarity of the massacre, as it attests to the barbarity of nazism; it will attest also to the participation of the United States of America in these acts of genocide.

There is no use dwelling on this here, for it will only further outrage the world's conscience against these acts perpetrated against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples by the leaders of Israel. What can we do?

If the United Nations cannot expel the delegation of Israel because of United States protection of Israel, the States Members of this Organization should at least, individually or collectively, sever their diplomatic, consular and economic relations with that State so as to isolate it totally. Our world is ruled by human, ethical and religious values, as well as by respect for and implementation of the principles embodied in the Charter and in international law and custom. It is high time that we showed Israel that the United Nations does indeed exist and is capable of everything. After all, it is called the "United Nations", and not the "united nothing" as the Israelis call it.

Miss DEVER (Belgium) (interpretation from French): I have the honour of speaking on behalf of the 10 States members of the European Community. The Ten are profoundly saddened by the events occurring in the Middle East and by their tragic consequences for Lebanon and the Palestinian people. They are horrified by the loss of human life, by the intolerable suffering of the civilian population, and by the massive destruction resulting from the conflict.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon was vigorously condemned by the Ten in their statement of 9 June 1982. That invasion constitutes a flagrant violation of international law and of the most elementary humanitarian principles. Moreover, it increasingly compromises efforts at achieving a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem and is very significantly heightening the risks of the outbreak of a general conflict.

The Ten reject the Israeli claim of acting in self-defence; the Ten reaffirm their support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of Lebanon and appeal that these be respected. The Ten insist that Israel comply with Security Council resolutions 508 (1982), 509 (1982) and 512 (1982) and consider an Israeli withdrawal imperative.

The present situation is intolerable. So far as the situation in Beirut, in particular, is concerned, the Ten urge that that city be spared any further fighting.

Should Israel continue to refuse to implement the aforementioned resolutions, the Ten will consider the possibilities of future action.

(Miss Dever, Belgium)

Already the signing of a financial protocol with Israel has been postponed sine die. The Ten have invited the Israeli Government to give them the following assurances: that it will admit international humanitarian aid organizations onto the territory that its forces have occupied and that it will facilitate their work; that it will similarly admit press representatives and give them the usual facilities; that it will comply with the Geneva Conventions, particularly with regard to prisoners: that it will recognize the sovereignty of the Lebanese State and the international border between Lebanon and Israel; that it will not seek to annex or occupy any part of the territory of Lebanon; that it will not intervene in the domestic affairs of Lebanon; that it will co-operate fully with the Secretary-General of the United Nations in all areas of his responsibility; that it has no hostile intentions towards the Palestinian people; that it does not have any intention to attack neighbouring countries, including Syria; and that it intends to observe the cease-fire that has been established, as long as all the other belligerents in the region also do so. The Ten regret that the Israeli Government has given no satisfactory answer.

The present tragic situation illustrates more than ever the need for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region. As the Ten have often emphasized, a settlement must be based on two fundamental principles. The first is the right of all States in the region, including Israel and of course Lebanon, to exist and to feel secure. There must also be justice for all, which implies recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, who

"by an appropriate process defined within the framework of a comprehensive peace settlement must fully exercise its right to self-determination."

Thus, the efforts made to restore lasting peace and security to Lebanon must be accompanied by an attempt to restore the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, a part of which has sought refuge in Lebanon.

(Miss Dever, Belgium)

The Ten recall their position that the Palestine Liberation Organization must participate in the negotiations.

We are all deeply moved by the terrible suffering of the people of Lebanon and by the Palestinians living in that country.

The members of the Community are contributing, either directly or through the Community, to the urgent humanitarian aid efforts. They hope that other countries will co-operate in this international effort. They also appeal to the parties concerned to respect Security Council resolution 512 (1982).

Moreover, the Ten insist that the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, whose mandate was renewed on 18 June, receive full co-operation in carrying out its tasks. In particular, the Force must be able to play the important humanitarian role entrusted to it by operative paragraph 2 of resolution 512 (1982).

Above all, it is absolutely essential that the fighting halt and that Israel immediately implement Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982).

International law must be respected if we all wish to avoid serious danger.

Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (interpretation from French): As previous speakers have emphasized, the emergency special session on the Palestinian problem has convened for the second time this year in very serious conditions, threatening peace in the Middle East and in the world, because of the aggressive actions of Israel in Lebanon, for nearly a month, on a scale never before seen. The Romanian people are deeply concerned about the dangerous escalation of the situation, brought about by the massive invasion of Lebanese territory by Israeli troops, which has caused and continues to cause a large number of victims among the civilian Lebanese and Palestinian populations and incalculable damage to property.

The Romanian Government has expressed strong disapproval of, and firmly condemned, those serious acts of aggression against the independence of Lebanon and against the Palestinian people, and has called on Israel immediately to desist from such acts and withdraw its troops behind the frontier between the two countries established by the 1949 Armistice Agreement.

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(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

Romania's firm position was recently repeated by its most authoritative voice, that of its President, Nicolae Ceausescu, who several days ago again called for an immediate halt to military action, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and a negotiated solution to the problem of the Middle East, including the realization of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, the creation of an independent Palestinian State and the guarantee of the independence and integrity of all the States of the region.

There is can no longer be any doubt that the central problem in the Middle East is that of the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and that without a just solution to that problem, in conformity with the right of peoples to self-determination, a principle applicable to all the peoples of the world, without exception, it will not be possible to establish a viable, lasting peace in the Middle East, and all the peoples of the region will continue to be exposed to ever more destructive armed conflicts, with unpredictable consequences for world peace.

It is well known that Romania, its people and its President have repeatedly demonstrated their solidarity with, and support for, the cause of the Palestinian people and its legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the realization of its legitimate rights and aspirations to a free and independent existence in a national State of their own, and all the efforts to establish a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

As the Romanian delegation stated at this emergency session in April, as a strong promoter of the rights of peoples to self-determination and national independence, Romania believes that all those who contribute to affirming and promoting the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are acting in the interests of peace. On the other hand, ignoring or violating those irrevocable rights in any way whatsoever is absolutely contrary to the interests of peace and the establishment of normal relations of mutual trust.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

It is a vain and tragic illusion, and a historic error, to believe that the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people to live in its own free, sovereign and independent State can be stifled by armed repression. On the contrary, repressive acts can only increase resistance and provoke new explosions of violence and new dangers to peace and stability in the area.

The series of ever more dangerous events in Lebanon and the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories shows that real peace and security cannot be achieved by the use of force, by ignoring international law and denying other peoples the right to a free and independent existence.

We have always taken a stand against Israel's illegal measures and violent acts against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, as well as its acts of force against neighbouring Arab States.

Romania has always taken the position, and repeatedly reaffirmed, that no one and nothing can justify the violation of the territorial integrity of an independent and sovereign State and the serious disregard of the principles that must govern relations between States.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

Our people associates itself with the other peoples that have demanded an immediate end to the Israeli military action against Lebanon and the Palestinian people. It is important to avoid any action that could prolong the military operations. It is necessary to respect the cease-fire and to support all the efforts that have been made by the international community to uphold the independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon and the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and to solve by peaceful means the complex problems of the Middle East.

The increased tension in that area resulting from the military actions of Israel in Lebanon once again demonstrates the need to intensify common efforts to bring about by peaceful means, through negotiations, a just and durable comprehensive settlement of the situation in the Middle East, which can be achieved only through the withdrawal of Israel from the territories that have been occupied since 1967 and solution of the Palestinian problem on the basis of recognition of the inalienable rights of that people, including its right to self-determination and creation of its own independent State and the guaranteeing of the independence and sovereignty of all the States of the region.

We believe that at this special session the General Assembly must firmly demand the cessation of hostilities once and for all, the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and rigorous respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence of Lebanon. It must also demand compliance with the resolutions that have been adopted recently by the Security Council on the question of Lebanon.

In the view of Romania, strict compliance by all States with the decisions adopted by the United Nations is in the interest of all nations, because those who today fail to recognize or to implement the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations endanger their own independence since tomorrow that may work against them.

I should like to reaffirm my country's determination to act, in the future also, in such a way as to contribute to realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and a just and durable solution of the problems of the Middle East so as to bring about a comprehensive peace in that area.

Mr. JOHANES (Czechoslovakia) (intepretation from Russian): The cruel massive aggression by the Israeli military against Lebanon, that sovereign, independent Arab State, one of the founders of our Organization, was planned in advance and has the purpose of inflicting a blow on the Palestinian resistance movement and drowning it in blood. This new criminal large-scale aggression by Israel is, as has already been stressed in this forum, contrary to the most elementary norms of international law recognized by all, the Charter of the United Nations and the decisions of this Organization and represents a direct threat to international peace and security.

Israel's aggression against Lebanon is a new link in the long series of Israeli crimes against the Arab peoples of Palestine. It is firmly based on the American-Israeli strategic alliance and provides new and clear evidence of how the Government of Israel intends to settle the crisis in the Middle East and to solve the Palestinian question. This dangerous course introduces into international relations a new element of tension that is part of the offensive being waged by the most aggressive circles of imperialism against peace, security and détente.

As was stressed in the declaration of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of our Republic published on 8 June,

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

The policy of genocide against the Palestinian people, which reminds us of the darkest times of the history of mankind and the practices of fascism, arouses indignation among our people - the more so since we recently commemorated with sorrow the fortieth anniversary of the destruction of the Czechoslovak village of Lidice. Today we are witnessing new Lidices in the killing of

(Mr. Johanes, Czechoslovakia)

thousands of peaceful inhabitants of Lebanon, Lebanese and Palestinian refugees, whose only fault is their love of country, peace and freedom. We again declare our solidarity with them and our full support for the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine headed by its vanguard, the Palestine Liberation Organization, which has been recognized by all, against world imperialism and Zionism to attain the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination and the establishment of its own State.

Once again we strongly demand that Israel immediately end its aggression and unconditionally withdraw its forces from the territory of Lebanon. Like the overwhelming majority of the world community, we expect the Security Council, as the organ mainly responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, to take effective measures to put an end to the aggression, to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and to guarantee the inalienable and legitimate rights of the peoples of the Arab countries, including the Arab people of Palestine. This is an absolute imperative of our times.

Mrs. NGUYEN NGOC DUNG (Viet Nam) (interpretation from French):

For several weeks the world has been reacting with deep anger to the new crime of aggression and genocide committed by the Israeli forces against the Arab peoples of Lebanon and Palestine, of which 910,000 children have fallen victims. Men, women and old people have been felled in tens of thousands by the Zionist hordes and the almost daily bombing of densely populated centres of Lebanon by the Tel Aviv air force.

(Mrs. Nguyen Ngoc Dung, Viet Nam)

Assured of the political and military support of Washington, Israel is plunging hysterically into a dangerous escalation of acts of war, flying in the face of all the condemnations of the Security Council and the norms of international law. It is set upon liquidating Palestinian resistance by fire and the sword, physically exterminating the Palestinian people and sowing discord between the fraternal peoples fighting side by side.

It should be recalled that the gas chambers and crematoriums of the Nazis were unable to destroy the forces of anti-fascist resistance in Europe or in other regions of the world. On the contrary, that cruelty awakened the conscience of millions and millions of peaceful peoples who were victims of repression. Contemporary history has frequently shown that the worst tyrants, the perpetrators of genocide, ultimately lose. The list of examples is long.

With regard to the explosive situation created by the new crimes of aggression being committed by Israel against Lebanon with the encouragement and support of the United States, the President of the Council of State of my country, Mr. Truong Chinh, sent the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Mr. Arafat, the following message dated 11 June 1982:

"The fact that the Zionist entity of Israel, the instrument of American imperialism, is unleashing a large-scale war of aggression against Lebanon and is committing barbarous crimes against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples constitutes not only a flagrant violation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, but also a serious threat to the peace and security of other nations in the region and in the rest of the world.

"This act is part of a deliberate escalation by the American imperialists and Israel, designed to crush the resistance of the Palestinian people and to ensure complete control of Lebanon.

(Mrs. Nguyen Ngoc Dung, Viet Nam)

"The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam most vigorously condemns this act of aggression perpetrated by the Zionist entity of Israel and demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanese territory. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam reaffirms its militant solidarity with the Palestinian people and its firm support for the legitimate and certainly victorious struggle it is waging under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization with other Arab peoples against Israeli Zionism and American imperialism to restore the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people and to defend the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Arab countries."

For the Vietnamese people, there is not a shadow of a doubt that, despite the great difficulties and trials, the just cause of the heroic Palestinian people the valiant Arab peoples will finally triumph. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is a sponsor of draft resolution A/ES-7/L.4 and joins with nearly all the Members of United Nations in the firm demand that Israel cease immediately all military activities within Lebanon and that it withdraw all its military forces forthwith from Lebanon without delay. In order to ensure that Israel complies with those basic demands of the international community, we hope that all necessary effective and practical steps available to the General Assembly will be taken so that all of us, representatives of peoples and Governments, will act together energetically and cohesively to halt this bloodbath without delay and to defend the right of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples to life, peace and national independence.

Mr. RACZ (Hungary): This United Nations building has on countless occasions witnessed debates by the international community on the burning question of the Middle East and the problem that has always been at its centre, the question of Palestine. This time, however, a new and extremely dangerous

(Mr. Racz, Hungary)

step has been taken by the escalation of tensions in the Middle East. Not only has the problem of the rights of the Palestinian people not been solved, but the Israeli war machine has released its destructive force against Lebanon, a sovereign Arab country, invading and occupying a third of the territory of that independent nation.

The Israeli aim is clear and unambiguous. It is directed towards the weakening and humiliation of Lebanon and, at the same time, towards the "final solution" of the Palestinian question. The scale and depth of the Israeli military operations are shocking and unprecedented, even in Middle Eastern terms.

The Government and people of Hungary could not remain silent in the face of the prevailing situation for two main reasons. First, one cannot remain indifferent to the unscrupulous violation of Lebanon's territorial integrity and national independence and to the enormous and indiscriminate devastation caused by the Israeli military in that country. Secondly, it is a naive illusion fraught with incalculable consequences to believe that actions such as the one currently undertaken by Israel can solve anything in the Middle East and, first of all, that such actions can "settle" the Palestinian issue through the elimination of the people of Palestine and its leader, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In the light of the events in Lebanon, the Hungarian Government issued a declamation on 18 June in which it expressed, in no uncertain terms, its indignation at Israel's continued aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and reiterated its solidarity with the Palestinian people and its stand with regard to a comprehensive and just solution of the Middle East crisis.

One cannot fail to note the underlying cynicism in Israel's behaviour in undertaking the large-scale invasion of its neighbour at a time when the international community was focusing its attention on ways and means of averting wars, putting an end to the waste of material resources for military purposes and setting out on the road of general and complete disarmament.

(Mr. Racz, Hungary)

It is also noteworthy that, for obvious reasons, this aggression could not have taken place without the knowledge, acquiescence and agreement of the United States. As is well known, this is not the first time that one country has blocked a positive development of events by resorting to a veto in the Security Council, but the veto cast today places an even heavier burden of responsibility than in the past on those who chose to adopt such an attitude.

The Hungarian Government rightfully expects the supporter of Israel to make its pressure and restraining influence felt by the leaders of that nation, for the sake of the restoration of Lebanon's sovereignty and the settlement of the question of the Middle East.

As so many speakers have indicated in the course of this debate, it is time now to go beyond verbal condemnation. The United Nations must resort to all available and appropriate means to point out responsibilities and halt the armed aggression against Lebanon and the people of Palestine, to restore peace in the area and to promote the stability of the region. The draft resolution (A/ES-7/L.4) submitted by a large number of countries to that effect points in the right direction and, therefore, my country has become a co-sponsor.

In the whole history of the United Nations there have been few questions as serious and grave as the one before us today. All of us must be aware of the fact that what is at stake at present is not merely the fate of a people and the question of an act of aggression, but principles and practices involving each and every one of us. It is for this reason that we have to act accordingly.

Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic):

The Charter begins:

"We the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", and it says that the objective of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security and to create a climate conducive to understanding among the peoples of the world. But we realize that injustice and aggression are still being committed. Such actions will never contribute to the cause of peace but will rather lead the world to a catastrophe.

(Mr. Burwin, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

The Zionists are continuing their barbarous acts against Lebanese territory and the Palestinian people. They have invaded that country and their naval and air forces are bombarding and bombing the population of Lebanon, and that action is continuing. Yasser Arafat, the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, has sent a letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations stating that 30,000 people have been killed or wounded, 10,000 are missing and 800,000 have become displaced persons.

All States that cherish peace and justice have condemned that act of aggression. Indeed, the international community as a whole has condemned those barbarous and inhuman acts against the Palestinian people in Lebanon, except for the United States, which continues to work with the Zionist entity in perpetuating that aggression by providing weapons, money and other forms of support. The weapons used in the Middle East are United States weapons. The United States Government is pursuing the Kissinger policy of subjecting the Arab countries one after another to domination so that they can be controlled either directly or indirectly through the Zionist entity. The United States Government is continuing to test weapons at the expense of Arab citizens. Some United States officials have been subjected to pressure by the Zionist entity. This is an election year and the number of Jews among the voters in New York, California and other places, where there are large Jewish communities is significant. That is why they can exert pressure on the United States to take steps to support Israel.

United States aid to Israel now amounts to \$25 million a year, and this will increase in 1983 to about \$3 billion, which includes \$1.7 billion in military assistance. That money has been taken from the Treasury of the American people and comes out of funds that would otherwise be devoted to social security. The United States Government is giving unconditional aid to the Zionist entity and has obstructed the work of the Security Council by using its veto. That is truly the exercise of a right on behalf of injustice. The policy of the United States Government is not based on any ethical values because it continued to encourage that aggression even today when it used the veto in the Security Council to block the adoption of a draft resolution which had the support of the entire international community. That action demonstrates the isolation of the United States and clearly illustrates that it does not respect international consensus and that it is participating in military and political aggression.

(Mr. Burwin, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

The Zionist entity is illegal and has been since its creation, because it was created by force and is based on a policy of national superiority. It has expelled the Palestinian people from its land. That entity is continuing to carry out acts of aggression, thereby violating the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, international law and all the ethical standards which the international community supports. It is not peace-loving and it does not respect the commitments it has made under the Charter.

We support the draft resolution before the General Assembly although we are convinced that it will accomplish nothing. It will not settle the core of the problem because it can never restore life to the tens of thousands of victims. The Zionist entity must be condemned and indeed expelled from this body because it does not respect the United Nations Charter. And this is because it is supported by the United States in these acts of aggression, since the United States continues to use its veto. We support the proposal to authorize the Secretary-General of the United Nations to take practical steps to implement the provisions of resolutions 509 (1982) and 512 (1982), which, inter alia, request the Secretary-General to delegate a high-level commission to investigate the extent of the loss of life and property and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council, and call upon the parties to the conflict to facilitate the relief work of the International Committee of the Red Cross and other agencies.

We support the Palestinian people and the Lebanese people and we appeal to all peace-loving States to help those peoples and the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in their resistance to Zionist aggression.

Mr. AL-ZAID (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic). Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you and to express our thanks for your having reconvened this special emergency session to discuss the problems which afflict the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples as a result of Zionist aggression against Lebanon.

We are again meeting today to consider a chapter in the history of Israeli aggression which is still unfolding and becoming more and more atrocious, in complete contempt for international laws and customs and, even more, for the United Nations itself -- an Organization that was established to uphold peace and establish high values in international relations.

The international family today, as so often in the past, is confronted by Israeli aggression -- aggression which is continuing, which has afflicted vast territories in a manner unheard of in the past, reminiscent of Nazi practices. Begin and his assistants Sharon and Shamir are in fact students of Hitler's methods.

We are again confronted by direct aggression, and two important questions arise, relating to two phenomena which we are witnessing. The first question is which has to do with a people which has been asking the United Nations why it is having to endure so much suffering at the very time when it has found so many sympathizers in the world. But we see today that the Zionist entity can perpetrate aggression against that same Palestinian people, and that people -- that unfortunate people -- cannot recover its rights. It cannot resist Israel, which is building its empire on the ruins of the peoples of the countries in that region.

The second question relates to another people, whose dignity was also violated one time. That people also waged a fight for freedom. But we see that its leaders are now upholding injustice, are themselves perpetrating terrorism and aggression against other States.

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(Mr. Al-Zaid, Kuwait)

What we are today witnessing in Lebanon is simply an expression of Israel's contempt for all human values, and also the contempt of the United States for the same values. This is so different from the spirit of the latter country, which waged its own revolution against oppression. But now we see that full support is being given to the Israeli invasion despite the fact that television and the other media inform us of the atrocities and of the massive destruction inflicted by Israel, in the form of thousands of victims and the destruction of whole cities, the inhabitants of which are not even able to obtain the most elementary forms of relief, such as water and protection.

This aggression against Lebanon is atrocious, and it is being escalated even further. This is not denied by the leaders of Israel itself, who have now become masters of the Nazi philosophy of racial supremacy.

We have also heard the comments of some American leaders, who act as though they regret this barbarous aggression but who do not really disapprove of it. There are even efforts made to justify that aggression against Lebanon. An American senator has said that the arms used by the Israelis have afflicted enormous losses upon Lebanon, and yet the United States Congress continues to approve appropriations, even though a tragedy of such dimensions has never taken place in the past. Other representatives in the Senate speak out against the United States Administration. We hear voices saying that we should not indulge in blackmail or support aggressors. A well-known journalist, Anthony Lewis, has stated that this is clearly no longer simply a case of aggression, but an effort to liquidate the Palestinian people, to eliminate them altogether. Even The New York Times indicates that there has been collusion, since the United States was committed as a participant in the Camp David agreement to finding a solution to the problem, which would include Israeli recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people, so as to put an end to further aggression.

(Mr. Al-Zaid, Kuwait)

In an editorial in The Washington Post, we read that Israel has deceived the world about the facts of its aggression and that today we all know that Israel wants to take advantage of present circumstances to do away with the Palestinian resistance altogether by the destruction of both the Palestinian and the Lebanese peoples.

My delegation, by referring to these statements in the Congress and in United States publications, only wishes to emphasize the most important points. We must condemn this barbarous aggression. We must recognize that the atrocity of Israeli crimes has aroused the conscience of the world. Also to blame is the Administration of the United States, which provides so much assistance to Israeli aggression. We see that there is now a gap between American public opinion and the actions of the Reagan Administration. The United States Administration continues to show contempt for the international Organization as well, by assisting Israel to stifle and destroy all resistance in the Middle East territories occupied by Israel.

(Mr. Al-Zaid, Kuwait)

Israel, by its acts, has shown that it has not studied the history of colonialism and that it ignores what has happened to the colonialists as a result of their actions. Yitzhak Rabin, a member of the Israeli opposition and General Harkabi have expressed such views. They say that there is no solution to the Palestinian problem by military means, and also that a veil should not be placed over a reality of which all are aware.

Israel must recognize the existence of the Palestinian nation instead of trying to liquidate it.

The situation existing in Lebanon now as a result of Israeli aggression must prompt us to put an end to such Israeli actions, which have at last been seen for what they are by all, even by its friends, such as the United States of America. We should give some thought to taking really effective measures so as to ensure that Israel stays within its frontiers. This, of course, would require collective and individual efforts by all the Members of the international community. My delegation is convinced that there is a consensus recognizing that the United States continues to give support to Israeli actions in Lebanon. The United States is acting not as a permanent member of the Security Council, but as a friend of Israel, by providing it with the most sophisticated weapons, which have now been tested in Lebanon. The destruction inflicted on innocent civilians is now well known. The United States is also providing economic assistance to Israel, enabling that country to bring the whole weight of its armaments to bear on the territory of Lebanon. And the United States has made use of the veto - as it did this morning - to try to protect the Israelis and enable them to act with impunity. The United States should recognize the gap which exists between its obligations as a permanent member of the Security Council and its actions in support of Israel, complete support not only for the Israeli State but for its expansionist policies.

My delegation hopes that the States which are now opposed to any punishment or restraint on Israel, which have so often been requested, will tell us what more Israel must do before they realize once and for all that it is necessary to impose some kind of restraint and punishment on Israel, which has become an outlaw. We hope that this Organization will take action to restore its prestige, which has been damaged by the humiliation it has suffered at the

(Mr. Al-Zaid, Kuwait)

hands of the Zionist entity, an international outlaw whose acts are all directed against this Organization because it feels it can do anything it wants without ever being restrained or punished.

Mr. AL-ALI (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. President, on behalf of the Iraqi delegation I should like to express our appreciation of your response to the request for the holding of this session to consider the new brutal Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian people. On 6 June the aggressive Israeli Zionist entity committed aggression against Lebanon, using sophisticated weapons and thousands of troops and by bombarding the densely populated areas and towns. This led to many thousands of deaths and to the complete destruction of civilian installations. The invaders went as far as the outskirts of Beirut, and surrounded it, bombarding it with sophisticated weapons and weapons of mass destruction, thus perpetrating a massacre more brutal and inhumane than any committed by Hulagu or Hitler. The Tel Aviv soldiers are filled with hatred, resentment and a thirst for blood, and their mission, under Begin and Sharon, is to kill as many as they can of the friends of the Lebanese and the Palestinian peoples. This massacre has once again shown the intentions of the racist leaders in Tel Aviv, their hatred and their challenge to all human values. It has also revealed the falseness of the allegations they have been making for more than 30 years - that they are the victims of aggression and act only in self-defence.

The purpose of Israel's aggression against Lebanon and the siege of its capital, Beirut, is the liquidation of the Palestinian cause by the destruction of its people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), its sole legitimate representative. It is also trying to humiliate Lebanon and the Palestinian resistance movement and secure recognition of the status quo as brought about by Israeli expansionism.

The aggression by the Nazi Israeli army, its seizure of Beirut and its persistent attempts to annihilate the people is a grave and unprecedented matter and a black chapter in the history of mankind, because the Lebanese people and the Palestinians are being subjected to the most wide-scale massacre of the twentieth century.

(Mr. Al-Ali, Iraq)

The delegation of Iraq puts before the international community and the conscience of mankind the terrorist Zionist plan concerning Lebanon and calls upon the United Nations to shoulder its historic and human responsibilities and counter this atrocious attack to which the people of Palestine are exposed. The Iraqi delegation has said repeatedly before the Security Council and the General Assembly, from the beginning of these barbarous attacks by Israel against all the Arab countries - from the bombing of the Iraqi reactor, designed for peaceful purposes, to the bombing of Beirut, on the annexation of Jerusalem, the barbarous Nazi attacks on the occupied Arab territories and the action against Jerusalem - that if this Israeli mania is not stopped the region will explode, thus jeopardizing the peace and security of the whole world.

The Nazi Zionist attack and the aggression against the sovereignty of Lebanon have shaken the international community and made it aware of the dimensions of the Israeli crime. Therefore the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 509 (1982), calling upon Israel to withdraw its forces forthwith and unconditionally. But the rulers in Tel Aviv, bloodthirsty as ever have scorned the resolution of the international community and paid no attention to it. Not only this, but they have escalated their military operations by bombing the civilian suburbs of steadfast Beirut. In view of the continuance of the killing and destruction and the rejection by the rulers of Tel Aviv of the demands of the international community, the United Nations Security Council, tried to adopt a resolution warning Israel that it would apply the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter unless it implemented the resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982).

(Mr. Al. Ali, Iraq)

Yet, because of the assistance of the United States and its exercise of the veto, that draft resolution was not adopted. Thus we find that the will of the international community conflicted with that of one State and that United States collusion and support have enabled the leaders of Israel to continue their atrocities and brutal acts of aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

We wish here to reaffirm that the American Administration's outright opposition to the legitimate requirements and demands of the Palestinian people - requirements and demands which have been acknowledged by the international community - and its constant support for Israeli aggression will intensify the feeling in the Arab region that the principal enemy of the Arab nation and of its legitimate requirements and demands is the United States of America, and that Israel is nothing but a tool of United States designs in the region.

This Organization must now shoulder its responsibilities. In particular, it must bring the Israeli aggression against Lebanon to a halt and avoid a mass onslaught against the Lebanese and Palestinians. In other words, the international community must intervene in order to stop the bloodbath and save the steadfast Lebanese people.

Our Organization nowadays faces a serious challenge: it must either assert its existence and effectiveness by working to halt this massacre, or our Organization may end up being an arena of conflict in which the powerful victimize the weak.

The Iraqi delegation calls upon the General Assembly to support Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), which call for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon, and the condemnation of Israel for failing to implement those resolutions. The General Assembly must take the necessary measures and call upon the Security Council to meet in order to adopt appropriate resolutions designed to counter Israel's mania and madness in case that entity persists in not implementing the two resolutions.

(Mr. Al-Ali, Iraq)

In conclusion, I wish to state that the attack levelled by the representative of Iran against my country is not worthy of a response. The topic with which we are all concerned - the topic before the Assembly and the international community as a whole - is too important for us to be side-tracked. Does the Iranian delegation forget the military co-operation between its régime and the Zionist entity, which has been proved by Ariel Sharon, the Israeli Defence Minister, one of the sponsors of the massacre of the Lebanese people?

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Oman, who wishes to raise a point of order.

Mr. ABOUL-NASR (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): I wish to apologize to my colleagues whose names are on the list of speakers, but time is short and blood is still being shed, and further statements would only postpone the adoption of a resolution by this Assembly. Therefore, I would suggest, in brief, that we proceed immediately to the vote on the draft resolution that has been submitted by our colleague the representative of Senegal. Of course, those whose names are still on the list of speakers would have to agree to deposit their statements with the Secretariat, to be distributed as United Nations documents.

I hope my suggestion is acceptable and will be supported by the Members of the General Assembly so that we can adopt a resolution immediately.

The PRESIDENT: The proposal made by the representative of Oman that the Assembly proceed immediately to the vote means, in effect, closure of the debate. He has, however, made the proviso that those delegations whose names are still on the list of speakers can, of course - and I can confirm this - request that their statements be issued as official documents of the General Assembly.

(The President)

If the representative of Oman's proposal is acceptable, that means also, by implication, that those who wish to speak in explanation of vote would have to do so after the vote.

Mr. SLIMI (Tunisia) (interpretation from French): We have been hearing statements at this emergency special session and reading everything published in the international press about the genocide that is being committed in Lebanon against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. I think that the list of speakers is not lengthy and that those who wish to speak in this debate should have an opportunity to do so, even if we must continue this afternoon or tomorrow.

Through you, Mr. President, I would urgently appeal to my friend the Permanent Representative of Oman not to press his proposal and to enable other speakers to express their views before the vote.

The PRESIDENT: Unless the representative of Oman insists on his proposal, I shall call on those who still wish to speak.

I call on the representative of Mali on a point of order.

Mr. TRAORE (Mali) (interpretation from French): I should like to have some explanation of the procedure. The representative of Oman made a proposal, and you yourself, Mr. President, said that that would postpone or interrupt the debate. Now the representative of Tunisia has appealed to the representative of Oman and I should like to know what your ruling is.

The PRESIDENT: I thought I had made it clear. Perhaps there was an error in interpretation. I said that, unless the representative of Oman insisted on his proposal, I would proceed to call on the speakers whose names are inscribed on the list, and I did not hear the representative of Oman insisting. That is the procedure.

Mr. TSHAMALA N'JI-LAMULE (Zaire) (interpretation from French): I should like first to express my pleasure at the resumption of the seventh emergency special session to consider the present serious situation in Lebanon, and in particular the tragedy of a Government and a people threatened with extinction and struggling bravely for their survival as a sovereign State, people, culture and civilisation.

As a member of the Security Council, Zaire voted in favour of Security Council resolutions 508 (1982), 509 (1982) and 512 (1982), and we have shared in all the Council's initiatives and efforts to bring about, first, the immediate and unconditional withdrawal by Israel of all its military forces to the internationally recognized frontier of Lebanon; secondly, the immediate, simultaneous cessation by all the parties to the conflict of all military activities in Lebanon and on both sides of the Lebanon-Israel border; thirdly, the exercise of influence on the parties by all Member States that have influence in order to ensure compliance with the cease-fire demanded by Security Council resolution 490 (1981).

How can one fail to deplore the fact that so far Israel has not complied with Security Council resolutions and its repeated appeals, while the other parties - notably the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) - have responded favourably to the Security Council's requests?

What is happening today in Lebanon - a subject of public international law and a Member of the United Nations - is completely without precedent in the history of international relations. All that is happening now began when foreign armed forces deemed it fit to take possession of the sovereign territory of Lebanon and share with its legitimate Government all that goes with sovereignty over Lebanese territory. If that confiscation of Lebanese sovereignty was conceived as a contribution to the resolution of the crisis in the Middle East and of Palestine, it is today clearly established that that approach, that vision or that situation has certainly settled nothing. It has, on the contrary, added to the complexity of the problem, complicated the whole Middle East situation and led to new developments that can have only negative consequences for the efforts to restore peace in the region and to find a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict.

(Mr. Tshamala N'ji-Lamule, Zaire)

Israel's unspeakable use of force in Lebanon, which has understandably shaken the entire international community, and particularly countries such as ours, which have suffered from such attempts on their sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence, has completed the process of confiscation of Lebanese sovereignty and the elimination of Lebanon's authority over its own territory. This is happening in the twentieth century, in defiance of the principles of the United Nations Charter, the principles of international law and the norms of behaviour between civilized nations.

We are even more anxious about the situation in Lebanon because it seems to us that Israel did not attack in order to continue to live. If its aggression was not indispensable for Israel's survival at this moment, we feel concern and ask ourselves why it invaded Lebanon and caused so much destruction and the loss of so many human lives.

The United Nations has no choice but to make every effort to restore to Lebanon its sovereignty, political independence, unity and territorial integrity, and to prevent the repetition of such situations - which are complete denials of all that mankind has established over centuries as norms of behaviour and rules for living together - in the name of peace, co-operation, trust and mutual respect between nations and peoples.

Restoring Lebanon's sovereignty, independence, unity and integrity means calling for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops and weapons from all Lebanese territory, and in particular from Beirut, its capital. Israel knows where to withdraw its forces, and the other parties also know where to withdraw theirs. As for the armed Palestinian forces organized by the PLO, which we recognize as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, they know that it is not in their interests to be a threat to Lebanon's sovereignty, and their present situation in Lebanon proves, if there is still any need for such proof, that the question of Palestine is at the heart of the Middle East conflict and that it is time to seek a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the crisis, a solution involving the creation of an independent, sovereign Palestinian State.

(Mr. Tshamala N'ji-Lamule, Zaire)

It would be wise to ask the five permanent members of the Security Council to guarantee jointly, by common sui generis action, the security of the Palestinians, Israel and the Arab States that are neighbours of Israel, and to resume the negotiations for a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East crisis, notably on the basis of General Assembly resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III), and Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1978).

We must repeat that, instead of our continuing to concern ourselves from month to month and year to year with this or that aspect of the Middle East crisis, it is time to make new joint efforts to consider all the aspects of this complex problem and to find a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East crisis.

Of course, Israel has a right to peace and security as a State, but, similarly, the inalienable rights of other peoples, including the Palestinian people, must be recognized and respected, for the question of Palestine is at the heart of the Middle East crisis.

A Member State of the United Nations cannot remain indifferent to the extension of the fighting into the capital of Lebanon. That is why we must bluntly state again that there must be strict respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty, unity and political independence of Lebanon inside its internationally recognized frontiers, the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. My delegation will enthusiastically take part in any positive action decided on by this session to achieve those objectives and to restore to Lebanon and its people their tarnished sovereignty

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Kuwait on a point of order.

Mr. RAZZOOQI (Kuwait): Owing to the gravity of the situation, I appeal to my colleague from Tunisia not to oppose the proposal that has just been made by the Chairman of the Arab Group.

The PRESIDENT: As there is no response from the representative of Tunisia, and as other representatives whose names are on the list want to speak, I think it best to adjourn the meeting and reconvene at 3 o'clock. We shall hear the speakers and then proceed to the vote in an orderly manner.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.

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