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**President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA  
(Algeria).**

**Address by Mr. Suleiman Frangié, President  
of the Lebanese Republic**

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Suleiman Frangié, President of the Lebanese Republic, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. FRANGIÉ (President of the Lebanese Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I wish to thank you for the welcome that you have extended to me and to take this opportunity to reiterate my congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly. I also express my sincere wishes for your success. Your unanimous election is a recognition of your eminent personal qualities and a tribute to the noble sister country you represent with such dignity.

3. I should also like to express my profound appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for his untiring efforts for the realization of the objectives of the Charter and in the service of world peace and co-operation among nations.

4. As I appear before this Assembly on behalf of Lebanon, and also on behalf of the Heads of State of the other 19 Arab countries Members of the United Nations, who have done me the honour of requesting me to speak on their behalf, I should like first to define the significance and the scope of the mission entrusted to me.

5. I am fully conscious that, in recalling and defending the national rights of the Palestinian people here before you, I am indeed defending the very principles of the United Nations Charter; that, in defending the manifest justice of the Palestinian and Arab cause, I am also defending the cause of universal justice itself, for justice is indivisible; and in so doing, I am also defending the cause of peace, for peace is inseparable from justice. Therefore I am confident that my endeavour is consonant with the sincere, lasting and fruitful co-operation which must be developed between our Arab world and the world at large. In this way, I am conforming with the most authentic and constant vocation of Lebanon—a land of tolerance and a human synthesis of harmony and brotherhood.

This Lebanon, which has been shaped by the grace of God and the achievements of its own people—is it not a prefiguration of a possible world delivered from the reign of violence and from policies inspired by racial and religious exclusivism?

6. It is the highest considerations of reason and sentiment that make Lebanon stand by the Palestinian people, expelled from their homeland. They are considerations of human solidarity, of Arab brotherhood, and all other considerations stemming from geography and history. We are located in the immediate vicinity of Palestine. We have sheltered, as we should, hundreds of thousands of our Palestinian brethren, whom Israel is pursuing with its unjustifiable acts of violence so often condemned by various international organs. At the same time, Israel, in its vindictiveness, is bent on attacking the civilian population of Lebanon, repeating as recently as this very week—yesterday afternoon—its murderous raids on southern Lebanon. These raids afflict us in our bodies and souls and threaten our security.

7. But my country is qualified by considerations of a still higher order to address this assembly of nations. It is because, in view of its small territory and its presence and role in this wide world, Lebanon has explicitly linked its destiny to that of law; because its very existence is an illustration of the primacy of the values we call justice, liberty and brotherhood; because faith, charity and tolerance, which are virtues everywhere, are for us also corner-stones of our State policy. For all these reasons, my country considers itself a natural messenger of peace based on justice, and brings to the support of the Palestinian people an eloquence which goes far beyond the merely verbal, since it expresses the persuasive power of our way of life and action.

8. As we address ourselves to the principles of law and justice, we should also like to convey the message of wisdom.

9. What does wisdom teach? Wisdom teaches that violence is shortlived; that it cannot serve to ensure a true and definitive peace; that it proves particularly vain and inhuman when it is exercised against the fundamental rights of a whole people, as in the case of the Palestinian people; that violence cannot but intensify the determination of that people in its resistance within the occupied territories and its will for liberation exercised from without; that this is the lesson of history concerning all movements of resistance and liberation; and that, finally, looking back over the road travelled by our Palestinian brethren for almost half a century to safeguard their identity and their national rights, no one could doubt their ultimate success.

10. In rendering justice to them today, the United Nations is only anticipating what history makes

inevitable, and thus saving our area and the entire world from new convulsions, constantly more serious, more dangerous and, perhaps, more widespread.

11. In this respect, the most obstinate blindness finally yields to every-day realities. At each stage of the tragedy, our Arab world asserts itself, in its true character that has been too long ignored: a land of revelation, a crossroads between three continents, occupying an exceptional strategic position, rich in inexhaustible spiritual and material resources, capable of a great contribution to all aspects of human progress, if it were allowed a climate of untroubled and trustworthy co-operation in conditions of peace.

12. Peace? What peace? Let us listen to those sublime words of His Holiness Pope Paul VI, which impress us by their vivid topicality:

“Peace is not a trap . . . Still less a totalitarian and pitiless tyranny, and above all not violence . . . If we seek from whence it truly comes, we realize that it is deeply rooted in man’s sense of fairness. And what do we call this human sense of fairness? Justice. Why, then, convinced as we are of this irrefutable truth, do we delay by trying to give peace a basis other than that of justice?”

13. For 25 years, since the “abomination of desolation” descended upon the Holy Land, the nations have delayed too long any sincere and determined search for ways and means which could lead to the peaceful solution of the tragic problem of Palestine. It is not my intention here to draw up an inventory of the mistakes, omissions and delays which, since the first resolution adopted by the United Nations in 1947, have contributed to the permanent establishment of violence at the very heart of this problem, thereby setting in motion events which have systematically warded off any chance of another solution.

14. I would only recall that, throughout that period, all the resolutions of the General Assembly and all the decisions of the Security Council have been violated and even scorned by Israel, including, in particular, those which, since 1969, have reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, declared that the full respect of those rights was an indispensable element in the establishment of a just and lasting peace, condemned the Governments which were denying the national rights of this people, confirmed the legitimacy of its struggle by all available means, considered that the acquisition and the conservation of a territory, in violation of the right of self-determination, was inadmissible and constituted a flagrant violation of the Charter.

15. I should also recall that since 1971 the Assembly has on many occasions solemnly reaffirmed the same principles and requested the Security Council and the Member States to take effective measures to implement them. Moreover, the Assembly has invited the Member States attached to the ideals of freedom and peace to lend all their political, moral and material assistance to the peoples which, like the Palestinian people, are fighting for their self-determination and independence.

16. In reality, the question of Palestine has, for many reasons and under all sorts of pretexts, long been submerged in the murky and mysterious waters

of an international policy related to the diverse problems arising from the situation in the Middle East. Thus we could not see the forest for the trees.

17. But here at long last, this question emerges again and asserts itself in a clearer and more realistic picture of the situation. The General Assembly is undertaking, finally, to translate into facts the notion which has always been evident to us and which is now recognized by all—the authentic identity of the Palestinian people. It has recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of that people, and has consequently invited that organization to participate in the Assembly’s deliberations in the plenary meetings.

18. You have finally heard the truth from those who are the most knowledgeable because they have suffered more than anyone. They are the true spokesmen, rightly recognized as such.

19. The presence among us of a Palestine, although still suffering and not yet fully restored to its national rights, nevertheless constitutes a stage in the movement towards the success of a just cause and the culmination of a just struggle.

20. May I add that this is encouraging evidence of an awareness by the United Nations which we hope will this time take active and effective form.

21. The question of Palestine concerns the fate—that is, the happiness or the misery, even the life or death—of millions of human beings. The spread of this conflict of historic dimensions could no longer be prevented, and a war in the region would endanger peace everywhere else in the world.

22. It is now our role, the role of all of us here, here in the serenity of this august Assembly, to assert the rule of law and ensure the triumph of justice. The international community cannot remain indifferent any longer to the sufferings and the justified impatience of the Palestinian people, nor can it feign unawareness that all the territories conquered by force must be restored. Additional courage and wisdom are henceforth required of us when we look for the solution to this major conflict.

23. The recognition of the Palestinian people and of its representatives represents acceptance only of a half-truth. We will accept the entire truth by helping that people to recover fully its national rights. Here lies the realistic approach to the heart of the problem. Here also lies the key which will open all the prospects for an effective and worthy solution, and which will revive all hopes.

24. The fate which has been reserved for Jerusalem should alone have sufficed to arouse our consciences. Jerusalem is not just a parcel of land. It is the noble centre from which generations of men have drawn their faith, and where they find their roots. How can we talk of peace when the only place which brings together and unites Muslims, Christians and Jews around one single God has become a place of division and hate; when the Holy City appears as one of the most striking examples of Israel’s refusal to abide by the repeated resolutions of the United Nations; when, despite the condemnations pronounced by the United Nations and by UNESCO, Israel persists in the de-

figuration, degradation and undermining of the Holy Places, and in particular the foundations of the venerated Al Aqsa Mosque?

25. We are, perhaps—we can be—on the threshold of a dynamic process of true peace. I call upon your Assembly to seize this opportunity.

26. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to thank His Excellency the President of the Republic of Lebanon for the important address he has just delivered.

*The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.*