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President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM
(United Republic of Tanzania)

AGENDA ITEM 24

**Question of Palestine: report of the Committee on the
Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian
People (continued)**

1. Mr. TABIBI (Afghanistan): From the very first days of the United Nations, no question before it has been more tragic and more full of sadness than that of Palestine. Indeed, no contemporary historian will embark on writing any chapter of modern history that is more full of bloodshed, suffering and heart-break than the tragedy in Palestine.
2. As the Committee is aware, the people of Palestine, as part of the Ottoman caliphate, had the same status after the First World War as the people of Syria, Iraq and Lebanon, who fortunately are here with us as fully fledged Members of the United Nations. On the other hand, the Palestinian people alone were betrayed by the Mandatory Power because of its colonial designs and for the purpose of finding a Jewish home under the so-called Balfour Declaration,¹ which resulted in injustices to the people of Palestine.
3. The Democratic Government of Afghanistan believes that this great historic sin should never be forgiven and forgotten unless the world corrects this historic mistake. The legitimate and inalienable right of the Palestinian people to their homeland and to self-determination should be recognized and this right should in no way be the subject of negotiation on the part of any State or the United Nations itself.
4. We believe that a second injustice was committed by the United Nations itself when it adopted, under political pressure, in 1947, resolution 181 (II) on the partitioning of the Arab land of Palestine and the internationalization of the Holy City of Jerusalem. As a result of this injustice, further injustices were committed, and Israel disregarded General Assembly resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III) and all other resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council in re-

gard to Palestine. Alas, now even the right of Palestinians to 18 per cent of their homeland in the West Bank and Gaza is opposed by Israel, and their legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], is ignored by the Israeli authorities.

5. Three decades have passed since the Partition Plan for the Holy Land was adopted. Year in and year out the Security Council, the General Assembly, special envoys and emissaries, committees and commissions, United Nations mediators and peace forces, humanitarian organizations, politicians and statesmen have been busily engaged in trying to find solutions to this great tragedy of mankind, but still, unfortunately, there is not a glimmer of hope on the horizon. The Palestinian people and even the Arab nations as a whole have been faced with disappointment because of the stubbornness of Israel.

6. The Government and people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, because of our firm cultural, historical and religious ties, have always supported the just struggle of the Palestinian people and stand firm to defend their rightful cause in any forum. As Mr. Hafizullah Amin, President of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, said in his recent statement on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People:

“The ever-increasing world-wide support for the just cause of the Palestinian people, particularly the unreserved and total support and solidarity extended to the continued struggle of the Palestinian people by the peace-loving and progressive countries and forces, confirms the legitimacy of the struggle of the Palestinians for the restoration of their usurped rights. It is an undeniable fact that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be achieved only when all Israeli occupying forces are unconditionally withdrawn from the Arab and Palestinian occupied land, and not through partial agreements or secret understandings.”

7. We further believe that the Assembly should not always take into account Security Council resolution 242 (1967) alone, but also the basic resolution, General Assembly resolution 181 (II), which is the real constituent instrument for the establishment of Israel as well as the Arab State of Palestine and also the restoration of Jerusalem. Unfortunately, only one part of that basic resolution, that is, the provision for the establishment of Israel, has been implemented; the other two important elements of the resolution, that is, the formation of the Arab State and the restoration of Jerusalem, have so far been ignored. It is our considered opinion that it is the obligation and duty of this Assembly to see to it that all elements of that basic resolution are realized in full and that the occupation of Palestinian

¹ For the text, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Session, Supplement No. 11*, vol. II, annex 19.

lands and dispersal of the Palestinian people to other Arab States are invalidated.

8. Among the subsequent decisions, we believe, resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3375 (XXX) were indeed historic resolutions. In view of the three decades of suffering of the Palestinians and Arab people of the Middle East, the tragedy of four major wars in the area and the danger of further conflict in the region make the implementation of General Assembly resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III) imperative. Furthermore, it was under resolution 3375 (XXX) that the right of the participation of the PLO on an equal footing with other parties for the concluding of any settlement of the Palestine question was recognized. We also believe that the establishment of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People in 1975 was another useful attempt by the General Assembly to deal with the question of Palestine as the heart of the Middle East problem. The implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinians and the participation of the PLO in all negotiations with other parties, on an equal footing, and the evacuation of Israel from all territories occupied by force during the Middle East wars are matters of urgency. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, of which Afghanistan is a member, has in its various reports brought to the attention of the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September this year, the main problems of the Middle East and proposed ways of solving this tragic problem in the interest of world peace. The efforts of the Committee, which is a creation of the General Assembly itself, are aimed at drawing the attention of the United Nations, particularly the General Assembly and the Security Council, to the need to implement their own resolutions and decisions, such as resolution 242 (1967) of the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III), which are the basic documents on the issue.

9. Our delegation believes that the United Nations has an abiding responsibility to ensure the settlement of the Palestinian question by its own resolutions; and that the primary duty of the Security Council, as the custodian of international peace and security in the world, is to fulfil its obligation under the Charter. This can be done if the principles proposed by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People are implemented faithfully. We believe that peace is indivisible, and not only that the Arabs of Palestine need it, but that Israel, too, as part and parcel of the Middle East, should realize that its security and future, and the security and destiny of its present and future generations, are directly related to those of its Arab neighbours. It is time now that Israel opened its heart and mind and recognized the legitimate rights of the brave people of Palestine, who have been struggling for the last 60 years for freedom and self-determination, and who have the same hopes and aspirations as the people of Israel. They must and should talk with the legitimate representative of Palestine, the PLO.

10. The constant aggression of more than 30 years should be stopped; direct negotiation should begin. The whole international community has now recognized the national rights of the Palestinian people and its legitimate representative, the PLO. The PLO representative is frequently invited by the General Assembly and the

Security Council, as well as by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, to participate in the debate on an equal footing with other parties from the Middle East, and the PLO is a full-fledged member of the non-aligned movement and its Co-ordinating Bureau. Therefore, why does Israel still shun the PLO, which is the only just representative of the Palestinian people? Challenging the world community and ignoring the clear decisions of the United Nations, closing its eyes to the rights of 3 million Palestinian people and making a separate deal for administrative autonomy only, will not bring peace to the Middle East. Pressing for new settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, allocating millions of dollars to expanding those settlements, expelling and imprisoning the elected Arab mayors of the occupied territories and calling their land Judaea and Samaria are nothing but defiance of the world, the United Nations and the basic principles of international law. This policy surely endangers the peace and security of the region, and this cannot be permitted.

11. Our delegation admires the patience of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation as a whole. In the face of all this defiance by Israel, they still show restraint. We hope that the recommendations and plan of action of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, which reaffirms previously stated principles for the settlement of the Palestinian question, will be implemented by the United Nations, for, as I have said, only through the implementation of those recommendations will peace dawn in the Middle East.

12. We regret that the Security Council has not fulfilled its duty on this question because of a lack of co-operation by certain Powers that support Israel; but it should do its duty on the basis of justice and fundamental human rights and its own interest in maintaining peace. We are glad that the countries of the Western world have shown recently some awareness of the situation and even a recognition of the PLO's role in solving the problems of Palestine in a comprehensive manner, and not on the basis of a partial agreement. Let us all join hands to work for a lasting solution in the Middle East, and let us hope and pray that peace and justice will soon prevail in the land of peace, love and justice.

13. Mr. JAROSZEK (Poland): The question of Palestine and the problem of the Middle East are an integral whole; neither can be settled in isolation from the other. In consequence, there can be no partial solution or settlement that involves only some of the parties to the conflict, just as there can be no separate peace. To be just and durable, peace must be all-embracing, include all the parties and eliminate all the causes of the conflict. That is the quintessence of the important problem we are discussing and which was so well, succinctly and unambiguously formulated at the latest Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Havana.

14. To Poland, as well as to other socialist States, an approach of principle such as this is not new, nor are we temporizing. For years now it has been the backbone of our consistent position vis-à-vis the situation in the Middle East, based on our profound conviction that any solution there must take fully into account the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, including their sacred right to national independence and

sovereignty. We are glad to note that a similar spirit of political reason, realism and responsibility is becoming apparent among ever broader sectors of the world community, whether it be on the official plane or among the general public. We fully agree with Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of Austria that

“the time must soon come when all States in this great community of nations will recognize that the PLO today simply is the representative of the Palestinian people.” [49th meeting, para. 16.]

15. That the Palestinian question is the crux of the problem of the Middle East is well illustrated by the fact that for the past six years the General Assembly has been considering it as an important item of its deliberations in plenary meetings. It is true enough that it took time for some to reconcile themselves to the significance and political relevance of the problem. Throughout that time, we witnessed both positive transformations of attitudes and a fierce struggle between consistency and convenience, between realism and opportunism, between the forces of justice and wrongdoing. The strength of the Palestinian cause, combined with the support of the progressive countries and peoples of the world, has brought about a situation in which the political and military machinery of Israel and its most devout supporters, such as the racists of Pretoria, is being effectively singled out and isolated. Yet, the new quality of the question of Palestine and the durably consolidated position of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people should in no way be construed as having diminished the urgency of the Middle East problem. Its political and military magnitude, amplified by developments in and around the region, has never been more imposing.

16. The current quality of the situation in the Middle East is still determined by Israel's continued aggression against the Arab States by way of armed attacks against their territory, the illegal occupation of their lands, colonization of the Arab soil and the flagrant violation there of fundamental human rights—all of which, as was recently confirmed by the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979),² is bound to have disastrous consequences on any attempt to reach a peaceful solution in the Middle East. It is determined by Israel's total disregard, or even outright contempt, for any decision of the United Nations. That situation is also characterized by the effects of the separatist treaty with Israel, which only added one more harmful illusion to Middle East expectations. As the Arab and socialist States had anticipated, the separatist treaty has not only failed its authors and sponsors as an advertised first step to a comprehensive settlement, but resulted in worsening the stalemate as regards a prospective solution, thus playing straight into the hands of Israel and its policies of aggression, occupation and expansion.

17. Both in word and deed, Poland has often manifested its serious preoccupation and, indeed, genuine interest concerning finding a lasting and comprehensive settlement to the Middle East problem. It suffices to recall the distinguished service of several thousand Polish soldiers since 1973 in UNEF and UNDOF in the

region, which has constituted a tangible expression of our long-standing position of political principle, as timely and valid today as it has ever been.

18. First, for any progress to be achieved, there should be a total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967.

19. Secondly, if a just peace is to prevail in the region, it must be based on the recovery by the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights, including its rights to return to its homeland, to self-determination and to the establishment of its own State.

20. Thirdly, a peaceful and lasting solution to the conflict cannot but incorporate respect for the legitimate rights and interests of all States and peoples of the region, within secure and internationally recognized borders.

21. The practical means for such a solution are all embodied in the relevant United Nations decisions and resolutions, notably in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), as well as in those adopted by the General Assembly, especially since its twenty-ninth session in 1974.

22. The Polish delegation notes with particular satisfaction the great effort and outstanding contribution made by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People in the world struggle for that people's cause. Indeed its recommendations, made to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session and repeatedly endorsed by the Assembly's successive sessions, continue to retain their incontestable validity. We share the Committee's view that positive action by the Security Council on the recommendations endorsed by the General Assembly could create the necessary conditions for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, especially since the recommendations concerned are the basic principles relating to the problem of Palestine within the Middle East situation.

23. As long as Israel pursues its policy of fanatical hostility towards the Palestinians and the question of Palestine remains unresolved, the Middle East will continue to remain a dangerous source of international tensions. A decisive and united effort by the international community is therefore called for to bring peace to the area.

24. But, as the Secretary-General of the United Nations put it in his annual report on the work of the Organization:

“A just and lasting peace in the Middle East can ultimately only be achieved through a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the question, including in particular the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Evidently, all parties concerned must be involved.” [See A/34/I, sect. III.]

Let us really act to put this fundamental truth into the language of vigorous action.

25. Mr. BLUM (Israel): The United Nations has been discussing the Arab-Israel conflict for over 30 years. Had this Organization encouraged the Arab States to

² For the report of the Commission, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1979*, documents S/13450 and Add.1.

live up to their commitments under the United Nations Charter, that conflict could have been resolved peacefully long ago, through dialogue and negotiation. The Organization, however, has long permitted itself to be exploited by those opposed to peace in the Middle East. Those forces set out not only to block any progress on that issue, but have sought also to inflate the conflict by adding an ever-increasing number of features to their Middle East repertoire.

26. We know that almost every item on the General Assembly's agenda is being distorted and abused by Arab delegations and their supporters in their campaign against Israel. We know, too, that some of those sitting through this charade have been overwhelmed by the endless repetition of untruths, half-truths and myths with which today's item has become encrusted.

27. In stark contrast to the realities of the situation in the Middle East, this Assembly has been harnessed to a systematic campaign that has learnt much from the advertising industry. Here in this hall, year after year, we have been subjected to an unending tirade of invective, to an endless stream of repetitive speeches and to an ever-growing accumulation of equally repetitive resolutions passed from one international conference to another, from one committee to another, from one year to the next. All of this has its purposes: to dull the mind, to numb the participants until they obediently, and out of pure exhaustion, repeat the prescribed slogans at the prescribed time.

28. That these slogans are totally detached from reality, that they are in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter—which instructs the Organization to promote international peace and security, not to obstruct it—all of this is irrelevant to the sloganeers, and the outside world, at first offended by that distortion of Charter ideals, is now simply bored and no longer regards the proceedings of this body seriously. Surely, many representatives must have noticed the declining resonance of the General Assembly in recent years.

29. Having said that, I have no illusions that anything I may say today will influence those who, for whatever reason, have been harnessed to the campaign of hatred against Israel in recent years in this hall. My statement today is therefore directed specifically to those who are open to an objective study of the situation in the Middle East and who are prepared to listen to both sides in the conflict.

30. The United Nations approach to the issue before us today is very different from what it was when it was first brought before this Organization in 1947. When it was first discussed in that year, virtually everybody recognized the right of the Jewish people to self-determination and its right to sovereignty in its homeland. It was also evident at that time that the core of the Arab-Israel conflict was the unwillingness of the Arab world to come to terms with the rights of the Jewish people. Nowadays those rights are scarcely—if ever—mentioned. Today all the emphasis is put on the claims of the Palestinian Arabs and the empty charge is trotted out, by speaker after speaker from various quarters, that the Palestinian Arabs are, as it were, a people uprooted from its land and a nation denied its rights.

31. The crude repetition of those falsities does not

make them any more true or—more accurately—any less false.

32. The first myth which has to be dispelled is that at any time prior to the British Mandate there was an Arab political entity called Palestine. Throughout history there has never been a kingdom, a principality, let alone a State, called Palestine. The term "Palestine" was given currency by the Romans in an attempt to obliterate the Jewish character of the Land of Israel. Until this century, it was purely a geographical concept referring to an area of undefined expanse. Indeed, throughout the centuries, that area was governed in the main from distant capitals of successive empires.

33. Only after the First World War was Palestine created as a separate political entity for the specific purpose of reconstituting a national home for the Jewish people therein. In so doing, the League of Nations recognized that only one people in history has, for 3,000 years and more, preserved and maintained its unbroken links with the Holy Land. That people is the Jewish people. For that reason, as every child knows, the area we are speaking about has been known throughout the annals of mankind as the Land of Israel, which is the translation of its name in Hebrew: *Eretz Israel*.

34. The association of the Jewish people with the Land of Israel, unique in its circumstances, has become part and parcel of the history of mankind, inextricably entwined in the fabric and texture of world culture. Here, at the United Nations, constant attempts have been made over the past 30 years to obscure the inseparable bond between the Jewish people and the Jewish homeland. But no amount of distortion and fabrication in this building can undo so central a fact of the political, spiritual, cultural and religious history of the world.

35. In witness of the profound historical and national ties between the Jewish people and its Land, there has been an uninterrupted Jewish presence in the Land from ancient times to the present day. Although Jewish sovereignty was crushed under Roman imperial might, the physical and spiritual nexus between the Jewish people and the Land of Israel was not broken. Throughout the succeeding centuries, even if a large part of the nation was driven from one exile to another, many stayed on, reinforced time after time by returning exiles, maintaining their communities in the face of all manners of persecution, natural disaster and alien conquest. For nearly 2,000 years they provided the nucleus around which the aspirations of the dispersed and persecuted nation were galvanized and, through them, the nation clung to the dream of returning to its Land. Throughout all these centuries, the Jewish people prayed daily for its return to Jerusalem, the centre and the sole focus of its national and spiritual life. The Jews of Jerusalem have the longest unbroken historical association with our Holy City, and for the last century and a half Jews have uninterruptedly been the majority of the City's population.

36. The passionate yearnings of return finally gave birth to the practical ideas and political organizations which, amid the storms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, launched the mass movement for the return to Zion and for restored Jewish national independence. Upheld and fortified in dispersion and adversity by the

vision of an ultimate return, the Jewish people did not forsake its homeland or forgo its links with it. The Jewish people has kept faith with its Land, and the Land in turn has kept faith with the Jewish people.

37. After the First World War, in 1919, this self-evident truth was recognized at the Paris Peace Conference by the Emir Feisal, the leader of the Arab delegation, representing Arab national aspirations at the Conference, who stated that his delegation was fully acquainted with the proposals submitted by the Zionist organization to the Peace Conference and continued by saying: "We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned, to help them through. We will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home."

38. Moreover, Feisal signed an Agreement of understanding and co-operation with Dr. Chaim Weizmann, then representing the Zionist movement and later the first President of Israel. Article I of that Agreement stated:

"The Arab State and Palestine in all their relations and undertakings shall be controlled by the most cordial goodwill and understanding, and to this end Arab and Jewish duly accredited agents shall be established and maintained in the respective territories."³

In other words, Feisal spoke of an Arab State, on the one hand, and of a Jewish State—called Palestine—on the other.

39. The bond between the Jewish people and the Land of Israel also found expression as a matter of course in the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine.⁴ The preamble to the Mandate referred to "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people" and stressed "the historical connexion of the Jewish people with Palestine and...the grounds for reconstituting"—I repeat, reconstituting—"their national home in that country". The Mandatory Power was also explicitly called upon to encourage "close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes."

40. The Mandate for Palestine, as entrusted to Great Britain, encompassed both sides of the River Jordan, as did the Holy Land throughout the ages. It was in this area that an independent Jewish national home was to be established. The total area of Mandated Palestine comprised about 45,000 square miles. This was a tiny fragment of the vast reaches in which the Arabs were to realize their right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty.

41. Since the end of the First World War until the present day, the Arabs have realized their national rights in 21 separate Arab States, members of the League of Arab States and of the United Nations, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf. The combined area of those 21 States is 5,400,000 square miles, that is

to say, 10.3 per cent of the world's land surface. The Arab States straddle an unbroken land mass, greater in size than the United States of America or China and rich in material resources, not least of them the oil on which much of modern civilization is dependent. Thus, the area of Mandated Palestine in 1920, in which the Jewish national home was to be established, was less than 1 per cent of that enormous territory. That surely was not too large a fraction or corner of the Middle East in which a Jewish national home was to be established.

42. However, this is by no means the end of the story. In 1921, the Mandatory Power decided to establish on the area of the Palestine Mandate, east of the River Jordan, an Emirate under Abdullah ibn Hussein of the Hashemite family of Mecca. In 1922, the "Jewish national home" articles of the Mandate for Palestine were declared inapplicable to that area—Transjordan—which none the less remained an integral part of Mandated Palestine, that is to say, "close settlement by Jews on the land" was thereafter arbitrarily restricted to the area west of the River Jordan, or to about 20 per cent of the original area of Mandated Palestine. In simple terms, that meant that the Jewish national home was to be established thenceforth in an area which was no more than a tiny fraction—less than one fifth of 1 per cent—of the total area of the 21 Arab States.

43. Until 1946, as I have already mentioned, Transjordan remained an integral part of Mandated Palestine. In that year, the Kingdom of Transjordan was established. The Arabs of Palestine thus achieved their statehood as early as 1946, on 80 per cent of the territory of Mandated Palestine. In this way, they preceded by two years the establishment of an independent Jewish State in Palestine. When mentioning the name of that independent Arab State, it is significant that its monarch had to be dissuaded from calling it the Kingdom of Palestine.

44. In February 1947, nine months after the establishment of that Arab State in Palestine, the question of what remained of Mandated Palestine was brought before the United Nations. In an attempt to resolve the claims of the Jewish and Arab communities living in what can only be called the rump of Mandated Palestine, the General Assembly adopted resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947. That resolution recommended a further truncation of the area west of the River Jordan. In its desire to achieve a peaceful solution, the Jewish people expressed its readiness to make this concession and to reconcile itself to the painful sacrifice involved, despite the fact that the projected Jewish State would have extended over only one eighth of the Palestine Mandate originally designated for a Jewish national home. That acceptance, however, was contingent on reciprocity, that is on a similar acceptance also by the Arab side.

45. No such readiness was forthcoming from the Arab side. The Arabs in Palestine, and all the States members of the League of Arab States, categorically rejected resolution 181 (II). Here, at the United Nations, the Arab States formally announced on the record at the 128th plenary meeting of the General Assembly, held on 29 November 1947, that they reserved to themselves complete freedom of action, and they then set out to thwart the resolution of the General Assembly by the illegal use of force, from the moment of its adoption. Thus, at a meeting of the Premiers and Foreign

³ *Book of Documents submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations relating to the establishment of the national home for the Jewish people* (New York, The Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1947), p. 16.

⁴ Done in London on 24 July 1922. For the text, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Session, Supplement No. 11, vol. II, annex 20*.

Ministers of the League of Arab States, held at Cairo between 8 and 17 December 1947, it was decided that the Arabs were determined to enter battle against the United Nations decision and to take decisive measures to prevent the implementation of the General Assembly's resolution.

46. The acts of violence perpetrated in Palestine with the active assistance of the neighbouring Arab States reached such proportions that, on 16 February 1948, the United Nations Palestine Commission, in its first special report to the Security Council, bluntly notified the Council that

“Powerful Arab interests, both inside and outside Palestine, are defying the resolution of the General Assembly and are engaged in a deliberate effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged therein.”⁵

47. Similarly, in its report dated 10 April 1948 to the General Assembly at its second special session, the same Commission advised the Assembly that

“Arab opposition to the Plan of the Assembly has taken the form of organized efforts by strong Arab elements, both inside and outside of Palestine, to prevent its implementation and to thwart its objectives by threats and acts of violence, including repeated armed incursions into Palestinian territory.”⁶

48. With the termination of the Mandate over Palestine on 14 May 1948, the armies of seven Arab States illegally crossed the international boundaries, in clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations. The Arab Governments which dispatched them had the effrontery to make formal announcements of their illegal action to the Security Council. Their armed aggression was aimed at crushing the newly-established State of Israel.

49. Arab violence against the fledgling State of Israel persisted throughout 1948. While this aggression was successful in destroying General Assembly resolution 181 (II), it failed in its other avowed purpose, namely that of crushing the Jewish State. The fact that the Arab States failed in their armed aggression aimed at destroying Israel does not legitimize their violation of international law. At the same time, that armed aggression precludes them from invoking in any form the benefits of a General Assembly resolution which they both rejected and destroyed by force of arms.

50. When, in a letter dated 20 May 1948 addressed to the Security Council,⁷ Transjordan sought to evade a discussion of the illegal military intervention of its army beyond its borders, the representative of the United States stated that the position of the King of Transjordan was characterized

“by a certain contumacy towards the United Nations and the Security Council. He has sent us an answer to our questions. These were questions addressed to him, as a ruler who is occupying land outside his

domain, by the Security Council, a body which is organized in the world to ask these questions of him. ...

“... ”

“The contumacy of that reply to the Security Council is the very best evidence of the illegal purpose of this Government in invading Palestine with armed forces and conducting the war which it is waging there. It is against the peace; it is not on behalf of the peace. It is an invasion with a definite purpose.

“... ”

“Therefore, here we have the highest type of evidence of the international violation of the law: the admission by those who are committing this violation.”⁸

51. That view was also supported by the majority of the members of the Security Council. The representative of the Soviet Union, for example, expressed surprise

“at the position adopted by the Arab States in the Palestine question, and particularly at the fact that those States—or some of them, at least—have resorted to such action as sending their troops into Palestine and carrying out military operations aimed at the suppression of the national liberation movement in Palestine.”⁹

May I remind representatives that the Soviet representative who spoke those words was the present Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko, and that the national liberation movement to which he referred was the Zionist movement, the national liberation movement of the Jewish people.

52. Notwithstanding the progressive realization of the national rights of the Arabs, the Arab States were and have been unable to reconcile themselves to the existence of one sovereign Jewish State in the Middle East. They begrudged and still begrudge its very presence on a minuscule sliver of land associated with the Jewish people throughout the millennia and recognized also by the international community as the national home for the Jewish people.

53. Everything that we have witnessed in the Middle East since 1947 flows from this fundamental fact: the unwillingness of Arab Governments to accept, and coexist with, a sovereign Jewish State. That is the core of the Arab-Israel conflict, and everything else is pretext or subterfuge. That is the reason why the Arab States have launched four major wars against Israel with the express purpose of destroying it, and that is the reason why they have developed a ramified series of battlefronts and a variety of weapons against Israel.

54. Those weapons have involved, for example, an economic boycott against Israel, which has been extended into a secondary boycott on third parties trading with Israel. As is well known, various countries have been blackmailed into joining this campaign against

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year, Special Supplement No. 2*, document S/676 (para. 3(c) of document A/AC.21/9 annexed thereto).

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Special Session, Supplement No. 1*, document A/532 and Add.1, sect. III, B.

⁷ See document S/760.

⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year, No. 72*, 302nd meeting.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 71, 299th meeting.

Israel. A propaganda war of major proportions, using the techniques developed by Goebbels and his gang, has been directed for years against Israel. Children in Arab schools have been exposed to hate literature reminiscent of the Nazi gutter press. The culture and heritage of the Jewish people have been vilified. Not even the Bible, that great gift of the Jewish people to humanity, has been spared. And the United Nations has been seized upon, in all its various organs and agencies, as an instrument readily at the disposal of the Arab States in their relentless political warfare against Israel.

55. Within this very context, but with even uglier intent, the Arab States also created the terrorist organization which came to be known as the PLO. That murder organization was founded in 1964—that is, three years before the six-day war of 1967, at a time when Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza District were under Jordanian and Egyptian occupation respectively. In other words, it is evident that the PLO was created by the Arab States merely as another weapon in their serried arsenal for the destruction of Israel, even within the 1949 armistice lines.

56. The PLO's operative in Saudi Arabia, Rafiq Natshe, confirmed this just two weeks ago, on 13 November 1979, in the Saudi newspaper *Al-Riad*, when he explained that

“The Palestinian revolution was born in 1965 from a strategic concept of liberating all Palestine, and the revolution will not change this, whatever the pressures put on it. The best solution is for the Palestinians to return to their homeland and the Jewish foreigner to the country of his birth... Any Palestinian entity to be established on any part of the Palestinian territories will be a starting point for the liberation of the Palestinian territories in all of Palestine.”

57. One has not had to wait for such fortuitous reaffirmations of faith as this. The PLO's so-called Covenant is permeated with the criminal concept of the elimination of the State of Israel. That document was originally written in 1964 and subsequently amended in 1968. It has been reaffirmed since, year after year, by all the central institutions of the terrorist PLO, the last time being as recently as August of this year, when its so-called Central Committee met in Damascus.

58. None the less, when Yassir Arafat, the head of that murder organization, was interviewed on the ABC [*American Broadcasting Company*] television programme “Issues and Answers”, on 10 September 1979, he pretended that he had forgotten what was written in his organization's Covenant. In reply to the question “Will the PLO ever disavow its stated objective of destroying the State of Israel?”, Arafat retorted with mock naïveté: “Where did you ever read such a thing? I do not remember such a thing written in our documents...”

59. Yassir Arafat seems to have a highly selective memory. Be that as it may, members of this Assembly will be aware that almost every article in the PLO's Covenant¹⁰ calls for or implies the dissolution of the

State of Israel. Article 19 of the document in question declares that the establishment of the State of Israel is fundamentally null and void, whatever time has elapsed. Article 20 goes on to assert that the claim of historical or spiritual ties between Jews and Palestine does not tally with historical realities. In other words, with the stroke of a pen, the PLO has sought to deny more than 3,000 years of Jewish and world history. Article 15 grotesquely sets out the purging of the Zionist presence from Palestine as a national duty.

60. These are not abstract declarations but operational principles. Most specifically, articles 9 and 10 of the Covenant declare that armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine, and that fedayeen action—the PLO euphemism for indiscriminate terror—forms the nucleus of the popular Palestinian war of liberation.

61. The PLO has not hesitated to translate words into deeds. Attempts at mass murder of innocent men, women and children in Israel and throughout the world have characterized the PLO and its activities since its creation in 1964. Indeed, in the course of the 15 years since then, it has attempted thousands of individual acts of terror. Over 1,000 men, women and children—not only Jews but also Arabs and others—have been murdered, and more than 5,000 people have been maimed and wounded.

62. These grim statistics do not reflect the agony of each man, woman and child murdered or maimed by the PLO. Their gangs have cut down pregnant women in cold blood, have shot Olympic athletes bound hand and foot, slaughtered peaceful pilgrims and tourists. They have specialized in holding defenceless children hostage in their schools, and have brutally blown them up in their school buses. The PLO has planted bombs in crowded market-places and teeming public squares and has caused death and injury to innocent passers-by. The common denominator in all these atrocities is that the PLO, in its cowardly way, chooses only to attack civilian targets, with the aim of mass murder. And to cap it all, the PLO has openly boasted of its responsibility for virtually every one of these outrages.

63. As we all know, the PLO has had no inhibitions about violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of many States Members of the United Nations, and has shown little respect for the niceties of law, order and public security in those countries. Because of the active support it receives from certain Arab Governments, the PLO has become the linchpin of the “terrorist international” which is plaguing society throughout the world today. It services and supplies the needs of other terrorist groups in Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa, all of which, for example, train openly on PLO bases and plan and practise terrorist attacks without let or hindrance.

64. Civil aviation has been disrupted to the extent that every traveller today is thoroughly inconvenienced every time he passes through a major airport. International sports events, once a symbol of the fraternity of man meeting in friendly competition, have not been spared. The immunity of diplomats, once the very basis of international communication between nations, both friendly and in conflict, has been wilfully flouted with the seizure, taking hostage and even murder of diplomats and representatives from many countries.

¹⁰ Palestinian National Covenant, adopted by the First Palestinian Congress meeting at Jerusalem on 28 May 1964, and amended by the Palestine National Council at its fourth session, held at Cairo from 10 to 17 July 1968.

65. The grave threat to international security which is created in that way is further exacerbated by the encouragement which the PLO derives from the attitudes favourable to them here at the United Nations, in violation of the United Nations Charter and of the rules of procedure of the various organs.

66. Until 1967, the problem of the Palestinian Arabs had been viewed by all as a refugee problem, as it essentially was and is. Before 1967, Israel did not control Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza District. Yet there was no demand then for the establishment of a so-called "Palestinian State" in those areas. The explanation for that is very simple: the entire world knew that the Kingdom of Jordan—on the territory of 80 per cent of the Palestine mandate—is the Palestinian Arab State, just as the State of Israel is the Palestinian Jewish State. The entire world also knew that the vast majority of Palestinian Arabs are Jordanian citizens and that the majority of Jordanian citizens are Palestinians.

67. These basic facts also explain, for example, why the Security Council, in adopting resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which lays down the guidelines for peace in the Middle East, makes no reference to an allegedly homeless Palestinian Arab people. That is surely significant, particularly when one bears in mind that that resolution was adopted unanimously. Members of the Council did not know in 1967 of the existence of a "homeless" Palestinian Arab people. Instead, the Council's resolution, reflecting accurately the realities of the situation, spoke of the necessity for "achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem".

68. However, from that point on, Arab strategists appreciated that, given the general political climate which had developed in the world by the late 1960s, they stood to gain more by promoting the alleged existence of a second Palestinian Arab people, entitled to a second Arab State in the area of the former Palestine Mandate. The advantages of that tactical sleight-of-hand were obvious. It would enable the Arab States to claim that there was still a Palestinian Arab people deprived of the rights to self-determination and independence and the implementation of those claims would clearly be at the expense of Israel.

69. Leading spokesmen of the PLO admit that that bogus thesis was invented to work towards the destruction of the State of Israel. For instance, Zuhair Muhsin, until his death earlier this year the head of the PLO's so-called "military department", was quoted in the Dutch daily newspaper *Trouw* on 31 March 1977:

"There are no differences between Jordanians, Palestinians, Syrians and Lebanese...We are one people.

"It is only for political reasons that we carefully stress our Palestinian identity, for it is in the national interest of the Arabs to encourage a separate Palestinian identity to counter Zionism. Yes, the existence of a separate Palestinian identity serves only tactical purposes.

"The founding of a Palestinian State is a new tool in the continuing battle against Israel and for Arab unity.

"Jordan is a State with defined borders. It cannot claim Haifa or Jaffa, whereas I have a right to Haifa, Jaffa, Jerusalem and Beersheba. After we have attained all our rights in the whole of Palestine, we must not postpone, even for a single moment, the reunification of Jordan and Palestine."

The meaning could not be clearer. The assertion of a second Palestinian Arab identity is merely one more subterfuge designed to bring about the destruction of the State of Israel.

70. The Arab States, which continue to oppose both Israel's existence and its right to exist, have been exploiting every international forum available to them. In recent years, they have had no difficulty in pushing through the General Assembly and every international organization available to them, political or otherwise, a series of resolutions purporting to accord to Palestinian Arabs for a second time the national rights which, as I explained earlier, have for all practical purposes been realized through the establishment of Jordan on almost 80 per cent of the territory of what was historical and Mandated Palestine.

71. Their purpose has been twofold. They have set out to delegitimize the State of Israel and that, for example, was the aim of the nefarious resolution pushed through this Assembly describing Zionism, the national liberation movement of the Jewish people, as a form of racism. In parallel, they have sought to legitimize the second set of national rights which they claim for the Palestinian Arabs, ostensibly under the leadership of the terrorist group which those same Arab States created as a weapon to destroy Israel.

72. It was in conformity with that strategy that they took advantage of the numerical majority at their disposal in this Organization to set up the so-called "Palestine Committee" in 1975. That Committee is made up of 23 members, 19 of which do not have diplomatic relations with Israel and, not by coincidence, many of which even deny Israel's right to exist to this very day.

73. The Arab strategists, not content with having abused the General Assembly, have then proceeded systematically to subvert every organ and body of this Organization for their destructive purposes. In the wake of the Palestine Committee, they even established a so-called Special Unit on Palestinian Rights within the Secretariat itself, thus compromising the Secretariat's integrity and misappropriating international funds as part of their design. Under the close guidance of the Palestine Committee, that Unit has over the last 12 months produced a series of pseudo-scientific studies bearing the emblem of the United Nations, which are replete with distortions and conscious falsifications of well-known historical facts.

74. From the outset, the Palestine Committee has been a pliant tool in the hands of the PLO, and hence it comes as no surprise that its recommendations, first formulated in 1976, are nothing but a prescription for the dismantlement of Israel in stages.

75. This approach is in conformity with the tactics which the PLO worked out for itself some years ago. Once again, one must refer to the historical record. In

1974, the PLO's so-called National Council, meeting at Cairo, adopted a 10-point platform¹¹ which incorporated a phased political programme for the eventual take-over of the entire territory of the former Palestine Mandate on both sides—let me stress—on both sides of the River Jordan. This programme is sometimes described by PLO spokesmen as a two-stage or three-stage policy. In essence, it aims in its first stage at the establishment of a second Palestinian Arab State anywhere in the territories administered by Israel since 1967. The second stage of the policy is to use this proposed State as a launching pad for the ultimate overthrow of Israel.

76. This programme was described with complete candour by Farouk Qaddoumi, one of Yassir Arafat's henchmen, in the 14 March 1977 issue of *Newsweek* magazine. He said:

“There are two [initial] phases to our return: the first phase to the 1967 lines, and the second to the 1948 lines. The third stage is the democratic State of Palestine. So we are fighting for these three stages.”

Asked if the PLO has become more moderate, Qaddoumi replied:

“By moderation we mean we are ready...to establish a State on a part of our territory. In the past we said no, on all of it, immediately, a democratic State of Palestine. Now we say, no, this can be implemented in three stages. That is moderation.”

This is the harsh truth, notwithstanding the wishful thinking and illusions of certain international figures in Europe and elsewhere.

77. The brutal fact is, and remains, that the PLO's real aim and character, as an instrument in the hands of the Arab rejectionist States, are proven day by day by its criminal acts of terror and barbarism against the citizens of Israel and against its representatives abroad. The Government of Israel, as a responsible, self-respecting Government, cannot take a superficial or simplistic view of the evidence readily available to all of us.

78. In the light of all that I have said, let me try to define the true nature and scope of the problem today. For this we have to return again to 1947. Immediately after the adoption of General Assembly resolution 181 (II), the Arabs resorted to the illegal use of force, with a view to destroying that resolution. Subsequently, the armies of seven Arab States marched against the fledgling State of Israel on the day it was established, 14 May 1948.

79. As a result of those acts of aggression in 1948, the Arab States created two refugee problems—not just one, as is commonly supposed.

80. By the time Arab aggression against Israel was successfully thwarted in 1949, some 600,000 Palestinian Arabs had become refugees and found themselves in areas, including Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza District,

controlled by Arab Governments. Instead of absorbing and integrating their Palestinian brethren, who speak the same language, share the same cultural, historical and religious heritage and frequently even have family relations in the Arab host countries, those countries forced them to remain in camps and exploited them callously as a political weapon against Israel.

81. The thousands of Jews who lived in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza District until 1948 could not resist for long the invading Arab armies. Those of them who had survived the invasion and prison camps sought and found refuge in the State of Israel.

82. A much larger problem of Jewish refugees was caused by Arab hostility towards the ancient Jewish communities in Arab lands. Those Jews, who at the time numbered nearly 1 million, had for centuries been treated as second-class citizens, subject to various forms of discrimination and persecution. Even before the defeat of the Arab armies in 1948-1949, they fell victim to violence and further persecution at the hands of Arabs thirsting for revenge. Many of them were murdered; others were thrown into prison and tortured; hundreds of thousands were forced to flee, leaving behind considerable property and material assets. Homes and businesses were looted; bank accounts were frozen; communal property and priceless cultural assets were expropriated by Arab Governments. Thus, 3,000 years of organized Jewish life throughout the Middle East and North Africa came to an end.

83. From 1948 to the present day, more than 800,000 Jews have been forced to leave Arab countries. About 650,000 of them have come to Israel, in most cases with only the clothes on their backs. Hence, in effect, a *de facto* exchange of populations has taken place between Arab States and Israel, triggered off by Arab aggression in 1947-1948.

84. Little is heard about these Jewish refugees because they did not remain refugees for long. They found shelter, new lives and dignity in Israel. They integrated themselves into Israel's society. Today Jews from Arab lands and from other Moslem countries, as well as their offspring born in Israel, form the majority of the Jewish population of Israel.

85. On the other hand, the world continues to hear much clamour about the Arab refugees who are still at the centre of the Palestinian problem as we know it today. But when one takes a closer look at that group of refugees, it can readily be seen that it is not a problem of major dimensions. According to United Nations figures, there have been anything between 60 million and 100 million refugees and displaced persons since the end of the Second World War. Even if one accepts the more conservative figures, the Arab refugees in 1948 constituted no more than 1 per cent of the total. The vast majority of the other refugee problems in the world, including that of the Jewish refugees, have been solved by the absorption of the refugees into their new countries or places of residence and their rehabilitation. To be sure, this has already been done as regards most of the Arab refugees and their offspring, at least two thirds of whom continue to live in the territory of the former Palestine Mandate and are nationals of Jordan, the Palestinian Arab State created on the bulk of that territory.

¹¹ The transitional programme of the Palestine Liberation Organization, adopted at the twelfth session of the Palestine National Council, held at Cairo from 1 to 8 June 1974.

86. To sum up, two communities came into conflict on the territory of the former Palestine Mandate and as a consequence of that conflict the territory of the Mandate was, in effect, partitioned. The State of the Palestinian Arabs was established on close to 80 per cent of the territory originally intended as the Jewish national home, while the Palestinian Jews founded their State, Israel, on less than 20 per cent of the area of the former Mandate. This development was also accompanied by a *de facto* exchange of populations. A large number of Arabs, who had been resident in that part of Palestine that became Israel, left their homes and settled in the neighbouring Arab States, predominantly in the Palestinian Arab State of Jordan. An even greater number of Jews, who had been resident in the Arab States, left their countries of origin and made their way almost without exception to Israel, the Palestinian Jewish State.

87. If we put aside the political sloganeering, the propaganda and the deliberate exaggerations, the question facing us today takes on quite a different aspect. Stripped of all its artificial encumbrances, the problem can be seen to be of manageable proportions. The only practical solution to date has been outlined in the Camp David Framework for Peace in the Middle East.¹² That Framework is squarely based on Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which remains to this day the only agreed basis for peace negotiations in the Middle East.

88. The Camp David Framework sees the solution of the question of the Palestinian Arab residents of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza District in terms of granting them full autonomy for a transitional period of five years before reaching an agreement on the final status of the areas concerned. To that end, it was agreed to negotiate on a principle of self-government—to be exercised through an administrative council—for the Arab inhabitants of the areas in question.

89. Moreover, in that Framework, the Palestinian Arab residents of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza District are invited to play an active role in shaping their future by participating in all aspects of the negotiations. They have been invited to participate not only in current negotiations to set up a self-governing administrative council, but also in the negotiations which will determine the final status of the areas they live in and in the eventual negotiations on a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, in which the delimitation of boundaries between the two countries will be agreed.

90. The Camp David Framework also envisages a withdrawal of the Israel military government and its civilian administration, to be followed by a redeployment of the remaining Israeli forces into specified security locations.

91. This solution provided for in the Camp David Framework offers the Palestinian Arabs concerned greater opportunities than they have ever before experienced in their history. It offers them the prospect of governing themselves, of prosperity and of peaceful coexistence alongside their neighbours. It offers them a secure future, free from terror.

92. One of the tragedies of the Palestinian Arabs has been that for over 50 years they have been dominated by an extremist leadership. Starting with the notorious Mufti of Jerusalem, who was wanted by the Allies as a war criminal for his complicity in the Nazi genocide of European Jewry, that leadership had no compunction about terrorizing and assassinating its political rivals. It was totally lacking in political realism and obstinately opposed to compromise. It led those whom it claimed to represent from one disaster to another. The direct heir to that political legacy is the terrorist PLO. That organization has also waged a steady campaign of intimidation and assassination against Palestinian Arabs in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza District willing to coexist peacefully with Israel.

93. After President El-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977, the so-called Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, one of the terrorist groups under the PLO umbrella, swore to assassinate any Palestinian Arab who accepted President El-Sadat's invitation to the Cairo Conference in December of that year. The PLO made good its threat. Its news agency announced on 26 December 1977 that orders had been issued "to liquidate a number of agents" and boasted that it had killed Hamdi Kadi, who was in charge of education in Ramallah. The same day, the PLO observer at the United Nations publicly justified the murder, telling NBC [*National Broadcasting Corporation*] News:

"The collaborators with the forces of occupation are executed. They are not assassinated. So this man must have been executed because of his collaboration with the forces of occupation."

Asked by the disbelieving NBC interviewer whether he actually condoned what had been done, he replied: "Those who collaborate with the enemy should be executed, yes."

94. In its desperate attempt to sabotage the ongoing peace process, the PLO has maintained and escalated its campaign of intimidation. Among the Palestinian Arabs who were assassinated last year was Abd Al-Nur Janho, a Christian Arab merchant in Ramallah who rejected the PLO because, in his words: "We must live together. Hatred helps no one." This summer the PLO assassinated the Imam of Gaza, a prominent religious leader who was prepared to work for peace. In parallel, the PLO has stepped up its anti-peace campaign, taking advantage, for example, of the academic freedom prevailing in the universities established by Israel in the areas concerned, as well as exploiting the democratic institutions also encouraged by the Israeli administration.

95. The PLO has always been and remains a willing tool in the hands of those Arab States opposed to peaceful coexistence with Israel and to the peace process in the Middle East in general. It is dependent on the rejectionist Arab States and their supporters outside the Middle East region for its funding, supplies and intelligence, and indeed for its very existence. But, despite the persistent and ramified efforts of the rejectionist front, the current negotiations will continue, and we are confident that they will reach a successful conclusion, thus carrying us another step further towards the achievement of an over-all peace in the entire region.

96. The peoples of the Middle East have had enough of war. In the Camp David Framework we have taken a

¹² A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

major step towards peace, and we owe it to our children and our children's children to achieve that end.

97. Mr. SAHLOUL (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): During the past few years, our world has witnessed several important developments in the liquidation of colonialism and the promotion of the right to self-determination for a number of peoples that have been under the yoke of colonialism and foreign domination for many centuries. A number of countries have acceded to independence as the result of these events and they have come to swell the ranks of the United Nations. The number of States occupying their rightful places in this hall has now risen to 152. This confirms the international community's conviction that it would be contrary to reason and logic if international economic and political relations were not henceforth placed on a new basis of justice and equity. However, there are several regions in the world that still remain under the influence of the old concepts that characterized the age of colonialism, exploitation, domination and denial of the right of peoples to self-determination and the exercise of their inalienable rights to independence, and to total control over their own resources and wealth.

98. Such situations still persist in certain parts of the world, particularly in the Middle East; where the Palestinian people have been subjected to the most odious forms of persecution and expulsion for the past 30 years. This has happened since the end of the Second World War and since the establishment of the United Nations as the practical expression of the will of the international community to put an end to wars, to establish international peace and security, to liquidate colonialism and to create a new world where political and social justice would reign, a world united by ties of co-operation and integration and governed by international laws and covenants which would put an end to the law of the jungle which prevailed during the eras of colonialism and subjugation, and would establish a civilized world governed by the United Nations Charter.

99. However, the tragedy of the Palestinian people, their deportation and expulsion, began after the Second World War and after the establishment of the United Nations. This tragedy has had unprecedented ramifications, ultimately encompassing the whole Middle East and provoking four wars waged by the Zionist State against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples for the purpose of forcibly expelling the Palestinian people from their ancestral land and acquiring additional Arab territories in order to settle there Jews who have come in successive waves from the Diaspora, with the encouragement and support of that racist movement which makes the Middle East a hotbed of tension and conflict, opens the door wide to great-Power rivalries and subjects the destiny of the people of the region to the fluctuations of the conflicts brought about by those rivalries. This has affected the tragedy of the Palestinian people, which has now graduated to the stage of international politics, acquiring greater dimensions and becoming more complicated, so that the parties involved have increased in number. World Zionism has exploited this set of circumstances and widened the scope of its designs. It has increased its efforts to encompass the whole of Palestine and other Arab territories whenever international circumstances were favourable. Despite the fact that the international com-

munity has begun to understand the dimensions of this tragedy and has asked that an end be put to it before the rest of the world becomes exposed to the danger of an international confrontation whose scope cannot be predicted, world Zionism, represented by Israel and by the racist movement that gives it support and assistance and has a strong hold on many influential circles of international politics, has deliberately tried to counter all international efforts aimed at bringing about the just and comprehensive solution which we all seek. It has kept the situation in a state of tension and instability in order to realize its long-term goals and purposes.

100. As long as the problem of the Palestinian people remains unsolved, the Middle East region will remain a hotbed of tension. That constitutes a threat to the international situation as a whole, given the strategic importance of that vital region.

Mr. Mavrommatis (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

101. This international forum has repeatedly affirmed the need to provide a just solution to the Palestinian problem through the application of resolutions adopted by this Assembly, the most important of which is resolution 3236 (XXIX), which, *inter alia*:

"1. *Reaffirms* the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including:

"(a) The right to self-determination without external interference;

"(b) The right to national independence and sovereignty;

"2. *Reaffirms also* the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted, and calls for their return;

"3. *Emphasizes* that full respect for the realization of these inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are indispensable for the solution of the question of Palestine;

"4. *Recognizes* that the Palestinian people is a principal party in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East;

"5. *Further recognizes* the right of the Palestinian people to regain its rights by all means in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

"6. *Appeals* to all States and international organizations to extend their support to the Palestinian people in its struggle to restore its rights, in accordance with the Charter;

"7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to establish contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization on all matters concerning the question of Palestine."

102. In spite of that resolution and of the other resolutions which preceded and followed it, and despite their clarity, Israel continues arrogantly to ignore and trample underfoot all the decisions of the international community. It continues to pursue its abject policies of

repression and expulsion of the Palestinian people, thus violating the most elementary human rights, including the right to self-determination and the right to live a dignified life in their land. Israel deprives the Palestinians of the right to express their own opinions. We have witnessed its recent decision to deport Mr. Bassam Shaka'a, the Mayor of Nablus, because he dared to voice his sympathy for the PLO. All this comes at a time when Israel and its allies claim to be the defenders of democracy and freedom in the Middle East region.

103. Despite the efforts of the international community through this international Organization to find a just solution to the Palestine question, Israel continues to defy the will of the international community by refusing to recognize the legitimate, inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. It pursues its policy of repressing and expelling the Palestinians who live in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza. It continues to establish Jewish settlements and to change the demographic and geographic character of the occupied territories in order to consolidate the permanent occupation of Palestine, in violation of all the rules of international law governing the status of occupied territories. The news reaching us daily from Tel Aviv indicates that Israel is continuing to establish settlements in the occupied territories and is taking numerous steps and measures with a view to the forcible and illegal expropriation of new Arab lands. Israel's real goals have become well known to all. Israel is seeking to impose its occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a fait accompli, emptying those occupied territories of their remaining Palestinian inhabitants and completing the expulsion of the Palestinian people who have suffered more than any other people over the past 30 years as a result of the occupation of their homeland.

104. Israel's occupation of Arab territories by force and its attempts to give that occupation the stamp of legality and to annex even more territories in southern Lebanon, in application of an aggressive and expansionist policy, give an inkling of the danger of a conflagration in the region. Today, Israel is the only State in the world whose borders are not known, for they are liable to be determined by the plans of the world-wide Zionist movement using the influence it has in international political circles and resorting to lies in order to deceive world public opinion. That is possible thanks to the virtually total control which that movement exerts over the mass media throughout the world, and especially in the developed countries. In pursuing its policy of expansionism and aggression, Israel is counting first and foremost on the limitless and unconditional military and material support which it receives and which enables it to exercise its hegemony over the Middle East. Indeed, this unlimited aid goes well beyond the military sphere and includes political, economic, diplomatic and other aid as well.

105. There is no doubt that the general will expressed by the international community concerning the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, thus eliminating one of the most dangerous areas of tension in the world, will remain a mirage and an unattainable dream as long as we do not put an end to the unlimited aid that Israel is receiving. All the parties concerned must also be able to confront this explosive situation by asserting their national interests and those of the people of the region rather than championing the interests of world Zionism whose ambitions know no

limits. In spite of the injustices suffered by the Arab nation in general, and the Palestinian people in particular, because of the Balfour Declaration, the implanting of Zionists in Palestine and the four wars waged by the Zionist State against the Palestinian people and the neighbouring Arab States, the Arab world has on a number of occasions expressed its desire to achieve a just and comprehensive solution of the problem, which has almost become a chronic problem in the Middle East region, and to make possible the fulfilment of the aspirations of the peoples of the region to live in stability, progress and dignity.

106. In 1974, the Peace Conference on the Middle East, convened at Geneva, was a logical step in the right direction, but the obstinacy of Israel, due to its ambitions, and subsequent events, prevented the use of that approach for the solution of the problem. The situation deteriorated and a dangerous situation was created in Lebanon. Thus, the Lebanese people joined the Palestinian people in their suffering. This situation will continue unless the international community succeeds in applying normal, practical and effective measures to establish a just and comprehensive peace in the region.

107. In this connexion, we wish to invite all the States members of the non-aligned movement to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We mean thereby those countries which have not yet announced their recognition of the PLO, in spite of the various declarations on this subject emanating from the meetings and conferences of the non-aligned countries. We also wish to invite the members of the European Community to allow the positive trends that have emerged recently in their attitudes towards the Palestinian question to culminate in the recognition of the PLO, in conformity with the noble position stated by Chancellor Kreisky of Austria. Recognition by Western European countries would be important and valuable because it would emphasize the isolation of Israel in the world and contribute to a comprehensive and just solution of the Palestinian problem by establishing a sound basis for stability in the Middle East. In this connexion, we wish to mention the Final Declaration of the Tenth Arab Summit Conference, held at Tunis last week [A/34/763, annex]. That Declaration referred to co-operation with European countries with a view to strengthening common Arab and European interests and ensuring that the position of the European countries would evolve and no longer show a distinction between the economic interests and the political attitudes of the countries of that group as regards the just Arab cause, of which the Palestinian question is the core.

108. The position of Sudan on the Palestinian question is based on the following considerations: first, the question of Palestine is the very substance of the Middle Eastern conflict; secondly, any solution to that problem must take this aspect into consideration and the Palestinian people must participate in the solution; thirdly, it is necessary to guarantee the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish their independent State on their own land; fourthly, the PLO must be recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; fifthly—in this connexion, Sudan subscribes to the decisions of the various Arab Summit Conferences—we shall give our support and assistance to the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

109. These are the minimum considerations on which the efforts to achieve a global and just peace in the Middle East must be based in order that the Palestinian people may realize their legitimate national aspirations, in particular their right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State in Palestine. The international community must confirm this in an unequivocal fashion and must specify the practical framework for the implementation of the numerous resolutions adopted on the Palestinian question, thereby putting an end to the tragedy of the Palestinian people, who have already suffered enough.

110. In conclusion, I should like to express our appreciation of the constructive efforts of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People as described in its report [A/34/35 and Corr.1]. We should also like to express our appreciation to its Chairman, Mr. Fall, particularly for the important role he played in the strengthening of this Committee which was confronting, since its inception, the obstacles created by those who oppose the reaffirmation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. We regret that Mr. Fall is leaving his post in order to assume other important responsibilities. We wish him every success in his new tasks, wherever he may be. We wish to seize this opportunity to say how much importance we attribute to support for this Committee, including the information and communications media related to its activities, in order that it might carry out its task and intensify its activities in accordance with the decisions of the General Assembly. The delegation of Sudan will co-operate with all the other delegations that will be working to that end.

111. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Our debate on the question of Palestine comes at a time when intensive preparations are going on throughout the world to celebrate on 29 November the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. That event is a brilliant illustration of the great interest and firm support given by the international community to the cause of self-determination and national independence for the Palestinian people.

112. Our debate comes at a time when the struggle of the Palestinian people has reached a crucial stage. Under the aegis of the PLO, its sole authentic representative, the Palestinian people has been waging an uninterrupted and most tenacious struggle for the past 30 years, side by side with the other Arab peoples, against the occupation and expansionism of Israel, in order to regain its right to exist and recover the occupied territories. At the present time, no people in the world that loves peace and justice can fail to follow with particular sympathy and great admiration the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people, or to give its unreserved support to that just cause. Indeed, how could the conscience of progressive mankind fail to be shocked by the tragedy of that oppressed people, banished from its homeland for more than 30 years, yet carrying on a relentless struggle for its inalienable right to self-determination and national independence.

113. The question of Palestine is one of the principal problems facing both the United Nations and the non-aligned movement. Yet, notwithstanding the large number of declarations and resolutions adopted by this body, as well as by the countries of the non-aligned movement, the question has still not been resolved.

114. For many years, during each debate on the question of Palestine, all speakers have clearly indicated the cause and the origin, all have noted that the question of Palestine is at the heart of the problem of the Middle East, that the Middle East is a region of special importance, where world peace may be threatened, and that for real peace to be established in the Middle East the Palestine problem must first be solved. Any solution of the problem of Palestine requires the elimination of all the causes and sources of war in the Middle East, that is to say, a halt to aggression and expansionism by Israel. The restoration of lasting peace in the Middle East requires the elimination of any danger created by that aggression, the restoration of the fundamental national rights of the Palestinian people, the guaranteeing of the right of the Palestinian people to return to their lands and the establishment of a Palestinian State, with recovery of sovereignty over its territories that have been illegally occupied by Israel. Any solution of the problem of the Middle East and of Palestine requires the participation of the PLO on a footing of equality, since it is the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people.

115. My delegation would like to stress the two following aspects of the problem.

116. First, to speak of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people means to speak of its right to self-determination, to national independence and to sovereignty. The right to self-determination of the Palestinian people can be realized only by Israel's withdrawal from the Palestinian territories that it has illegally occupied by force, contrary to the United Nations Charter and relevant resolutions, and a return to their lands of refugees and persons banished during or after the 1948 and 1967 hostilities.

117. To speak of the right to self-determination and national independence of the Palestinian people means to speak of its right to create a Palestinian State. This is an inalienable and sacred right. It is only through Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories and the creation of an independent Palestinian State that the Palestinian people will be able to exercise its right to self-determination and national independence.

118. In connexion with this question, the international community has adopted numerous resolutions demanding Israel's withdrawal from all the territories it has illegally occupied and recognition of the PLO—which at present has observer status at the United Nations—as the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people.

119. By the adoption of numerous resolutions, the movement of non-aligned countries has made manifest its firm support of the just cause of the Palestinian people and recognized the PLO as a full-fledged member. The resolutions of the movement of non-aligned countries have repeatedly condemned Israel's aggression and expansionism and called for its immediate and unconditional withdrawal from the illegally occupied territories. The Political Declaration of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana, clearly stipulates:

“The Conference denounced the Zionist and racist policy pursued by Israel, which is stubbornly con-

tinuing to ignore the decisions of the international community and maintaining its military occupation, engaging in terror and brutal oppression against the Palestinian people, thereby demonstrating its racist, expansionist, aggressive and discriminatory nature. That policy is a challenge to world opinion and a flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations and its resolutions and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." [A/34/542, annex, sect. I, para. 128.]

120. Secondly, after having suffered repeated defeats in the accomplishment of its plans, Israel, with the blessing of international imperialism, had recourse to so-called solutions of peace, which, in fact, are designed to destroy the struggle of the Palestinian people and deny the representative nature of the PLO. It has concocted separate solutions designed to set Arabs against Arabs and against the Palestinian people and the PLO. Israel has signed the Camp David agreements and the separate treaty with Egypt, and has perpetrated hateful crimes against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, particularly after the conclusion of the Camp David agreements. The Political Declaration of the Sixth Conference, at Havana, clearly notes that:

"The Conference expressed its concern at the escalation of the barbaric attacks on southern Lebanon and the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, which have been increasing in scope since the Camp David Agreements and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty. This aggression, carried out by land, sea and air, is tantamount to genocide of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, with Israel using the most sophisticated weapons supplied by the United States of America, thereby sowing death and destruction, and causing the flight of hundreds of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians, including large numbers of women and children." [Ibid., para. 127.]

121. Israel has further intensified the application of its policy by seizing Palestinian lands in occupied territories, creating Zionist settlements and setting up new military posts, in addition to the annexation of Jerusalem and its transformation into a Jewish city. Recently, Israel shamelessly arrested the Mayor of Nablus and deported him to an unknown destination, thus arousing the wrath of the Palestinians as well as of other Arab peoples and of the international community.

122. The question of Palestine is a burning and urgent one. The international community must take firm and effective measures. Only a global solution, with the participation on the basis of equality of all the parties, including the PLO, and on the basis of respect for the fundamental national rights of the Palestinian people, can settle the problem of Palestine satisfactorily.

123. The people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have invariably and unreservedly supported the just cause of the Palestinian people to recover its rights to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty and to return to its land and to create an independent Palestinian State. We reaffirm our resolute support for the struggle of other Arab peoples for the recovery of the territories that have been illegally occupied since June 1967 by Israel and demand Israel's immediate and unconditional withdrawal from those territories.

124. We are certain that, firm in its perseverance and determination to fight, and enjoying the solid support of peoples and Governments which cherish peace and justice, as well as the support of all progressive forces throughout the world, the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative, will not fail to win the final victory.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.