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**President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR**  
(Federal Republic of Germany).

**AGENDA ITEM 36**

**Declaration of the 1980s as the  
Second Disarmament Decade**

**REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/35/664)**

**AGENDA ITEM 44**

**Review of the implementation of the recommendations  
and decisions adopted by the General Assembly at  
its tenth special session:**

**(c) Preparations for the second special session of the  
General Assembly devoted to disarmament**

**REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (PART I)**  
(A/35/665)

1. Mr. KENSMAIL (Suriname), Rapporteur of the First Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly today two reports on the work of the First Committee. The first report deals with agenda item 36 regarding the declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade [A/35/664]; the other deals with agenda item 44 (c) regarding the preparatory committee for the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament [A/35/665]. These reports are presented separately because of the need for an early decision by the Assembly to allow for further decision related to the organization of the work of the preparatory committee.

2. The agreed text of the declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade is contained in the annex to the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in its report. The declaration presented to the Assembly for adoption will provide a framework for disarmament activities during the decade. The text was adopted by the First Committee by consensus and therefore it embodies the common hopes and aspirations of the international community.

3. The second document contains part I of the First Committee's report on agenda item 44, and is related to the establishment of the preparatory committee for the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament in accordance with resolution 33/71 H, section III, of 14 December 1978, in which the Assembly decided to convene a second special session devoted to disarmament in 1982 and to set up a preparatory committee at its thirty-fifth session.

4. The draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 8 of its report was adopted by the Committee without a vote. Referring to operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution, I wish to recall that the figure of 78 Members is the result of extensive consultations among the different regional groups, convened by the Chairman of the First Committee. Such consultations proved to be necessary to accommodate the many countries desiring to participate in the work of the preparatory committee, while adequate thought had to be given to the consideration of keeping its size within manageable proportions. The geographical distribution of the seats agreed upon is as follows: group of African States, 19 seats; group of Asian States, 16 seats; group of Latin American States, 15 seats; group of Eastern European States, 10 seats; and group of Western European and other States, 18 seats. The consensus on the size of the preparatory committee was, furthermore, arrived at on the clear understanding that its work would be open to the participation of all interested delegations, but that the right of vote would be limited to the designated members.

5. It was also understood that, in keeping with the practice established by the Preparatory Committee for the First Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, no effort should be spared to reach decisions by consensus.

6. Furthermore, I wish to draw attention to operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution, in which the preparatory committee, once appointed by the President of the Assembly, would be requested to meet for a short organizational session before the end of the thirty-fifth session to set the dates for its substantive sessions. It is for this reason that the First Committee is presenting part I of its report on agenda item 44 today. Part II of the report, together with the other

reports of the First Committee, will be submitted to the Assembly at a later stage.

7. With regard to the recommendations of the First Committee concerning the establishment of a preparatory committee for the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, I wish to point out that the First Committee was aware of the existing limitations on the provision of summary records to subsidiary organs of the Assembly. However, it was felt that, in view of the importance of the preparatory work for the special session, an exception could be made in this particular case. The request for summary records contained in operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution is being made on the basis of those considerations.

8. On behalf of the First Committee, I wish to commend to the General Assembly for adoption the draft resolutions that I have just presented.

*Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the First Committee.*

9. The PRESIDENT: The positions of delegations regarding the various recommendations of the First Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant official records.

10. I would remind members that, under decision 34/401, the General Assembly agreed:

“When the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in plenary meeting, a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, i.e., either in the Committee or in plenary meeting unless that delegation’s vote in plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee.”

I would also remind members that, in accordance with this decision, explanations of vote should not exceed 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

11. We shall now consider the report of the First Committee on agenda item 36 [A/35/664].

12. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution in paragraph 9 of the report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/35/671. The Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts it?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/46).*

13. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 44 (c) [A/35/665].

14. I shall now call on the representative of Portugal, who wishes to speak in explanation of vote before the vote.

15. Mr. FUTSCHER PEREIRA (Portugal): I am speaking in my capacity as Chairman of the group of Western European and other States for the month of December, with a view to clarifying the position of that group in relation to the establishment of a preparatory committee for the second special session on disarmament.

16. It is well known that the group of Western European and other States unanimously held the view that the preparatory committee referred to should have been constituted as a committee of the whole of the General Assembly—a solution which would have been in perfect agreement with the conclusions reached at the first special session on disarmament, and specifically with paragraph 28 of the Final Document [resolution S-10/2].

17. Therefore the group of Western European and other States made it clear that, in its view, to limit the participation of Member States to a certain number would be acceptable only if it did not deprive any Member State interested in participating in the work of that Committee of the opportunity of doing so. However, in response to the persuasive efforts to find a compromise solution undertaken by the Chairman of the First Committee, Mr. Naik of Pakistan, with his unfailing competence and good will, the group of Western European and other States accepted the limitation of the preparatory committee’s membership to 78, 18 of which would be States members of that group. However, this has obliged a certain number of Western European States which wanted to participate in the deliberations of the committee to desist from seeking places on it. They have generously adopted this attitude in order to facilitate the establishment of the Committee. On behalf of those countries I should like to state that they have withdrawn their candidatures on the understanding that all decisions reached by the preparatory committee are to be taken by consensus. I must stress that the group as a whole supports this position and will continue its endeavours to ensure the application of the consensus rule in the preparatory committee itself.

18. The PRESIDENT: I now invite representatives to turn their attention to the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/35/672.

19. In connexion with the recommendation of the First Committee contained in operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution, to which the Rapporteur of that Committee has already referred, the Fifth Committee informs the Assembly in paragraph 5 of its report that the provision of summary records for the preparatory committee would require approval by the General Assembly of an explicit exception to resolution 35/10 B of 3 November 1980.

20. Assuming that the preparatory committee will be established, may I take it that the Assembly agrees to the reconsideration of the list of exceptions in resolution 35/10 B and decides to add to that list the preparatory committee for the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament?

*It was so decided (decision 35/417).*

21. The PRESIDENT: The draft resolution was adopted by the First Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/47).*

22. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 1 of the resolution just adopted, the Assembly decided to establish

a Preparatory Committee for the Second Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament composed of 78 Member States appointed by the President of the General Assembly on the basis of equitable geographical distribution.

23. On the basis of consultations held in the First Committee, I hereby appoint the following States to be members of the Preparatory Committee: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Belgium, Benin, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Ehtiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.

24. In this connexion, I have been informed that it was understood in the First Committee that any Member State would be entitled to participate in the work of the Preparatory Committee under the same conditions as those laid down for the Preparatory Committee for the First Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament.

#### AGENDA ITEM 24

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

25. Mr. NYAMDO (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Today the General Assembly is considering one of the most important items on its agenda, the question of Palestine, which is at the core of a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East conflict as a whole. The lack of a solution to this matter has caused concern among those to whom the guarantee of international peace and security is dear.

26. Great efforts have been made to resolve the Middle East crisis, which is a serious threat to universal peace and security, but the situation obtaining at present in that region remains explosive, both for the States of the region and as regards the international climate, which has deteriorated a great deal recently.

27. Our position of principle on the situation in the Middle East, and in particular on the question of Palestine, is based on the objective of eliminating the very roots of the conflict in that region. In the opinion of my delegation, the basic elements for a just settlement of the Middle East problem are: the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights, including its right to self-determination, national

independence and sovereignty and to establish its own independent State; and the assurance for all States of that region of secure and independent existence and development.

28. The Government and people of the Mongolian People's Republic, as in the past, are profoundly convinced that a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved in the absence of the basic elements I have just mentioned. Therefore we shall continue to insist that account be taken of those elements in resolving this highly complicated and acute problem of our time, which requires a fundamental and decisive approach.

29. In the light of all this, we rejected at the outset, and continue to reject, the attempt of Israel, Egypt and the United States to resolve the Middle East conflict by concluding a separate deal. The Camp David agreements<sup>1</sup> are contrary to the interests of the Arab people since they were concluded without the participation of all the parties concerned and since they are in conflict with United Nations decisions and resolutions on the Middle East problem.

30. The international community condemns the Camp David accords as capitulation to imperialism and zionism and as a betrayal of the interests of the Arab peoples. We share that evaluation, since these accords specifically aim to deal a blow to the Arab peoples and undermine their unity. Life has shown us that the separate deals are not only incapable of promoting a settlement of this matter but have created fresh obstacles to the attainment of genuine peace in the Middle East.

31. All the delegations that have spoken here have ultimately asked one specific question: why does Israel flout all relevant United Nations decisions and the opinion of the international community? The overwhelming majority of delegations are aware that Israel is relying on all-round assistance from the United States of America and its henchmen in pursuing its policy of refusing to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions. Furthermore, Israel is continuing to pursue a policy of expansion and aggression in respect of neighbouring Arab countries. This is borne out by its ever more widespread acts of aggression against Lebanon. The Government of my country decisively condemns these acts and supports the just demand of the international community that Israeli occupation forces be withdrawn from southern Lebanon.

32. A further manifestation of the annexationist policies of Israel vis-à-vis the occupied Arab territories was the decision of the Knesset to declare Jerusalem "the eternal and indivisible capital" of Israel. That criminal action by Israel is a gross violation of the norms of international law and United Nations resolutions that urge Tel Aviv to renounce measures affecting the character and status of the city of Jerusalem.

33. My delegation considers it necessary to emphasize once more that the participation of the Pales-

<sup>1</sup> A Framework for Peace in the Middle East Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

tine Liberation Organization [PLO], as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with other parties, in conformity with all relevant General Assembly resolutions, in all efforts, discussions and conferences concerning the Middle East conducted under the aegis of the United Nations is a prerequisite for a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict. We believe that like any other people the Palestinians have an inalienable right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty.

34. The Palestinian people enjoys great support from the countries of the socialist community, the non-aligned countries and all progressive forces throughout the world. It is particularly gratifying to note that with each day the international prestige of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people increases. The Mongolian people and Government once again express their solidarity with the Palestinian people, which is fighting for its freedom and independence.

35. Recently the General Assembly, at its seventh emergency special session, adopted resolution ES-7/2 calling upon Israel to withdraw completely and unconditionally from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem, and urging Israel to begin that withdrawal from all the occupied territories before 15 November 1980. That specific time-limit established by the resolution has now passed, yet Israel not only does not fulfil the provisions of that resolution but has been intensifying measures against the Arab people of Palestine and expanding its settlements on Arab soil.

36. My delegation firmly believes that only decisive action taken by the international community can force Israel to comply with the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

37. We consider that it is high time to adopt more decisive measures against Israel, including sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. In this connexion our delegation would like to refer to paragraph 13 of resolution ES-7/2, in which the General Assembly

*“Requests the Security Council, in the event of non-compliance by Israel with the present resolution, to convene in order to consider the situation and the adoption of effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.”*

38. Mr. KOH (Singapore): The question of Palestine is at the very heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict. I say this because the conflict began when the Mandated Territory of Palestine was partitioned and the State of Israel was created. Consequent upon these two events four wars have been fought between the Arabs and Israel. One may therefore suppose that if a solution were found to the Palestinian problem there would be peace in the Middle East.

39. The United Nations has in recent years adopted various resolutions recognizing the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty. My delegation has supported those resolutions. My delegation believes also that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) provides the best basis for a negotiated settlement of the conflict.

40. My delegation is of the view that a just solution to the question of Palestine must, at one and at the same time, vindicate the rights of the Palestinians and preserve the legitimate rights of the State of Israel. In that respect we would suggest the exchange of mutual and simultaneous recognition by Israel and by the PLO. In order to encourage Israel and the PLO to move in that direction, the international community should urge them to pursue a course of mutual accommodation and compromise. Those who continue to urge Israel not to have any dialogue with the PLO are not helping the process of mutual accommodation. On the other side, those Arab States which continue to deny the right of the State of Israel to exist and who threaten “to throw the Jews into the sea” are also not helping the cause of peace. I shall therefore end my very brief statement by appealing to both Israel and the PLO to recognize each other and to recognize each other's rights.

41. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): At the seventh emergency special session, held less than five months ago, the General Assembly confirmed once again that the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national independence and to return to their homeland constitutes the core of the Middle East crisis, and if it is not solved, the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the region cannot even be imagined. That unequivocal, and one could say dramatic, message was understood and endorsed by practically the whole international community. Another, equally clear message of the emergency special session is that only the PLO represents the Palestinian people and that a comprehensive and lasting settlement can be achieved only if the PLO participates, on equal terms, in all discussions and conferences on the question of Palestine.

42. Experience confirms every day that the question of Palestine is not merely and isolated problem of the inalienable right of a people to its independent national State, but an issue with global implications. What is in question is the very essence of the principles of self-determination, independence and free national and social development, which represent the foundation of contemporary international relations and constitute irreplaceable buttresses of peace and security in the world. Therefore, a solution can be found only within a comprehensive framework in which all those principles are consistently and fully implemented.

43. Any steps that either ignore the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to decide freely on its destiny or claim to take decisions in its name can only further exacerbate over-all relations in the Middle East. No policy, no matter where it is conceived, can lead to durable results unless it takes into account the fact that lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be based on the enslavement of the Palestinian people.

44. At both the emergency special session and during the general debate at the current session the need for an urgent settlement of this problem has been emphasized dramatically. Soon, the United Nations will have been dealing unsuccessfully with the question of Palestine for three and a half decades. The sacrifices made by the heroic Palestinian people warn us every day of the limited character of freedom in the world, as long as there is a lack of freedom

anywhere, and of the relative value of efforts to protect human and national rights in the world, as long as the flagrant violation of the rights of the Palestinian people is tolerated. Therefore, no one can eschew any longer his political responsibility and moral obligation to contribute to the realization of the right of the Palestinian people to its own State. What is actually involved is a danger that threatens peace in the region and beyond. In a situation characterized by ever-more-frequent recourse to the use of force, armed interventions and ever-more-sophisticated forms of interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States, and by the danger of "linking" existing and potential focal points of crisis into a chain of wider armed conflicts, there is no more urgent task for the Organization than to unite efforts with a view to settling the Middle East problem as soon as possible on the basis of the realization of the national rights of the Palestinian people. For that reason we attach great significance to this debate, as it is taking place at a moment when there has been an exceptional aggravation of the situation in the Middle East and in the world.

45. During the debate on the Middle East, we shall have the opportunity to deal with the gravity of this situation and its regional and global dimensions. Those dimensions are clearly borne out by the permanent aggression against the Palestinian people, the tribulations of Lebanon and the annexation of Jerusalem, which was condemned by the whole world.

46. The persistent Israeli policy of expansion, reliance on force, violation of the decisions of the world Organization and denial of the national and other rights of the Palestinian people constitute an obstacle to a political and peaceful settlement of the crisis. All the greater, therefore, is the regional and global responsibility both of Israel and of the countries that support it, directly and indirectly, in its intransigence. This unchanged situation calls for the undertaking, with a sense of urgency, of measures aimed at implementing the numerous resolutions of the United Nations and at compelling Israel to abide by their provisions.

47. The Palestinian people, whose aspiration to the recognition of its national rights is subjected to all kinds of pressure, misunderstanding and brute force, has not wavered for a single moment in its fight to achieve its own liberation and thus contribute to the security and free development of all the peoples and countries in the Middle East. Leading the people along that road, the PLO has asserted itself through its constructive participation in international life, particularly within the United Nations and the non-aligned movement. The Palestinian people provides us, in the contemporary era of the all-round emancipation of countries and nations, with the rare example of a people whose very right to existence is denied and which is, furthermore, subjected every day to expulsion from its homeland, to denationalization and to a modernized version of the arsenal of coercion known to us from the bygone days of colonization. The limited and short-sighted character of such a policy has been repeatedly confirmed by history.

48. It is high time to stop labouring under the illusion that the national liberation of the Palestinian people can be prevented by force or that anything

concrete and lasting can be achieved in the Middle East without co-operation with the Palestinian people and recognition of the PLO as the protagonist of that people's sovereignty and national identity and an equal participant in efforts to settle this problem.

49. The emergency special session on Palestine has clearly shown that with respect to this question there exists a consensus in the international community which cannot be long ignored without danger to all, and primarily to those who act in such a manner.

50. Yugoslavia's position regarding the settlement of the Middle East crisis as a whole, including, of course, the question of Palestine as its core, has been explained on several occasions in various United Nations forums. My country has maintained from the outset that the deep roots of the crisis can be removed only through building, between all the countries and peoples of the region, relations founded on the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and national independence and on the right of all countries to secure and free development.

51. Consequently, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty, including the right to establish its own independent and non-aligned State and to return to its homes, represents the cornerstone of a solution both of the Palestinian question and of the Middle East crisis. We again lay stress on the non-aligned character of that State, as the non-aligned countries have elaborated the broadest platform for a just settlement of the whole problem. Moreover, the non-aligned countries have been, from the beginning, the most consistent allies of the Palestinian people in their struggle for the attainment of their fundamental historical aspirations within the framework of the principles of the policy of non-alignment, whose very essence embodies the right of every people and every country to free development and participation on terms of equality in international life.

52. Furthermore, the PLO, as the bearer of the international legal personality of the Palestinian people, is already a fully-fledged member of the non-aligned movement and of its Co-ordinating Bureau. We are profoundly convinced that the policy of non-alignment provides the broadest and firmest support for the maintenance of independence and for participation in international relations on a footing of equality. For this reason we have consistently insisted that the basic condition for the settlement of the question of Palestine is the withdrawal of Israel from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem, the annexation of which not only is illegal, but constitutes an open act of aggression.

53. The report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [A/35/35] and, closely connected with it, the report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to paragraph 12 of resolution ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980 [A/35/618-S/14250], provide answers to the most important questions involved in the settlement of the Middle East crisis. We support the recommendations contained in the report of the Committee, and consider that this important body has once again accomplished its complex and responsible task successfully. Firstly, it has identified the most important components of



the solution for the achievement by the Palestinian people of their national rights; and, secondly, it has drawn up a list of concrete measures for their implementation. It is of the greatest importance in the present situation to implement concrete measures in accordance with these recommendations, bearing in mind that the gravity of the situation and the realities prevailing in the region call for urgent and effective action. Precisely for this reason we wish to emphasize once again that we should not for a single moment turn a blind eye to these realities, which are not at all encouraging. Any temptation "to fish in troubled waters" to the detriment of the struggle of the Palestinian people is fraught with the danger of unforeseeable consequences.

54. Yugoslavia, as a socialist and non-aligned country, has always supported the legitimate struggle of all peoples for freedom and independence. Yugoslavia itself emerged from a struggle for national liberation. It has constantly supported the aspiration of the Palestinian people to achieve national liberation and to establish its national State. We shall continue to lend such support because we are convinced that this is in the interest of all peoples and of world peace.

55. The President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Cvijetin Mijatovic, in a message on the occasion of the celebration of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, pledged his full support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people. He stated, among other things, the following:

"... We wish to reiterate, on this occasion also, our solidarity and conviction that the Palestinians will achieve their freedom and independence, a heritage enjoyed by the other peoples of the world.

"I wish to emphasize the firm belief of the Presidency and of the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that there can be no just and lasting peace in the Middle East as long as the question of Palestine is not solved in a comprehensive manner. That means that the Palestinian people should be enabled to achieve its basic national and human rights: the right to return to its homeland and to the land from which it was expelled and the right to self-determination, including the right to establish its own State.

"... the withdrawal of Israel from the territories occupied in the 1967 war is a basic pre-condition of the establishment of peace in the Middle East. At the same time, it is imperative that the inalienable national rights of the Palestinians should be fully achieved and that conditions should be created for the security and development of all the States and peoples in the region. All the parties to the conflict should take part in the search for such a solution, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We are glad to note that that framework, advocated by the non-aligned countries, has recently been accepted by almost the entire international community, and in that we see a confirmation of the correctness of such a path."

56. Mr. BEDJAOUI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): The question of Palestine is regularly brought before the United Nations, thus calling upon the

conscience of the world in the very place where the tragedy of usurpation was initiated.

57. The passage of time, which some depended on to accustom people to the intolerable military and political fait accompli, could not overcome the will of a people determined to impose its right to exist. The Palestinians endure their heavy suffering and show the resolute desire of their people to regain an identity and a name to bear and to defend. The courageous Palestinian revolution has paid the price demanded to awaken the universal conscience to the national dimension of the Palestinian situation. The martyrdom of the people of Palestine is the incarnation of the bad conscience of the international community, some of whose leaders, more than 30 years ago, took the responsibility, unique in the history of the United Nations, of giving international legal sanction to the Zionist plan to despoil Palestine. Finally, Zionism is unique in history because it involves a colonial activity without precedent.

58. The zionization of Palestine cannot be reduced to being considered as conventional colonization by settlement, because such colonization, although its tentacles embraced the lands and the belongings of entire peoples, did not send an entire people into exile, to live under canvas in encampments, where the collective memory of a nation resisting genocide is distilled.

59. Zionism has raised racism to the status of a state ideology and has made of aggression an instrument to satisfy a territorial appetite that is never satisfied. It feeds on the annihilation of the Palestinian identity; it fundamentally excludes any non-Zionist existence in the land of Palestine.

60. The undertaking of zionization is, finally, essentially totalitarian in that it is based on the very negation of the Palestinian man. Do not the most authoritative voices of the Zionist entity constantly affirm, shamelessly and unreservedly, that the Palestinians still in occupied Palestine are merely temporary residents in their own country? And yet, the convergence of often complacent attitudes of indifference, the paralysis of large sectors of world opinion by a collective guilt complex that is methodically maintained, media manipulation, and the multifarious action of powerful organized pressure groups, have long drawn a thick veil over the true nature of Zionism. By legitimizing faits accomplis and wrongfully making them appear as so many historical rights, this set of factors has nourished the Zionists' intolerant, exclusivist irredentism.

61. Presented in turn as an island of civilization and progress in an environment carefully described as backward, or as a citadel of besieged liberty, the Zionist entity has long benefited from a methodical distortion of history. That the truth has now finally emerged about the real nature of Zionism, its ideological bases, its political aims and its geostrategical function, bears witness to the scope and strength of Palestinian resistance, enabling the community of nations finally to endorse its struggle as one of national liberation.

62. The convening of the General Assembly in emergency special session last July marked an important stage in the restoration of national rights to the

Palestinian people. This recourse, for the first time, to that exceptional procedure for consideration of the question of Palestine contains four basic political meanings.

63. First of all, the convening of an emergency special session recalled to their duties as peoples and to their obligations as States those for whom the problem of Palestine is only a marginal element in the general turbulence in international relations at a particularly disturbing time. The community of nations thus expressed a deep concern at the intolerable fate still being imposed on the people of Palestine. It thereby clearly perceived that the contemporary history of Palestine, frozen by Zionism, was one long string of challenges to the destiny of the Palestinian people, whose existence as a nation is denied, and to international peace and security, which is endangered from moment to moment by the situation thus created in the Middle East as a whole.

64. Further, by holding those emergency meetings, the Assembly took upon itself the commitment to carry out a duty towards the Palestinian people, a duty which the Security Council had unfortunately failed to perform. The abuse of the veto by one super-Power has kept the Council in a dangerous state of immobility at a time when a broad international consensus is growing concerning the necessity of re-establishing the Palestinian people in their inalienable national rights. However, the age-old experience of that super-Power might have led us to believe that it would draw from its own historical patrimony all the necessary motivations for support of the cause of the right of peoples to determine their own future. For that right is indivisible by its very nature. It does not lend itself to selective interpretation or discriminatory recognition. So what absolute law of nature, what arbitrary decision of man, or what historical deadline could be used to justify frustrating the people of Palestine of that right?

65. The emergency special session established that the Camp David accords were unacceptable to the international community. It thus threw a harsh light on the crisis of credibility which, on all fronts, strikes the prospect of a separate and partial settlement opened up by those agreements. Similarly, emphasis was laid on the absolute failure of an approach fundamentally based on a distortion of Palestinian nationhood, which has been reduced by politico-legal tricks to the mere exercise—at that precarious—of autonomy in administrative management.

66. Finally, the emergency special session of the General Assembly strikingly established the majority recognition of the Palestinians' existence as a nation and their threefold claim to self-determination, independence and return to the homeland.

67. The General Assembly crowned that session by the adoption of resolution ES-7/2, in which it solemnly reaffirmed: first, the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to national independence and sovereignty, as well as the right to establish its own independent sovereign State in Palestine; secondly, the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property in Palestine, from which they have been displaced and uprooted; thirdly, the right of the PLO, the repre-

sentative of the Palestinian people, to participate on an equal footing in the search for a just solution to the problem of Palestine; fourthly, and finally, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force.

68. The seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly was in preparation when the Zionist leaders once again displayed their arrogant disdain for the international community by declaring the annexation of the holy city of Al Quds, in defiance of the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and of the relevant Security Council resolutions. This measure did not surprise us. Indeed, it is inspired by the logic of Zionism itself, for which the last act of pillage is always a forerunner of the next. It is directly connected to the Zionist policy of "de-Arabizing" the whole of Palestine.

69. The annexation of Al Quds, the multiplication of the number of settlements, the dismemberment of Lebanon, the threats finally to annex the Golan, put the unbridled territorial expansionism of the Zionist entity permanently on the agenda. Within the dynamics of reciprocal interaction, this territorial expansionism and official policy of "de-Arabization" which goes hand in hand with it, feed Zionism.

70. So, the Zionization of the whole of Palestine continues methodically and implacably. The oppression of the population of the occupied territories is becoming worse and being extended and does not even spare local authorities recognized by the Zionist administration itself. The plunder of property and the confiscation of land are carried out in the most official manner possible in accordance with public programmes; settlements increase, even in some of the holy places of Islam. Powerfully supported by terrorist groups, the Zionist army maintains, in occupied Palestine, a reign of terror which its overwhelming material superiority enables the conqueror to bring to bear against the desire for freedom of the Arab population.

71. Nothing else need be said; the facts speak for themselves. It is enough to observe them. In the totalitarian Zionist entity, the deed takes precedence over the law. The legalizing of annexation, the denial of the right of the people to decide their own future, the institutionalized aggression designed to put into practice the disturbing theory of a "demographic vacuum in the occupied Arab territories" are so many ways to undermine the very basis of contemporary international society.

72. In the face of this attempt to Zionize Palestine with the aid of an infernal war machine and a police network with proved terrorist expertise, the people of Palestine are exercising their legitimate right to use violence to free themselves. This is the armed resistance of a people to colonial oppression and racist domination. It is the struggle of a subjugated people to gain freedom from the "non-person" status in which some have tried vainly to enclose it. It is, furthermore, the expression of a refusal on the part of the Palestinian people to abdicate control over their own destiny. In occupied Palestine, the "wandering people", the people fighting with "their backs to the sea", are indeed the Palestinian people.

73. No material force, no plot, can curb the inexorable momentum of this liberation struggle. The protagonists of the Camp David accords note today how foolish their moves were in view of the vigorous resistance of the people of Palestine and the rejection of those agreements by the international community. The inanity of that move has been so universally denounced that it is unnecessary to analyze its essential mechanisms again. Is there, indeed, any need to remind people that by working for the actual liquidation of the Palestinian national reality by slotting it into the restricted prospect of the derisory granting of technical communal administration, the Camp David accords have fed the already profoundly exacerbated crisis in the Near East? Is there any need to remind people that this artificial solution, launched at Camp David, constructed outside the United Nations and based on guidelines other than those sketched out in the fundamental General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3237 (XXIX) would establish a false peace at the expense of the Palestinian people? Is it still necessary to recall that the Camp David accords and the Washington Treaty<sup>2</sup> really express the renunciation of the Egyptian régime and its questionable involvement in a new strategy designed to bring the region back into the coils of Zionist imperialism? Finally, is there any need to recall that the collapse of these agreements has proved the dual need to return to the universal framework of the United Nations and to find a new approach, combining all the aspects of the Middle East crisis, in which the question of Palestine will have a decisive place, since it is on that question that a comprehensive settlement will depend.

74. For the international community now it is a matter, therefore, of going beyond the simple observation of this failure in order decisively to take up the task of seeking a genuine settlement of the question of Palestine. This question is certainly one of those whose solution, because it has not been sought in the past three decades with all the urgency and clarity required, now calls for even greater determination on the part of the United Nations. The seventh emergency special session fell in with this perspective and the decisions taken at that session demonstrate the concern of the international community to restore to the Palestinian people their national rights.

75. Since that time, the adverse development of the situation has confirmed the nature of zionism and its persistent defiance of the injunctions of the international community. Contemporary history, which provides examples of such lack of communication, tells us a great deal about the fatal consequences of the failure of a universal body when it is responsible for maintaining international peace and security. The United Nations was not created, borne by the hopes of men, to sit idly by in the realm of unreality.

76. The international community can thus note that verbal condemnation is not enough to put an end to such a policy of defiance. It cannot allow resolution ES-7/2 to remain a dead letter like those that preceded it. In that resolution the Assembly urged the Security Council to impose binding sanctions pursuant to

Chapter VII of the Charter if the Zionist entity did not abide by its provisions. It is therefore incumbent upon the Council to use all its authority to see to it that the General Assembly decisions are followed up. It is in this way and in this way alone that peace will be re-established in Palestine and then in the Middle East as a whole.

77. Nothing is more alien to this Palestinian land of tolerance, this meeting place of men that has become the prey of world zionism, than the manifestations of racism and the outbreaks of violence that have unfortunately been the daily lot of the people there for more than 30 years. By repairing the damage of a historical injustice, by allowing the land of Palestine to gather together all its children, by contributing, finally, to the re-establishment of the national rights of all Palestinians, the international community will restore to Palestine its age-old vocation, that of the land in which man first became man.

78. In our world peace is universal. Hence, the existence of a festering abscess reveals the precariousness of international relations whose geopolitical balance daily betrays more acutely their serious instability.

79. The problem of Palestine and the Middle East crisis resulting therefrom are local conflicts that dangerously jeopardize world peace, and it would be pointless to try to contain the spill-over from them by shortsighted policies or measures. If some have thought that they could blame differences among Arabs rather than the Zionist entity for the instability in the region, they are wrong or they deliberately wish to delude others, for who can believe that the advance bastion of upstart Zionist imperialism has been flying the banner of innocence for 33 years?

80. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Year after year the General Assembly takes up the question of Palestine as a separate item on its agenda. Furthermore, various aspects of this question are virtually always before the Security Council for consideration and various committees and commissions of the United Nations consider them too in their quest to reach a single goal: the speedy restitution of all the inalienable national rights of the 4 million Arab people of Palestine. All this is clear and eloquent proof of the international community's recognition of the role and importance of the Palestinian problem and of the obvious fact that unless it is resolved a just and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East will be impossible to achieve, as will lasting peace in that region.

81. The importance of the problem of Palestine has now been generally recognized and was made particularly clear during the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, held in July of this year, devoted to the question of Palestine.

82. In the resolution adopted at the special session the General Assembly reaffirmed, in particular, that a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East could not be established, in accordance with the Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions, without the withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and without the achievement of a just solution of the problem of Palestine on the basis of

<sup>2</sup> Treaty of Peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.



the attainment of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine. Further reaffirmation was given of the right of the Palestinians to create their own independent State, their right to return to their country, which was illegally occupied by the Israeli aggressor, and their right to return to their homes and property.

83. For many years now the whole world has been witnessing the tragedy of the Arab people of Palestine which Israel, relying on the all-round support and assistance of its overseas ally, has been doing its utmost to deprive of its legitimate rights and has forced to roam in foreign lands or to languish under the oppression of occupation. However, Israel, even with the assistance and support of the United States, has not succeeded in breaking the will of the Palestinians to obtain their freedom and independence; and we are convinced that it will not succeed.

84. For a long time now the Palestinian people have been waging a valiant and just struggle to achieve their legitimate national rights, in particular the right to self-determination and the creation of their own independent State. That struggle has become a highly important part of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the world. Each year we see the struggle of the Palestinians gaining ever-increasing international support. Acting in the vanguard of that struggle the PLO has won genuine international recognition and respect as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; it has become one of the foremost mass movements of the Arab national liberation struggle and an active participant in the non-aligned movement.

85. We can state with complete justification that the failure to resolve the Palestinian problem, and the deprivation of the Arab people of Palestine of their legitimate national rights, not only constitute one of the basic reasons for the tense situation that continues to exist in the Middle East but adversely affect the whole international situation. This is precisely why the demand for an immediate, radical and just solution of the problem of Palestine is one dictated by our times and by the interests of the peace and security of all peoples on the earth.

86. As is well known, the General Assembly has adopted a number of important resolutions containing the fundamental principles for the solution of the problem of Palestine. Those principles were set forth in detail in the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, which, *inter alia*, envisaged the adoption by the Security Council of specific measures aimed at the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, the cessation of the policy of establishing settlements in those territories, the fulfilment by Israel of the provisions of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the granting of all-round support and assistance to the Palestinian people to enable it to exercise its inalienable rights on the basis of the appropriate United Nations resolutions.

87. The Soviet delegation continues to believe that the Security Council, as the United Nations body with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should take prac-

tical steps to implement the specific provisions contained in the Committee's recommendations. We should like to assure the General Assembly that for our part we are prepared to continue to promote that goal as far as our possibilities allow.

88. In April this year the Security Council considered once again the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, as a result of which a vote was taken on a draft resolution aimed at ending the tragedy and suffering of the Palestinian Arabs and restoring the legitimate national rights of that people. However, the delegation of the United States, by exercising yet again its right of veto, stood in the way of the adoption of that draft resolution, the aim of which was a just solution of the Palestinian problem. Thus the present Administration, which is so fond of playing the role of the champion of human rights, must once again bear heavy responsibility before the whole world for the continued failure to resolve the question of the fate of 4 million Palestinian Arabs.

89. The United States continues to play the unseemly role of protector of a State whose rulers follow a policy of territorial expansion and, as a means of achieving it, unceasing aggression. As a result, in the past year Israel has intensified its policies of expropriation and colonization of Arab lands in the occupied territories. It has created in them a wide network of militarized settlements and has perpetrated acts of terror and oppression against the indigenous population. Using trumped-up pretexts of "revenge" or "pre-emptive strikes", the Israeli army has continually perpetrated acts of aggression against Lebanon, actively using Israel's henchmen in the separatists units of Haddad, which have entrenched themselves in the southern part of that country with the assistance of Tel Aviv.

90. The turn of events in the Middle East of late has shown quite convincingly that since the conclusion of the separate deal at Camp David through the efforts of the United States, Israel and the Egyptian régime, which capitulated to them, the knot of contradictions in the Middle East has become even tighter and the prospects of a solution of the Palestinian problem have become more and more remote. Experience has shown that any attempt to avoid settling the Palestinian problem or to substitute half-measures for a proper solution not only fails to promote progress towards a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East but, on the contrary, creates further obstacles to the attainment of that objective. An example of this was the plan for "administrative autonomy" for the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. That plan, and the whole Camp David scenario, is categorically repudiated by the people of Palestine and the peoples of other Arab States, since it is seen by them as a gross attempt on the part of the United States, Israel and Egypt to decide the fate of the Palestinians behind their backs, in complete disregard of their will. The real aim of the plan for so-called administrative autonomy is to consolidate Israel's occupation of Palestinian lands, to hamper the exercise by the Arab people of Palestine of its legitimate national rights, above all its right to create its own independent State, and to prevent the PLO

from participating in the solution of the Palestinian problem.

91. Therefore, the responsibility for the continuing failure to resolve the Palestinian problem rests fully with those who affixed their signatures to the Camp David accords and the separate Egyptian-Israeli treaty concluded on that basis.

92. The Soviet delegation considers that at the present session the General Assembly should once more reaffirm most decisively and clearly the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine and, in particular, their right to return to their country and to their homes, their right to self-determination without foreign interference and their right to sovereignty, national independence and the establishment of their own independent State. This is essential in order to remind those who try to ignore or jeopardize those rights that such is the will of the overwhelming majority of the international community. The Assembly should issue and unequivocal warning that it will not allow individual Members of the United Nations to continue defiantly to disregard its clearly expressed will. Furthermore, in our opinion, it is necessary to reaffirm that the Palestinian problem is the core of a Middle East settlement, and unless it is resolved justly it will be impossible to achieve a lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

93. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, stressed, in a telegram which he sent to the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, Yasser Arafat, on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, that,

“True to the Leninist principle of solidarity with peoples fighting for their freedom, independence and social progress, the Soviet Union unswervingly supports the just cause of the Palestinian people. We shall continue to be on the side of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their struggle against Israeli aggression and the machinations of imperialism, to frustrate the anti-Arab policy of separate deals and to achieve a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East”.

94. The Soviet Union wishes its friends, the people of Palestine, and their political avant-garde, the PLO, further success in their struggle for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, for the achievement of national independence and the creation of their own State. We have no doubt about their victory in that struggle and are prepared to assist them in every way.

95. Mr. SIRCAR (Bangladesh): It was only four months ago that we met in an emergency special session to discuss the question of Palestine. That session was held in response to a call by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. As Mr. Kaddoumi, head of the Political Department of the PLO, said during the present session, “This Assembly meets again to discuss the question of Palestine as it has been doing since 1948. The question of Palestine is as old as the United Nations itself”. The continued existence of this problem constitutes “a heavy burden on the conscience of the world”. [75th meeting, para. 82.]

96. The crisis continues to be aggravated by Israel's defiance of the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations. The problem poses a fundamental challenge to international law and to the principles enshrined in the Charter. The uncertainty, discord and frustration that prevail at present in that area have created an unstable situation posing a threat to the maintenance of peace and security not only of that region, but also of the whole world.

97. For over 30 years, lengthy deliberations in this Assembly have encompassed the historical, political and juridical aspects of this issue. Time and again, this Assembly has called for and recognized the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty and their right to return to their homes and property, from which they have been forcibly uprooted. This Assembly has on more than one occasion emphatically pointed out the inherent right of the Palestinian people to present their own case and to participate in any peace negotiations through their own legitimate representative, the PLO. However, efforts in that direction have gone unheeded.

98. The quest for a permanent peace settlement has been thwarted time and again by the obdurate and opportunistic positions adopted by Israel with regard to the occupied Arab territories. In an undisguised manner and in deliberate contempt of international opinion, Israel, in pursuance of its Zionist dream and the principle of the “homeland doctrine”, has slowly entrenched its presence in the occupied areas. It has brought forth arguments whereby, in accordance with so-called security considerations and newly established claims of legitimacy derived from questionable biblical history, it has proposed justifications for its presence which are totally immoral and irrelevant. Israel's efforts to create its own interpretation of history can only be termed as a distortion and travesty of law and principles.

99. The Palestinian people have had a continuous presence in that area for more than 2,000 years. It cannot be relegated to limbo and made a non-people by mere armed might or by virtue of supposed spiritual ties between that territory and the Jewish people. There have been efforts in history whereby strong nations have tried to impose their will on others and have presumed that strength alone could justify immoral principles. Fortunately for civilization and mankind, however, such efforts have never met with success.

100. We firmly believe that this policy of creeping annexation on the part of Israel will also suffer its own downfall. Expansion can be camouflaged with words, but deeds speak for themselves. If the people of Israel and the Zionist entity think that the world at large will be fooled by their rhetoric, pretences and deception, they are the only ones to be so deceived. By the same token, Israeli attempts to annex parts of Lebanon, as well as the Golan Heights, should draw universal condemnation.

101. Israel today is carrying out a wilful, systematic and large-scale process of establishing settlements. The vast majority of those illegal areas of habitation are not only established to meet so-called security

needs, but are also being used for gainful and permanent agricultural purposes at the expense of the Palestinians and the Arab population, who have been forcibly removed from the land that has been theirs for hundreds of generations. In flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilians Persons in Time of War<sup>3</sup>, basic human rights are being violated, and scarce natural resources, including water, are being misappropriated. The Security Council has already condemned this by its resolution 465 (1980) or 1 March 1980.

102. Israeli ill intentions towards Jerusalem have also become more apparent with the enactment of their "basic law" declaring Jerusalem the eternal and undivided capital of Israel. Such a grave breach of international law was very correctly opposed with indignation in Security Council resolution 478 (1980) of 20 August 1980. In that resolution the Council also deplored the efforts of Israel to alter the character and status of Jerusalem, and called upon those States that had established diplomatic missions in Jerusalem to withdraw such missions from the Holy City. We are pleased to note that those countries which had their diplomatic missions in Jerusalem have since withdrawn them to Tel Aviv in conformity with the same resolution.

103. For more than 2 billion people Jerusalem is a religious centre of paramount importance. The continued occupation of that city and other Holy Places and the rejection and defiance of Israel need to be understood in their totality. As a member of the tripartite Islamic co-ordination conference, the Government of Bangladesh has concerted its efforts with other Islamic countries, and in co-ordination with the PLO Bangladesh is exploring ways and means of promoting the cause of the Palestinians in order that a just and lasting solution of the problem may be found. In this regard I should like to mention the summit meeting of the tripartite conference held in Morocco last November, which was attended by President Ziaur Rahman of Bangladesh and at which some important decisions of far-reaching consequence were taken.

104. The delegation of Bangladesh would like to renew its pledge to the struggling people of Palestine to assist them in the attainment of their ultimate goal. In this regard President Ziaur Rahman, in his message on the occasion of celebration of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, on 28 November 1980, said:

"It is a blot on the conscience of the civilized world that Israel continues to violate with impunity the various resolutions adopted by the United Nations and in other international forums calling for the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinians, including their right to have a State of their own. As a member of the Jerusalem Committee and also of the Co-ordination Committee on Jerusalem of the United Nations, Bangladesh's stand regarding complete solidarity with its Arab and Palestinian brethren is well known. Bangladesh believes that peace through justice alone can endure. In the Middle East, such a peace has yet to be won. The components of any settlement that

could guarantee a just and lasting peace in the Middle East must embrace the following essentials: acceptance of the fact by all parties that the question of Palestine lies at the heart of the Middle East problem; that no solution can be envisaged without the restoration of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland, as well as to self-determination, independence and territorial sovereignty; that the participation of the Palestine liberation Organization, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with all other parties, is indispensable in all efforts towards a solution; that the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force imposes an obligation on Israel, under international law, to withdraw completely and quickly from all the territories it has occupied since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem."

105. Finally, my delegation would like to put on record its deep appreciation of the good work done by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. We believe that the Committee has through its reports contributed greatly to the promotion of the cause of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. We pledge our wholehearted support for the continued work of the Committee.

106. Mr. SIOSTRONEK (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The annual discussion of the question of Palestine by the General Assembly, as well as its consideration in the Security Council, and the recent convening of the seventh emergency special session of the Assembly to consider the question of Palestine, show how important the solution of that problem is for a comprehensive and just Middle East settlement.

107. It is obvious that, given the increasingly acute conflict in the Middle East, the solution of the key problem in a Middle East settlement, that of Palestine, is becoming increasingly relevant, as is the question of the exercise by the Arab people of Palestine to its legitimate right to self-determination. The way to achieve such a solution is well known. It involves the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, the restoration of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the right to establish its own independent State, and the guaranteeing of the sovereignty and security of all States of the region. Such a settlement can be brought about only in accordance with General Assembly resolutions and on the condition that all the parties concerned participate in it, including the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine, the PLO.

108. It is also obvious, however, that all the just decisions on the question of Palestine adopted at the United Nations by an overwhelming majority of the international community will remain dead letters while the aggressive policies of Israel are given comprehensive political, military and economic support by the imperialists, in particular the United States. The political support was exemplified by the use of the United States veto when the question of Palestine was being considered in the Security Council in March and April this year, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 34/65. That support was shown by

<sup>3</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.

the United States vote against the verdict of the international community during the seventh emergency special session on the question of Palestine.

109. Furthermore, who bears responsibility for the adoption, after that session, of the "basic law" relating to Jerusalem? Who is encouraging Israel to annex other areas? With whose assistance has Israel been able systematically to expand its militarized settlements in the occupied Arab territories and to oust the indigenous inhabitants from their homes? Could any realistic politician be found today who would be unable to give correct answers to those questions or to deny those facts?

110. Indeed, could Israeli expansionism continue to flourish without the necessary prerequisite—the American policy in the Middle East—and without the Camp David deals? No, those deals, made without the participation and against the will of the Arab people of Palestine and its sole, legitimate representative, the PLO, disregard the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine and are therefore the source of the increased tension in the region. It is precisely those deals and the separate negotiations on so-called autonomy that are a factor in the continued Israeli occupation of Arab territories. The international community now realizes even more clearly that the separate deals are a dead-end and are doomed to failure, since they are merely the expression of a desire to consolidate the results of expansionist, aggressive attacks carried out under a policy of "fait accompli", disregarding world public opinion, including that of the United Nations.

111. The Government of my country supports the vital demands of the Arab people of Palestine. Czechoslovakia condemns the continued Israeli occupation of Arab territories, as well as the fact that the Arab people of Palestine is deprived of its rights, including its right to create its own State. We believe that the United Nations should put an end to that situation and should show its resolve by taking the most stringent measures against Israel under Chapter VII of the Charter to force it to heed the will of the international community.

112. The entire development of the Palestinian problem shows quite clearly that, notwithstanding Israel's reluctance to make amends for the crimes committed against the Palestinians, and notwithstanding the support given Israel by imperialism, the Palestinian struggle will be crowned with success.

113. In conclusion, I should like to assure the representative of the PLO that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic intends to continue to develop and strengthen relations of friendship with the Palestinian people and its sole representative, the PLO; and that it will support the just struggle of the Palestinian people for its inalienable rights.

114. Mr. SARRE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): Four months ago the General Assembly met in emergency special session to consider the serious situation resulting from the fact that the Security Council had been unable to take a decision on the recommendations relating to the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

115. That special emergency session, in which several Ministers for Foreign Affairs, including that of Senegal, took part, gave the international community yet another opportunity to express its concern at the lack of a solution to the Palestine problem. The international community stressed the need to take urgent effective action to forestall the serious dangers deriving from such a situation. Thus, the General Assembly adopted resolution ES-7/2, containing three sets of recommendations with regard to withdrawal by Israel from the Palestinian and Arab territories it occupies, the application of the recommendations on the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and, finally, effective action by the Security Council if Israel does not comply with those recommendations.

116. As regards the first recommendation, it is now clear that the Government of Israel has not applied it. On the contrary, the Tel Aviv authorities not only have continued their occupation of the Palestinian and Arab territories, but are striving to make the occupation of those territories irreversible by altering their physical character, demographic composition, structure and status.

117. That policy is contrary to the principle of the non-acquisition of territory by force, as well as to the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Moreover, it is a permanent source of tension and agitation in Palestine and, therefore, one more obstacle to a just and peaceful solution to the conflict.

118. In its resolution 465 (1980), the Security Council had already deplored that policy and called upon Israel to dismantle the existing settlements and to cease at once the establishment of new ones. Israel hardly took any notice of that resolution. On the other contrary, it adopted legislative measures to modify unilaterally the legal status of Jerusalem.

119. In the face of that attitude, the international community, anxious to preserve the special status of Jerusalem and its unique spiritual and religious quality, reacted accordingly. The Security Council adopted resolution 476 (1980), in which it reiterated "that all... measures which have altered the geographic, demographic and historical character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem are null and void and must be rescinded in compliance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council". Moreover, several countries, in protest or reaction against Israel's continued violations of international law, have withdrawn their diplomatic missions from Jerusalem. Those measures reflect the growing consensus within the international community about the necessity of adopting effective measures to prevent Israel from continuing to violate international law with impunity.

120. In my delegation's opinion, the international community must adopt further measures to put an end to the violations of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

121. The second set of recommendations included in General Assembly resolution ES-7/2 relate to the implementation of the recommendations drawn up by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable



**Rights of the Palestinian People.** Those recommendations, endorsed four years ago by the Assembly, offer a realistic, just and objective programme for the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Thus far, however, it has been impossible to apply them because they have been blocked in the Security Council. Is there any need to recall that those recommendations have been endorsed by the non-aligned countries, the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and by other countries? Better still, the Western countries, in several statements and expressions of position, have maintained certain elements of the General Assembly recommendations.

122. As we can see, the task entrusted to the Secretary-General in resolution ES-7/2 reflects the wishes of the majority of the international community. As representatives will have noticed, these recommendations are all based on a spirit of peace, justice and mutual understanding. They are not designed to call into question the existence of any State in the region, but rather to establish conditions conducive to the establishment of a Palestinian State as provided for in General Assembly resolution 181 (II), a State which, I am sure, would fully subscribe to the purposes and principles of the Charter.

123. It is regrettable to note, as is pointed out in the report of the Secretary-General [A/35/618-S/14250], the refusal of the Israeli Government to implement resolution ES-7/2 on the pretext that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) constitutes the sole agreed basis for a negotiated settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict. In my delegation's view, any negotiations on the Palestinian question must take into account the right of the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, to take part in them.

124. The conclusions in the report of the Secretary-General bring us to the third recommendation of resolution ES-7/2 concerning the adoption of effective measures, in accordance with the Charter, to oblige Israel to apply General Assembly decisions. This recommendation is in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Charter, which entrusted the Security Council with the main responsibility for maintaining international peace and security.

125. Unfortunately, with regard to the question of Palestine the Council has not thus far been able to take a decision on the Assembly recommendations concerning the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. It is important for the Council to give a ruling on this fundamental issue. And this seems all the more feasible since the Council was recently brought to adopt measures similar in every way to those recommended by the General Assembly in its programme for the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Those measures are to be found in Council resolutions 465 (1980) and 476 (1980), which are in fact practical applications of the recommendations in the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [A/35/35, paras. 72 (c) and (d)].

126. My delegation cannot but welcome such developments. It invites Member States that feel unable

to support the General Assembly recommendations to reconsider their position.

127. The Security Council, by its recent decisions, has proved that not all General Assembly recommendations are partial, as has often been claimed. Such a development should encourage those who have prevented the reaffirmation by the Security Council of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to modify their position and to adopt a more positive and forward-looking attitude.

128. As for the policy of violating United Nations decisions, my delegation feels that it cannot be pursued without endangering international peace and security and the authority of the Organization. In this respect, it is pleased to note that the General Assembly and the Security Council are doing everything possible to prevent such breaches. Thus, in paragraph 6 of its resolution 476 (1980) the Security Council

*“Reaffirms its determination in the event of non-compliance by Israel with this resolution, to examine practical ways and means in accordance with relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations to secure the full implementation of this resolution”.*

On 29 July 1980, in its resolution ES-7/2 the Assembly requested

*“the Security Council, in the event of non-compliance by Israel with the present resolution, to convene in order to consider the situation and the adoption of effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter”.*

This convergence of views in the two principal organs of the United Nations bears witness to the seriousness and extent of the problem caused by the deliberate and systematic non-compliance with the Organization's resolutions and decisions by a Member State.

129. Senegal, which has always supported the primacy of law and justice in international relations, considers that the refusal to implement United Nations resolutions, as well as the systematic violation of international law, can only foster recourse to force. That is why we express the hope that the relevant organs of the United Nations will carefully examine this matter in order to find a solution of it.

130. Senegal, which has always maintained and supported the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and its right to self-determination and national sovereignty, will support those initiatives aimed at ensuring the adoption of the Assembly's recommendations on the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. For if such a decision were to be adopted by the Council, it would constitute a major step forward towards a just and lasting solution of the problem of Palestine. It would also create a climate more conducive to peace and would dissuade Israel from continuing to violate United Nations decisions. None the less, if the Council remained powerless to take action, the Assembly would have no option but to use the powers given it under the Charter and Assembly resolution 377 A (V) to adopt measures to allow the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to be implemented.

131. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Kane, Chairman of the Committee on



the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, for the excellent report he introduced at the beginning of our debate.

132. It is urgent, indeed imperative in a spirit of justice, honesty, courage, open-mindedness, respect

and mutual understanding to find a just and equitable solution of the question of Palestine. Let us overcome prejudices and emotions. What is at stake here is peace and stability in that region and in the world.

*The meeting rose at 1 p.m.*