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

AGENDA ITEM 24

Question of Palestine: report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People

1. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, Mr. Falilou Kane.

2. Mr. KANE (Senegal), Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (*interpretation from French*): Upon the opening of this debate one thing must be noted: while, since the end of the Second World War and the creation of the Organization, major conflicts have broken out and have even led to the brink of conflagration, all those conflicts have been resolved with the help of time and thanks to the diplomacy and the spirit of conciliation of the political leaders of the parties involved.

3. The affairs of Berlin, Korea, Suez, Viet Nam, Panama and, nearer home, Rhodesia—Zimbabwe—are no longer the subject of debate in the General Assembly or in the Security Council.

4. However, those questions gave rise to human tragedies and caused much bloodshed. They filled the newspaper headlines and monopolized discussions in the major foreign ministries for many years. If they are brought up today it is perhaps in the limited circles of historians, diplomats or students of diplomatic law.

5. Unfortunately, that is not the case with the question of Palestine, even 33 years after the partitioning of Palestine, which was decided upon with the adoption of General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947.

6. Those who do not know about this question accuse the United Nations of a failure and an incapacity to resolve the major problems of our time. The media for their part too easily sound the trumpet of defeat and make the accusations, often manipulated by hidden interests.

7. For a long time the world has closed its eyes to the Palestinian reality and has stopped its ears so as not to hear the cries of despair of the Palestinian people or listen to the screams of a suffering people. Such an attitude is no longer possible at the present time, and to ignore the situation in occupied Palestine today is to show culpable political blindness.

8. The General Assembly, with the creation of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, intended to change the perception people had of the question and to place it in its proper perspective. Dealt with yesterday as a simple question of refugees, the question of Palestine today is of pre-eminent importance in the work of the United Nations, since it feeds the debates of all international organizations, governmental or otherwise, that have any influence on the affairs of the world. The question facing the human conscience with respect to the Palestinian problem can no longer be reduced to banality, as it was at the outset by the Zionist slogan: "A land without people and a people without land".

9. We are no longer at a stage when the Prime Minister of Israel is so lacking in shame as to say: "Who are the Palestinian people? I have never heard of them. They do not exist."

10. We must continue to deplore the fact that in Europe and North America, where paradoxically the communication media are the most sophisticated, the Palestinians and their liberation struggle are presented in an unfavourable light, and their legitimate aspirations and inalienable rights have been passed over in silence or distorted. We know the reason for that.

11. It is, first of all, the shortness of view and the lack of imagination of the Israeli leaders, who thought that it was enough to ignore a problem for that problem to be resolved, that it was enough for the Palestinians to be integrated in the Arab countries where they had taken refuge for there to be no more talk of a Palestinian question. Today that shortness of view leads those leaders to think that the unfortunate war between Iran and Iraq or the dissension in the Arab world, where unfortunately there are clouds gathering today over two neighbouring countries gives the Begin Government and Israel a respite.

12. In the second place, the reason is the failure of the mass media in general and in particular the major newspapers such as *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* and the major American television networks, NBC, CBS and ABC, which are dominated by Jews. Those are not my words but the words of Mr. Nahum Goldmann, in an interview he gave and which was published in the magazine *Jeune Afrique*, issue No. 1034, of 29 October 1980.

13. In the third place, it is the anti-Arab Zionist propaganda, which is the corollary of arrogance and which has consistently presented everything that is Arab and *a fortiori* Palestinian as being vengeful and aimed at throwing the Jews into the sea.

14. In the fourth place, that same propaganda continues to hold Europeans responsible for what happened to the Jews during the Nazi reign and to make people believe that, if Israel were not sustained and protected by them, the spectre of anti-Semitic pogroms could return. Clearly, the Zionists wish to hold the conscience of part of mankind hostage for ever. We must recognize that if there has been remorse, it must not be indefinitely passed on to generations that had no responsibility for events that took place at the time of the Third Reich. Under the pretext that one injustice was committed against a people, something that any civilized person regrets and deplors, we must not ourselves commit another injustice against another people. Israel wishes to put its existence and its security before those of all its Arab neighbours and of the Palestinians. We cannot grant that country exorbitant rights when it does not itself respect the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, especially when it continues to violate international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

15. Indeed, since its admission to the United Nations, although it entered into a commitment to observe its rules, Israel has ridden rough-shod over everything that does not accord with its own ambitions and its own interests—that is to say, expansion “from the Nile to the Euphrates”. It was not content with the territory it obtained because of the partitioning of Palestine. It sought to expand it at the cost of wars of aggression, *faits accomplis*, expulsions and impoverishment of the Arabs and Palestinians. Today it occupies the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Holy City of Jerusalem, part of Egyptian Sinai and the Golan Heights, which we are told are the subject of a bill in the Knesset which aims at annexing the Golan Heights. All this is done in flagrant violation of resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly and in contradiction of international law and the conventions signed by Israel.

16. Today, as yesterday, the leaders of Israel do not wish to sign or commit themselves to any legal instrument that would prevent them from expanding their territory. They do not wish to establish safe and secure boundaries to the country, for they wish to be able at every opportunity to change them to the detriment of neighbouring countries.

17. Today the case of Lebanon is clear in the memory of all. The Camp David agreements¹ and the Washington treaty² did not stop Israel from continuing to establish settlements in the occupied territories or from pursuing its programme of the zionization of Jerusalem by encircling the old city with a ring of buildings. On this subject it is instructive to read extracts from the memoirs of Moshe Sharett in the book *Israel's Sacred Terrorism* by Livia Rokach,

published in 1980 at Belmont, Massachusetts by the Association of Arab-American University Graduates. Terrorism, provocation and extortion have become established as a method of government. The former leaders of the Irgun and the Stern gang are today the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Prime Minister of Israel. That book also shows that at that time Israel refused to enter into a security pact. Similarly we find in those memoirs that a plan had already been set up at that stage for the destabilization of Lebanon. It is instructive, too, to quote Dayan's remarks at the time, also found in that book:

“According to [Dayan], the only thing that's necessary is to find an officer, even just a major. We should either win his heart or buy him with money, to make him agree to declare himself the saviour of the Maronite population. Then the Israeli army will enter Lebanon, will occupy the necessary territory and will create a Christian régime which will ally itself with Israel. The territory from the Litani southward will be totally annexed to Israel and everything will be all right. If we were to accept the advice of the Chief of Staff, we would do it tomorrow, without awaiting a signal from Baghdad, but under the circumstances the Government of Iraq will do our will and will occupy Syria.

“... I did not want to bicker with Ben-Gurion... in front of his officers and limited myself to saying [to him] that this might mean... war between Israel and Syria... At the same time I agreed to set up a joint commission composed of officials of the Foreign Affairs Ministry and the army to deal with Lebanese affairs... [According to Ben-Gurion] this commission should relate to the Prime Minister.

“The Chief of Staff supports a plan to hire a [Lebanese] officer who will agree to serve as a puppet so that the Israeli army may appear as responding to his appeal to liberate Lebanon from its Moslem oppressors. This will of course be a crazy adventure... We must try to prevent dangerous complications. The commission must be charged with research tasks and prudent actions directed at encouraging Maronite circles who reject Moslem pressures and agree to lean on us.”³

18. These writings are dated 28 May 1954, so they are not the words of today. But, if we look at what is going on today in southern Lebanon with Major Haddad, we may realize that this is no mere coincidence, but rather the culmination of a plan of action long drawn up and developed by the Israeli leaders. It is serious and disturbing when there exists in a State a conspiracy of silence and injustice. Again, it was Mr. Moshe Sharett who said at a meeting of the Mapai party secretariat on 11 January 1961 that

“The phenomenon that has prevailed among us for years is that of [our] insensitivity to acts of wrong... to moral corruption... For us, an act of wrong is in itself nothing serious; we wake up to it only if the threat of crisis or a grave result—the loss of position, the loss of power or influence—is involved. We don't have a moral approach to moral problems, but a pragmatic approach to moral problems...”

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

² Treaty of Peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed in Washington on 26 March 1979.

³ Quoted in English by the speaker.

“Once, Israel’s soldiers murdered a number of Arabs for reasons of blind revenge, and no conclusion was drawn from that. No one was demoted; no one was removed from office. Then there was Kafr Qasem. Those responsible have not drawn any conclusion. This, however, does not mean that public opinion, the army and the police have drawn no conclusion. Their conclusion was that Arab blood can be freely shed. And then came the amnesty for those of Kafr Qasem, and the same conclusion could be drawn again. I could go on for a long time like this.

“All this brings about revulsion in the sense of justice and honesty of public opinion; it must make the State appear in the eyes of the world as a savage State that does not recognize the principles of justice as they have been established and accepted by contemporary society.”³

As I have said, those words go back to 1961.

19. Those statements are unequivocal. Israel writes its own law and acts within it, without taking into account the moral aspect, without regard for international law and practice. What is worse, it thinks that it is right, as opposed to the immense majority of the community of countries assembled here. It flouts the recommendations of the General Assembly and the resolutions of the Security Council. The most recent are Security Council resolution 478 (1980) of 20 August 1980 on Jerusalem and General Assembly resolution ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980.

20. Security Council resolution 478 (1980) called upon Israel to repeal its decision on the annexation of Jerusalem, which the Council considered to be illegal and null and void. One of the consequences, and not the least of them, was the withdrawal of all the embassies that had been established to that date in Jerusalem.

21. The reply contained in the report of the Secretary-General and dated 11 November 1980⁴ is clear. That country refuses to abrogate the Knesset law on Al Quds. That country thinks rather that it is other countries that must accept its point of view. That, then, is another challenge in the already long list of Israel’s challenges to the United Nations.

22. In resolution ES-7/2, after having reaffirmed the rights of the Palestinians and the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, the Assembly called upon Israel, *inter alia*, to begin by 15 November 1980 to withdraw from the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem.

23. Once again Israel is refusing and hiding behind the process that was begun within the framework of the Camp David agreements. The Secretary-General’s report [A/35/618-S/14250] has given us the answer to that.

24. The Organization would rightly be accused of weakness if today it were to be satisfied with simple verbal condemnations. It is not normal for a State that owes its existence to international law to turn its back on that very law. Yet that is what we note

with regard to the Zionist State of Israel. Can we tolerate its presence in our midst when, at the same time, we witness its lack of respect for the obligations it has assumed as a Member of the United Nations? None the less, the provisions of Article 4 and of the Preamble to the Charter are clear, and Israel, upon becoming a Member, accepted the obligations of the Charter and undertook to honour them, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 273 (III) admitting Israel to membership in the United Nations.

25. To practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, those are the provisions contained in the preamble to the Charter which the Zionist State is obviously not respecting. That is sufficient proof that at the present time, and unless there is a radical change in its conduct, we cannot expect anything from Israel. And how long can this go on? Everyone is asking that question as we are beginning this debate.

26. The persistent negative attitude of Israel with regard to the consideration of the question of Palestine must not distract us from fulfilling our responsibilities. The recommendations of our Committee indicate the path proposed to the Assembly.

27. In exercising the chairmanship of the Committee since the beginning of this year I have had the privilege of meeting, during conferences and gatherings in which I was allowed to participate, persons from all circles, of various beliefs and different races, Palestinians and Jews, whether Israelis or not, all of whom were moved by a willingness to find a just solution to this painful problem within the framework of the United Nations.

28. I believe that we should not now be satisfied with reaffirming the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, to return to its homeland and to create a sovereign State. We can do more here by deciding to create the legal instruments to enable those rights to be effectively exercised by the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

29. Similarly, I believe that, on the basis of General Assembly resolution 181 (II) creating the Jewish and Palestinian States, we can find the legal act giving birth to the Palestinian State by spelling out its geographical limits. With regard to Jerusalem, we can also take up again in the Trusteeship Council the discussion on setting up the *corpus separatum* statute from where it was left at the time. Thus we shall not wait for an illegal act to be committed by Israel in order to react after the fact. We shall be positioning ourselves on the offensive rather than the defensive. There is nothing against that when the Assembly has right on its side in the face of arrogance and injustice. There is a comparison to be made here. If the Nazi crimes and atrocities had not aroused indignation and the conscience of mankind, and if the Western European countries whose integrity and independence had been violated by Hitler’s Germany had not allied themselves to confront the enemy, no doubt today we should not be speaking of Israel, but many of us would not be here as independent and free nations.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth year, Supplement for October, November and December 1980, document S/14248.*

30. Similarly, zionism, which pursues ideals that are not in keeping with those of the community of nations and are incompatible with those of the Charter—namely, the equality of races and religions—is just as dangerous and pernicious as *apartheid* and racism; we must mobilize to fight it if we wish to save peace.

31. In the occupied territories the Israeli leaders are behaving in an unspeakable manner and violating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilians in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.⁵ Expulsion, torture and illegal acts of all kinds are the coin of the realm. Elected Palestinians are deported; that has been the case with the Arab mayors of Jerusalem since 1973, the mayors of Hebron and Halhul and the magistrate of Halhul this year. Other elected officials have been the target of heinous criminal attempts ordered by the Israeli Government. Schools and universities are being Judaized and, as we know, the press daily reports injuries to students in peaceful unarmed demonstrations for freedom, as for example the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. Iniquitous laws and regulations are adopted in order to pacify the population of the occupied territories in the hope of stifling their awareness. It is time to carry out a comprehensive campaign for the protection of those populations and to ensure that they are not subjected to the provocations of the Zionist State.

32. In this connexion we are proposing the holding of an international conference on the question of respect for human rights and the aforementioned Geneva Convention of 1949. The seminar which the Committee organized in Vienna in August 1980 adopted that idea. The conference could be held with the participation of all voluntary and non-governmental organizations as well as of persons working in this field.

33. More and more disturbing facts and events are being made known in spite of Israel's refusal to allow on its territory the Commission of the Security Council established under resolution 446 (1979) and the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories. That Committee's report of 6 October 1980 [see A/35/425], provides eloquent testimony in the list of all the illegal actions committed by the Israeli Government.

34. For its part the International Commission of Jurists has just published an important study entitled *The West Bank and the Rule of Law*. We also have in our possession publications of the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights which describe the daily violations by the Israeli Government of human rights in the fields of religion and labour, not to mention collective reprisals and the destruction of villages under any pretext.

35. Israel and those who continue to support it should understand that one cannot stop the waves or the storm from rolling in merely by lifting a hand: that Israel, because of its intransigence, is itself in the process of sawing off the branch on which it rests. A wind of change is blowing, and only the blind do not redognize that.

36. With the meeting as the European Council of the Heads of State and Government and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the nine member States of the European Community, at Venice in June 1980, Europe took a large step towards recognition of the fact that peace and security in the Middle East can be achieved only by the implementation of the United Nations resolutions that call for the exercise by the Palestinian people of its right to self-determination, with the participation of the PLO—the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—and after Israel's complete withdrawal from all the occupied territories.

37. The search for truth and justice will undoubtedly lead the countries of the old continent to continue to move forward by taking a more active part in international relations.

38. The Council of Europe, which is opening a session today in Luxembourg, is to follow up Mr. Gaston Thorn's mission to the Near East and will, we hope, take a new step towards an initiative that could contribute to a solution of the Arab-Israel conflict.

39. The affirmative vote cast by those countries in the Security Council, on 20 August last, on resolution 478 (1980) and the renewal on 12 and 13 November last of the European-Arab dialogue, particularly on the political problems, are acts that can be interpreted favourably and that we regard as very encouraging signs.

40. Many respectable and influential organizations are showing an ever-increasing interest in the search for a just and over-all solution. In that respect, it is significant to note that the participants in a meeting held at Vienna from 5 to 7 November, under the auspices of the International Organization for Progress—and they included important persons from more than 30 countries—reached agreement on what we regard as the essential point: recognition of the legitimate right of the Palestinians to establish their own State, and negotiations among all the concerned parties in order to find a solution to the Middle East conflict.

41. Other organizations and other voices will be heard in future in the attempt to make Israel listen to reason. We are comforted by the growing interest that the most varied circles are showing in the studies and work of the Committee. We are approached by student organizations and parliamentarians in many countries. That is proof that a favourable change is taking place in public opinion. That change should have an effect on opinion within Israel and should make Israel's leaders open their eyes and not remain frozen in a sterile attitude.

42. A just, over-all, peaceful solution to the conflict: that is and has always been the desire of the Assembly, the desire of the Committee over which I have the honour to preside. The Assembly has amply demonstrated that by its patience. For 33 years it has considered and reconsidered the question from all angles: resolutions, conciliation and arbitration commissions, good-offices missions, mediators—and, unfortunately, some have sacrificed their lives in this cause. But everything has a limit. If Israel refuses to heed the voice of reason, the Assembly must resolve to apply the sanctions provided for in the Charter,

⁵ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.

in the event that the Security Council, the organ responsible for the maintenance of peace and security, once again fails to shoulder its responsibilities, as it has done repeatedly in the past. The legal instruments to do that exist.

43. In my statement on this question at the 1st meeting of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, I went into detail on the way in which resolution 377 (V) could be used to decide to adopt sanctions. I do not intend to repeat those remarks today.

44. I remain convinced that it would be preferable for the United Nations to decide to apply the sanctions provided for in the Charter, rather than having another war break out in the region. The use of force is forbidden by the Charter, and only the unanimous will of those gathered here can avoid it; we must work sincerely to that end.

45. "We did not know": that was the reaction of most of the Germans who saw the film "Holocaust" on television. What is going on today in Palestine—although it has not yet attained the scope of the crimes committed in the concentration camps—must be brought to the attention of the people of Israel, so that they may not be able in the future to say that they were not aware of it. The atrocities committed or tolerated by the Begin Government must not be disregarded; to do so would be a true conspiracy of silence on the part of an entire people.

46. That is why the Committee, in submitting its report [A/35/35], is bringing the members of the Assembly face to face with their responsibility, both now and in future. We hope that they will fully assume that responsibility so that peace in the world and in the Middle East may be preserved and future generations of Palestinians may finally leave the refugee camps and aspire to a free life in their regained homeland, Palestine.

47. The PRESIDENT: I now request the Rapporteur of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, Mr. Victor Gauci of Malta, to introduce the Committee's report.

48. Mr. GAUCI (Malta), Rapporteur of the Committee on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People: Five years have elapsed since the establishment of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, and this is the sixth consecutive time that I have formally been entrusted with the task of introducing the report of the Committee—this year contained in document A/35/35.

49. In doing so, I wish to record the spirit of cooperation which consistently prevailed throughout this period among the members of the Committee, as they confronted the complex tasks put before them by the General Assembly. A special commendation goes to Mr. Kane of Senegal, who has led us with dedication, eloquence and enthusiasm throughout the past year, maintaining the exacting standards set by his predecessor, Mr. Fall. We shall miss them both.

50. The report is brief and speaks for itself. Essentially, it is a continuation of the painstaking work of the Committee against firmly entrenched opposition. Positive movement is agonizingly slow. The Com-

mittee's workload is very full, a daily reminder of the human aspect of the Palestine question.

51. As in the past, the main attention of the Committee has centred on, first, urging the Security Council to take action on the Committee's recommendations; secondly, watching over events in the occupied territories; and thirdly, disseminating factual information on the various aspects of the question of Palestine.

52. On the first point, the Security Council, held back by one of its permanent members, has not yet taken effective action. That led to the holding by the General Assembly of the seventh emergency special session on Palestine last July. The session, attended at a very high level, has come and gone; its recommendations are still fresh in the mind of all delegations, and hence require no repetition on my part. The practical outcome of those recommendations is contained in the terse report of the Secretary-General. That report can be summed up in one phrase: the United Nations can do so much to promote and oversee an equitable solution, but so far is being prevented from doing so. Or, in other words, the world clamours for progress; but Israel, almost in total isolation, refuses to go along.

53. The uncompromising attitude of the occupying Power towards the Arab people in the occupied territories and its defiance of United Nations resolutions is amply documented and needs no repetition. No conceivable circumstances can ever justify the sorry exercise of unyielding repression which is being perpetrated and which continues unchecked. A brief glance at the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population in the Occupied Territories is an impressively detailed remainder. The political repercussions of this policy have also been brought out very aptly by the Security Council Commission in its report.⁶ The recommendations contained in paragraphs 241 to 249 of the report, with which the Committee is in agreement, are particularly relevant. In fact, the nature of life in the occupied territories was encapsulated poignantly by a Palestinian poet, who remarked only a few days ago, "When your daughter goes to school in the morning you do not know whether she will come back at night".

54. The Committee has therefore had to write several letters of protest in the course of the year under review, drawing attention to grave violations of human rights by Israel in the occupied territories. These are all reproduced in the report of the Council Commission. Israel, however, remained unrepentant; it not only continued the repression but enacted legislation on Jerusalem which has shocked the whole world, and is now even reported to be contemplating similar legislation for the occupied part of the Golan Heights. There have also been reports of plans for a future attempt at further forcible evacuation of Palestinian inhabitants from West Bank areas, which would result in what has authoritatively been described as "an entirely different map of the country that it will be impossible to ignore".

⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1980*, document S/14268.

55. These drastically repressive measures are not new; they have been applied for decades to restrain manifestations of Palestinian nationalism. What is more recent is the unflinching and determined opposition of the inhabitants—a combination of fear, anger, desperation and defiance. It has now reached a stage of saturation. The Mayor of Nablus, who lost both legs when terrorists tried to kill him and two of his colleagues last June, stated very simply, "We have nothing more to lose".

56. In such an atmosphere of extremism on one side and of resentment and fear on the other, not much of a spark will be necessary to touch off another dreaded conflagration in the region, which almost inevitably will have disastrous world-wide consequences. The clash of arms may be heard elsewhere these days, but the simmering resentment of the Palestinians is a human tragedy to which the United Nations can remain indifferent only at its peril. To do so would be as unjust as it is dangerous. The Committee in any case has been mandated to keep alive the hopes of a peaceful and equitable solution. We ask that this responsibility be universally shared.

57. The Committee, however, can do no more at this stage than underscore the balanced and all-embracing nature of its recommendations and the fact that, time and time again, they have been endorsed by the General Assembly, on each occasion with an increased majority. I hope this year will be no exception. The recommendations have also been accepted by the PLO as a basis for a solution. The significance of this point should not be overlooked and cannot be stressed strongly enough. The Committee therefore believes that a start, however modest, in implementing the recommended phased approach through the Security Council, where all the interested parties can be involved, should no longer be delayed. Only in this way can we turn the tide away from armed confrontation and further bloodshed.

58. The third area of the Committee's work has been among the most necessary and has proved the most fruitful of our activity, which at least is generating increasing momentum for a peaceful and just solution, as I propose to show.

59. The period under review was particularly busy for the Committee. In close co-operation with the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights of the Secretariat, we have expanded our efforts to inform the public on the real nature of the Palestine question, thus enhancing international understanding and support for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and restoring balance to the distortions on this question promulgated in the past by the popular press.

60. We have participated in the organization of numerous seminars, lectures and discussions on important aspects related to the problem of Palestinian rights and we have taken part in others, so as to present the point of view of the United Nations on this issue. At Arusha and Vienna eminent scholars presented detailed papers on several aspects of the question of Palestine which the Unit intends eventually to publish. Many more countries are showing interest in acting as host to seminars on this question, a factor which the Committee welcomes despite the increased workload which it entails for its members. More seminars

are planned for next year, to be held in Asia and in Latin America.

61. In addition to the important studies published last year, two more have been completed this year—one on the water resources of the West Bank and the other containing a brief history of the Palestine question. The film produced last year was awarded second prize at the twenty-second Annual American Film Festival organized by the Educational Film Library Association in New York in May this year. The favourable impact on public opinion as a result of these cumulative efforts has been very encouraging. This probably explains the well-orchestrated attempts being made in some quarters to present as biased the work of the Committee and of the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights.

62. The most predictable and the most recent example of this unfounded criticism is the letter dated 31 October 1980 from the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General [A/35/587 and Corr.1]. Referring, in that letter, to the publications prepared by the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights, he branded them as "pseudo-scientific studies" which "all rest on flawed foundations"; he claimed that "as a result, their conclusions are untenable". Later in the same letter, he harshly attacked the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, calling it "nothing but a pliant tool in the hands of the PLO".

63. Apart from the obvious fact that these assertions run squarely against world public opinion as expressed in the General Assembly, I regret having to point out that they also run counter to the principles of justice, legality and morality which are the very basis of the Committee's recommendations—the same principles which theoretically should govern relations between countries and peoples.

64. If the Committee has been partial at any time, it has been so only in response to the will of the international community and to the mandate given to it to draw up a programme which will enable the people of Palestine to obtain rights to which they have long been entitled but which so far they have been unable to attain. There is no question that acceptance of these rights is now quasi-unanimous in the United Nations, except for those who seem to have arbitrarily and unilaterally decided that they do not consider these principles as being applicable to the Arab people of Palestine. This anomaly is precisely what the Committee is trying to overcome at the behest of the General Assembly.

65. The studies prepared by the Unit lay no claim to being perfect; it would indeed be most remarkable if, on questions which have given and continue to give rise to so much controversy, there should be no dissenting opinion. We have in fact received suggestions for improvements from all sides. The Committee does not claim infallibility in these publications, but is strongly insistent on objectivity. Any Member State is urged to participate when these studies are being prepared. The Committee does not wish to encourage academic nit-picking on its studies; it wishes only to present brief, readable, objective and factually dispassionate analyses of important elements of the

question of Palestine so as to encourage informed involvement in a matter of universal concern.

66. There is therefore no point in attempting to discredit and impugn the motives of the members of the Committee on this question. We all have our responsibilities on the various items we discuss in the Assembly, but our responsibilities are probably at their most pronounced when the question of Palestine is involved, since it is one in which the General Assembly was directly involved as soon as the United Nations was founded.

67. Certainly, the international community cannot ignore the moral, legal and political validity of its own recommendations consistently adopted in the past, among the most fundamental in this case being those concerning the right of return of Palestinian refugees and the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people. Nor can the Assembly ignore the fact that there has been no withdrawal from the territories occupied by Israel in 1967, but that on the contrary, a consistent long-term policy of establishing illegal settlements has been pursued by Israel.

68. Let me repeat, for the last time I hope, that, contrary to Israel's assertions, the Committee does not question Israel's right to exist as a State; what it questions is Israel's refusal to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the illegal ways in which Israel sees to it that the attainment of those rights by the Palestinian people is frustrated. If Israel refuses to see the writing on the wall, then it should be helped to do so, in its own self-interest and in the interests of peace and justice.

69. Even within the Secretariat there seem to be occasional attempts to impede the work of the Committee. The article published in the *Secretariat News* on 16 October 1980 was, to put it mildly, quite deplorable, but the Committee did not see fit to demean itself by giving any official reply to that article.

70. Another surprising occurrence is the disappearance from the United Nations collection in the Dag Hammarskjöld Library of several important documents related to the question of Palestine.

71. On the other hand, it must be stressed that this is not a general pattern. On the contrary, the constantly growing international support for the cause of Palestinian self-determination is certainly a reason for optimism. We must hope that in the near future that support will come closer to being universal, so that a concerted effort will finally be made to come to grips with this human drama. The Committee will in any case continue to work assiduously towards this objective in future.

72. That international support was clearly emphasized by the vote taken in the Assembly during the seventh emergency special session, on the question of Palestine, held last July, and it is steadily increasing. A few weeks ago, for example, the National Council of Churches in the United States called for the recognition of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people and recognized the PLO as that people's only legitimate representative. That endorsement undoubtedly shows the changing attitude of the United States public at large to the solution of the Palestinian problem. It is an important element,

following as it does the significant declaration issued at Venice on 13 June 1980 by the nine members of the European Community [A/35/299-S/14009].

73. Another relevant element is the freely expressed opinion of important personalities in Israel, in the front-line Arab States and in the occupied territories over the past few years, where modalities for a comprehensive peace have been analyzed. Two factors deserve to be highlighted. An overwhelming majority of Arabs and a decisive majority of Israelis believe that a compromise settlement requires the establishment of some Palestinian entity in areas of the West Bank and Gaza. Most Arabs and Israelis interviewed believe that the present time is a propitious occasion for a comprehensive settlement. Those observations were reflected in a book published this year for the International Peace Academy.⁷

74. The issue, then, despite its historical complexity, despite the ravages of violence, despite the intensity of feelings it gives rise to, boils down to a few crucial factors. With international acquiescence, Israel long ago acquired its cherished statehood. The Palestinians have not yet attained in practice what the international community has authorized in theory. Frustrated but insistent, they are trying to attain their place in the sun by peaceful means through the United Nations. Their call has elicited an overwhelmingly favourable response within the context of a comprehensive Middle East solution under Security Council auspices. They rightly do not wish to have their future decided for them behind their backs. They want to participate and they want the result to be genuine self-determination, not mere administrative autonomy.

75. The recommendations of the Committee provide a phased and supervised programme for the attainment of that legitimate objective by peaceful means. Other approaches have serious shortcomings which must be remedied if those approaches are to succeed. There can hardly be an area more desperately in need of a positive breakthrough at the present delicate stage in international relations than that of Palestine, nor can there be a people more deserving than the long-suffering Palestinians, so that their bitterness over the past may become transformed into a tangible expectation of liberty and progress for the future.

76. To return to a phrase I used when I introduced the first report of the Committee, no objective observer, no advocate of peace, no champion of human rights, can fail to heed this call, now less than ever before. As has rightly been said: "Because we are free, we cannot be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere". The Palestinians are awaiting our response, and they have waited long enough.

77. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is Mr. Farouk Kaddoumi, head of the Political Department of the PLO, and I call on him on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974.

78. Mr. KADDOUMI (Palestine Liberation Organization) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to congratulate you on your

⁷ John Edwin Mroz, *Beyond Security* (New York, Pergamon Press, 1980).

election as President of the thirty-fifth session. With an awareness that your task is difficult and sensitive and that it requires great diligence and patience, we wish you every success.

79. I should also like to join all the other speakers who have already expressed their profound appreciation to your great predecessor Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania, who conducted the work of the thirty-fourth session and the ensuing special sessions with political discretion, moral strength and commitment to international values and principles.

80. I cannot but speak highly of the Secretary-General for his fruitful and untiring efforts as well as for his concern for the future and fate of the international community.

81. I am pleased to welcome the heroic people of Zimbabwe and the friendly people of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, which, after a bitter struggle for independence, have joined the Organization as full Members. Their presence among us today indicates clearly and decisively that we live in the age of struggling peoples, the age of the liquidation of colonialism and racism in all their forms. It is our fervent hope that the cause of liberation will win and that other peoples, among them our own Palestinian people, are on the way to complete freedom and independence.

82. The 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 United Nations has lived with this question since its inception, as did the League of Nations before it, because it is one of the questions that demands a just solution and the continuance of which constitutes a heavy burden on the conscience of the world.

83. In July the Assembly held its seventh emergency special session, in line with the principle of uniting for peace, in order to consider the question of Palestine and the widening area of danger in the Arab-Zionist conflict. That session was held in response to the urgent call by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, whose comprehensive reports and continued efforts to implement United Nations resolutions deserve respect and appreciation. We therefore thank its Chairman, Mr. Kane, its Rapporteur, Mr. Gauci, and all its members.

84. Today, four months later, I address the General Assembly again with the feeling that I can repeat without any change what I stated at the 1st meeting of the seventh emergency special session. If I add anything, it is to provide evidence of the Zionist enemy's crimes against our people within and outside the occupied territories and of its continued challenge to the United Nations and international law.

85. The tragedy continues. Resolutions are adopted here based on principles of justice and peace, only to remain on paper, while there, in the arena of conflict, the Israeli enemy applies the law of the jungle and of racism and Fascism with impunity, using violence, brutality and terrorism, contemptuously defying world public opinion and all the laws and principles upheld by civilized humanity.

86. We do not want to be charged with desperation, but can we secure our human and national rights through the United Nations and through diplomacy? This time, let us ask the question out of confidence and not out of desperation. This is to serve as a warning and not as a threat.

87. Simply stated, is the United Nations, with its 154 Member States, unable to implement its own resolutions? Does Israel, governed by a Fascist gang, counterbalance the rest of the nations of the world combined? Is it possible to believe that an artificial racist entity, created in a passing moment of history by a majority of one vote in this Organization, has become bigger than this Organization itself, whose membership has tripled since that moment when General Assembly resolution 181 (II) on the partition plan was adopted? Is it possible to believe that such an entity, itself created by a United Nations resolution, no longer heeds similar United Nations resolutions?

88. We pose these questions but we already know the answers. The answers clearly lie in the aggressive alliance between world imperialism led by the United States of America and the racist Zionist movement embodied in the settler entity, the so-called State of Israel, which is in reality a Western colonial enterprise serving as an advanced outpost to protect imperialist interests in the Arab region. The so-called State of Israel is more of a function of imperialism than a State, a function which poses a threat not only to Palestinian and Arab existence but equally to the Jew, who has been misled and turned into a mercenary in the army of United States imperialism.

89. As I said before, we pose the question although we know the answer. Without the United States of America the Zionist enemy would not today be as arrogant and aggressive as it is. When Israel needs arms, the United States, Washington, provides it with the most sophisticated and lethal weapons in its arsenals, including internationally prohibited arms. If it needs political support, the Government in Washington uses its veto power to protect it and make the international decision ineffective. The United States of America has abused its right of veto and put it at the service of the protection of Israel. We realize all that, and still we persist in posing this question. Is this all the United Nations can do—adopt resolutions, then make appeals and express wishes for their implementation? Although the United Nations has no navy, air force or rapid deployment force, it certainly has the power of its legitimate international position, the power to oppose those that reject the Organization and violate its resolutions, the power to expel a Member that does not comply with its will and persists in violating its principles and the power to impose sanctions on those that threaten the destiny of a people and the future of world peace.

90. The Charter of the United Nations clearly states its right to impose sanctions where needed. Why has it not been possible to impose such sanctions? If it is possible, how long will the hesitation to apply them last?

91. Yes, it is the United States veto that prevents the Security Council from taking a decision to impose sanctions on Israel. Is it at all possible for the Member

States which realize that fact to exercise their right to impose sanctions, by, for instance, non-recognition of the aggressor State and the severing of diplomatic, cultural and economic relations with it?

92. Our call today for the imposition of sanctions on Israel is made out of concern for the principles of the Charter, out of deference to the judge and to justice and in order to punish the convict that daily shows anew its lack of respect for that same Organization to which it is indebted for its very existence. A resolution imposing sanctions on Israel in accordance with the principles of the Charter would, in our opinion, enhance the prestige of the United Nations and would activate its vital role in the international arena at a time when human society has a feeling of apprehension and deep anxiety over the threat to international peace posed by Israel's persistent contempt for United Nations resolutions and non-compliance with the will of the international community.

93. We did not come here to repeat statements that the Assembly has often heard from us or that we have all heard before from the overwhelming majority of the members of the Assembly about the crucial nature of the question of Palestine and the need to find a just solution in accordance with the Charter and the resolutions which state the need to recognize the national rights of our people to return to their lands, to self-determination and to independent statehood in Palestine, its national territory.

94. Needless to say, the circle of international support has expanded to include parts of Western Europe, which have begun to develop their position, albeit inadequately, in official statements and declarations resulting from a realization of the dangerous nature of the situation and of its possible development.

95. Everybody knows the degree and extent of our commitment to the principles and resolutions of the Organization concerning our cause. I need not say that had it not been for the United States veto as regards a number of draft resolutions submitted by neutral States and groups we should have made the desired progress in all these endeavours. The continued obstruction by the United States of the action of the United Nations constitutes a danger to us all, including the people of that country itself. It is time for the United States, as one of the great Powers, to take seriously its responsibility as regards the United Nations, the Charter and the resolutions adopted, and as regards the cause of a just peace. It should recognize the bankruptcy of its current Middle East policy and the failure of the method adopted by the Camp David accords. It is that policy that has caused all the tensions, complications, divisions and wars that our region is witnessing and that portend further danger.

96. In this connexion we wish to refer to the pending change of Administration after the defeat of Mr. Carter and the accession of Mr. Reagan to the United States Presidency, for both of them have, during the electoral campaign, turned our cause and the future of our people into a commodity in the electoral market, without respect for human values, international relations and the moral values involved in such relations.

97. We have witnessed the consequences of Carter's policy. Suffice it to note, for example, that during his Administration Israel received \$11 billion in assistance out of the total of \$21 billion that Israel has received since its creation from the United States.

98. Mr. Reagan has promised us worse yet. He has unjustly and unrealistically described the PLO as a terrorist organization not elected by the people. Mr. Reagan forgot, purposely perhaps, the following facts.

99. First, the first National Council of the PLO was convened in 1964 in Jerusalem and was attended by elected representatives of the Palestinian people in exile everywhere.

100. Secondly, the present National Council is made up of 304 members representing all walks of Palestinian life. They include engineers, doctors, teachers, lawyers, workers, peasants, women, students, representatives of popular councils in refugee camps and Palestinian leaders. In addition, all Palestinian military and political organizations are represented in the National Council.

101. Thirdly, all the elected mayors and members of the mayoral councils of the towns and villages inside the occupied Palestinian territories have declared that they stand with the PLO as their sole legitimate representative. Several popular conventions have been held and have declared that the PLO is their only legitimate representative.

102. Fourthly, it is no accident that there is no other Palestinian organization that claims to represent the Palestinian people or doubts that the PLO is the representative of that people.

103. Fifthly, the PLO is a full member of the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement. It also has observer status at the United Nations.

104. Mr. Reagan's description of the PLO as a terrorist organization constitutes nothing more than a voice added to the chorus of the Zionist enemies in the old song which the international community views with disgust. He should have remembered that the PLO assumed responsibility for protecting the American citizens and the Jews in Lebanon during the Lebanese civil war. He should have remembered that the PLO played a humanitarian role in protecting the staff and institutions of the United Nations in Lebanon. He should remember that the PLO and its leader, Brother Yasser Arafat, have been exerting efforts and using their good offices to stop the Iraqi-Iranian war in order to save the blood of the Iraqi and Iranian people. He should also remember that our armed struggle against the Zionists who occupy our Palestinian land is the exercise of a legitimate right recognized by international law and United Nations resolutions and by the tradition of all the peoples that have been subjected to occupation, among them the peoples of Europe that were subjected to the Nazi conquest.

105. It would have been better for Mr. Reagan to rebel against the State terrorism that Israel practises. He should denounce the terrorist crimes committed by Begin against the international mediator, Count Bernadotte, and against the elected mayors in our

occupied land. Israeli State terrorism was exemplified in attempts to arrest, exile and kill our elected leaders in the occupied land for no reason other than their rejection of Israeli occupation and their public statements to the effect that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

106. It may be useful for the advisers of the President-elect to help him avoid the mistakes made by his predecessor, so that he may not fall prey to the illusion that there is any party capable of representing the Palestinian people or speaking on their behalf other than the only legitimate leaders of the PLO. The transfer of illusions from one capital to another with the hope of pushing through the Camp David conspiracy will not fool anybody and will not lead the region to any stability or any peace.

107. In this connexion we have to reaffirm that we reject any solution to our problem through any Arab State, since Palestinian relations with any Arab State were never a cause of the Middle East crisis. Therefore we categorically reject any suggestion that such relations be considered a pre-condition of any settlement of the Middle East crisis.

108. We met here last July in an emergency special session of the General Assembly, held a debate on this issue and listened to the opinion of the entire world. The session ended with a clear and specific resolution, resolution ES-7/2. We met last August in the Security Council, which convened specifically to discuss the question of Jerusalem.⁸ The Council then took a clear and specific decision, in its resolution 478 (1980).

109. At the outset of this session in September we listened to the statements of the Foreign Ministers of Member States. They all agreed on the crucial nature of the Palestine question and the need for its quick resolution to avoid exacerbating the situation as a result of protracted deliberations without a just solution. Here we are today, in December 1980, discussing and reviewing the outcome of all that work. What is the outcome?

110. If we review closely all the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and its organs and the Security Council on the question of Palestine and their results, we find that their number exceeds the number of resolutions and decisions on all the other issues dealt with by the Organization. Yet, when we review closely which of those resolutions and decisions were implemented, we notice at once that only one of them was implemented, namely, General Assembly resolution 181 (II) on the partition plan, which brought tragedy and dispossession to our people. It was aggressively enforced and used as a pretext by Israel for its seizure of the entire Palestinian territory. Subsequent resolutions, such as General Assembly resolution 194 (III), which was repeatedly reaffirmed, were never implemented.

111. To make a long story short, I will only review the outcome of the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

112. Last July the Assembly adopted resolution ES-7/2, in which it expressed its concern for inter-

national peace and security because of the failure to resolve the question of Palestine; it noted the failure of the Security Council to take a decision because of the negative vote of the United States on 30 April 1980;⁹ it also reaffirmed the principles of the Charter which do not permit the acquisition of the land of others by force; it expressed again its commitment to recognition of the inalienable right of our people to return to their usurped land and property, to self-determination without foreign intervention and to national independence and sovereignty. The Assembly then called on Israel to withdraw completely and unconditionally from all the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, before 15 November 1980. The Assembly further called upon Israel to comply with Security Council resolution 465 (1980), which was adopted unanimously on 1 March 1980. The Assembly also expressed its rejection of all the policies and plans aimed at resettling the Palestinians outside their homeland. The Assembly had requested the Secretary-General to submit to it at the thirty-fifth session a report on the resolutions implemented, and it also requested that the Security Council, in case Israel refused to do what was required of it, should convene to consider the situation and the possibility of adopting effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter. This is a summary of what the Assembly resolved, and it is typical of most of its previous resolutions. What was the outcome?

113. The Israeli response was a clear and categorical rejection of that resolution and of the relevant Security Council resolution on the annexation of Jerusalem and its declaration as the eternal capital of Israel. Members all heard or read the statement of Izhak Shamir before the Assembly on 29 September 1980 [15th meeting]. They also undoubtedly heard the statement of the representative of Israel at the 10th meeting of the seventh emergency special session, on 28 July 1980, in which he arrogantly reaffirmed the refusal of his Government to withdraw from the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied in 1967. He considered the failure of efforts in the Security Council—a result of the United States veto of any resolution requiring Israel to withdraw its forces from those territories—as a cover behind which Israel could continue the aggression and the occupation of the land of others by force of arms. He further asserted that the establishment of settlements in the occupied Palestinian territory was a matter of right and a duty for Israel and that it was consistent with the rules of international law. What international law is that?

114. What international law permits the Israeli Knesset to take a decision to empower the Israeli Government to annex and control Jerusalem and then to declare it the eternal capital of Israel? What international law permits Israel or any State to prevent the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable right to independent statehood in its homeland, like all the other peoples of the world?

115. Does that not compel the General Assembly to consider seriously taking practical steps to protect its own prestige, the sanctity of its resolutions and its procedural right to reject the credentials of the Israeli

⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, 2245th meeting.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 2220th meeting.

delegation as long as it represents a Government that insists on violating international law and United Nations resolutions and that considers Jerusalem its capital? The credentials of the Israeli delegation should be rejected until Israel complies with the wishes of the whole of the international community.

116. Israel said "No" to withdrawal from the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories. Israel continues to say "No" to the right of return of the Palestinian refugees to their homes and property. Israel continues to say "No" to the exercise of the right of self-determination and repeatedly says "No" to the establishment of an independent Palestinian State. Israel does not find it sufficient to say "No" but arrogantly and provocatively escalates its practices of change and alteration, annexation and settlement and gradual acquisition of the Palestinian and Arab lands it occupies. Moreover, Israel is occupying more Arab land, as it has been doing in southern Lebanon. The news of such occupation arrives weekly and sometimes daily, especially at the present time. Israel is preparing to annex the Syrian Golan Heights.

117. This is the outcome, to which must be added the lives of hundreds of our sons and brothers killed in Lebanon this year. Tens of towns and villages were the targets of sea, air and land attacks. At the same time, every day our brothers in the occupied territories are being compelled to appear before the oppressive Israelis to be interrogated, gaoled, tortured or expelled. Members have heard about those practices, and they have been attested to by all the bodies concerned with human rights, including the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, which was not allowed by Israel to enter those territories to fulfil its mandate.

118. From this brief review of the past year's actions, which is similar to what has happened during the past seven sessions, in which we have participated as observers, the true nature of the continued crisis from which we suffer becomes clear. The perpetuation of this situation brings forebodings of serious events, which threaten the security of the region and the world.

119. No doubt the continued denunciations and rejections of colonial expansionist Israel in its policy are necessary and useful, but the experience of all these years shows that verbal punishment is no longer sufficient. Movement forward should be made in the search for concrete measures which can be adopted, as has been done against the other racist entities, such as South Africa, the Israel of the African continent. The delegation of the PLO believes that the various international groups could increase their role in the preliminary search for a just political solution to this chronic and dangerous problem. Such an increase in their role would make it easier for the international community, within the framework of the United Nations, to exercise more effective pressure.

120. Recently, some Western European representatives, especially the United Kingdom, have called for delay and postponement until the new administration in Washington has read its Middle East file, understood it and decided on its position. Those countries realize more than others, in the light of the understanding of their Governments of the question

of Palestine, that the Palestinian people and the Arabs have become tired of this traditional series of procrastinations: of waiting for the outcome of the elections at one time and for the second term of this or that President at another. The Palestinian people and the Arabs are tired of those and other similar pretexts. Mr. Ronald Reagan will be the eighth United States President to hold office during the time of the Palestinian tragedy. Yet that tragedy is growing and intensifying with time. It should always be remembered that the Palestinian Arab people, who have been transformed into battalions of fighters under the leadership of the PLO, will not accept further procrastination and tergiversations. The Palestinian people call on the entire world to shoulder its legal and human responsibility and put an end to their suffering and the denial of basic rights to them. The delegation of the PLO believes that Western Europe should find for itself a more advanced role—independent of the United States—and not merely be content to wait; it could do so by making moves that would contribute towards the establishment of a just peace in the Middle East.

121. We also believe that Western Europe's official recognition of the PLO and of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people could be a great service to the peace efforts. Those who claim that their political traditions do not permit them to recognize organizations should note the contradiction when they cite that poor reason: they demand that the PLO recognize a State and they make this demand a major prerequisite for making any move. They must remember that in 1947 they voted in favour of the right of the Palestinian people to an independent State, and that they voted in favour of resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III). Some of them were even members of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine and were witnesses to the Lausanne Protocol in 1949.¹⁰

122. Western Europe's recognition of the PLO and the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people will help restrain the madness of the Zionist position, which represents an excessive challenge to all international values, principles and laws; it should also limit the Israeli Fascist practices against our people and the Lebanese people, which include indiscriminate bombing of towns and refugee camps with napalm as a matter of daily routine.

123. Although we note the relative development in the position of Western European States and wish to continue contact with them, we say frankly that Western Europe is requested to go beyond a mere statement of position and wishes and calls for the achievement of the just solution. This just solution starts with the adoption of independent positions, far from the approach of the Camp David agreements, and should result from considering Security Council resolution 242 (1967) as an inadequate basis for the settlement of the Middle East crisis, and especially the Palestinian issue. That has not been achieved so far, and it must be achieved as a basic condition for the establishment of a just peace.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourth Session, Ad Hoc Political Committee, Annex, vol. II, document A/927, annexes A and B.*

124. In this connexion I should like in particular to commend our friends in the socialist countries on their position which is based on their belief in the right of all peoples in the world to freedom and national independence, and on their support for the struggle of our people. We also wish to commend the position of the non-aligned countries and the Islamic and African countries. Those who represent the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world support the struggle and the rights of our people. They are faithful and sincere in their efforts to achieve a just solution that is conducive to peace, without procrastination, manoeuvres and attempts to gain time.

125. I find myself obliged now to repeat in the name of our people and its leaders that we shall not allow anyone to continue to play games concerning the legitimacy of our struggle and of our goals. It should be clear that no party is competent and qualified even to discuss the question of the rights of the Palestinian people and its land except the PLO. Any attempt to bypass us will only meet with failure and exacerbate the situation in the Middle East.

126. There is only one road to peace in the Middle East. It is the shortest road: the resolution of the question of Palestine. It requires recognition and implementation of the rights of our people as decided in United Nations resolutions, and I shall reiterate those rights because some are politically hard of hearing and repetition may be useful to them.

127. The first is the right to return to our land and to recover our property; the second is our right to self-determination without any foreign interference; and the third is the right to sovereignty and national independence and to establish an independent Palestinian State in Palestine.

128. Talk of anything else would be a waste of time and a prolongation of dispute and conflict, in which we would only have to continue and intensify our struggle at all levels. Unless and until we attain those national rights, the only alternative to life in concentration camps for our people in their occupied homeland or life in refugee camps, where they want us to live for ever in forced exile, is life in military training camps and on the battlefields.

129. Today the Assembly again confronts Israeli intransigence. At seventh emergency special session the Assembly called upon Israel to withdraw from the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and set 15 November 1980 as the deadline for implementation. That resolution has become the victim of Israeli contempt for the international will and of Israeli violations of the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The open and continued defiance of the international community by a Member of the United Nations constitutes a dangerous phenomenon and threatens the existence of the United Nations, its lofty principles and its goals of preserving world peace and justice. We are called upon to preserve the Organization, its principles and its purposes for the sake of the peoples of the world and their freedom, independence and prosperity. This requirement demands that the General Assembly fulfil its responsibility to bring that phenomenon to a certain end so that the Organization may not be confronted in future with other dangers. Negative precedents should not be allowed to

accumulate to such a degree as to overwhelm the Organization and turn it into a structure devoid of the principles and goals for which it was originally created. The Organization should not be used to support oppression against the interests of the peoples of the world, to condone and justify aggression and to serve the hegemonistic aims of the forces of evil and war in a world aspiring to peace, justice, prosperity and equitable human relations.

130. Mr. MANSOURI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Once again the General Assembly is discussing the question of Palestine, a question that has been before us since the creation of Israel by the General Assembly.

131. Although the Assembly has during past years heard very clear explanations concerning the tragedy of the Palestinian people and the Arab world in the Middle East, and despite the special sessions at which the Assembly has examined this question—particularly the seventh emergency special session last July—we are once again discussing the responsibility of the international community and of the United Nations to ensure the implementation of the General Assembly resolutions designed to restore to the Palestinian people its legitimate rights, and especially the right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State.

132. The facts are now clear. It is no longer a secret to anyone that the Palestinian people was the victim of a Zionist-imperialist-colonialist plot that resulted in the creation of Israel in the region and deprived the Palestinian people of its sacred right to life. That people is still in exile, far from its homeland. It has not yet had an opportunity to exercise its right to self-determination—a right that is one of the fundamental principles of the Charter.

133. Nevertheless, it is perhaps a source of satisfaction that, although in 1947 the General Assembly made a mistake and committed an injustice to the Palestinian people and its rights, it did realize its mistake and attempted to remedy that injustice by affirming the necessity of allowing that people to exercise its right to self-determination and by taking the first practical steps in that direction. I am referring in the first place to General Assembly resolution 3376 (XXX) of 10 November 1975, which established the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, whose latest report, we are discussing today. That report is a link in the chain of reports which have been submitted by the Committee to the General Assembly since 1975.

134. The real problem in regard to the question of Palestine is that there was a Zionist colonial invasion which was not limited to the occupation of Palestinian territories but expanded and went beyond that, uprooting an entire people from its homeland and throwing it into refugee camps, which, more than 30 years later, are still in the Arab world.

135. Everyone knows that this Zionist colonization was not limited to the Palestinian people. An attempt was made to extend the colonialist expansion to such independent Arab countries as Syria, Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon by means of wars of aggression against those countries. In that regard, we must stress here that the entire world has begun to be more clearly

aware of the true dangers of that policy of colonization, dangers that we have pointed to repeatedly. The report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People emphasizes this awareness on the part, particularly, of the Western countries. In paragraph 19 it states:

“Of special satisfaction to the Committee was the fact that on this occasion several Western European Member States had in their interventions censured Israel’s settlement policy.”

136. The essence of this question of Palestine is the fate of a people and of its homeland. World Zionism, Israel and imperialism plotted to deny that people all its rights, without which Zionism would not have been able to create Israel as the first phase of its expansionist plan to colonize the Middle East. The inalienable rights of the Palestinian people have been affirmed in many General Assembly resolutions; those rights cannot be abandoned or alienated by anyone.

137. In our statement to the General Assembly on 23 July last at the 4th meeting of the seventh emergency special session, we summed up as follows the fundamental rights of the Palestinians:

“These rights are fundamental rights that cannot be alienated, surrendered to others or usurped. They are the following: the right to return, the right to equal rights as enjoyed by all other peoples, the right to self-determination in a Palestinian homeland, the right to freedom, the right to national liberation, the right to sovereignty over the Palestinian homeland, the right to national independence, the right to struggle by every means to recover their homeland, human rights and fundamental freedoms, civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, the right to a Palestinian nationality, the right to individual property, the right to compensation for all property confiscated and taken by force, the right of Palestinians over Palestine, and the right to seek and obtain all manner of material and moral assistance.

“These inalienable rights and the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories constitute the crux of the question of Palestine. That is what we must stress and what all the efforts of the international Organization must be directed towards.”

138. In his report, the Secretary-General indicates very clearly that Israel has refused and continues to refuse to implement the General Assembly resolutions on the question of Palestine, and in particular resolution ES-7/2. Indeed, Israel claims that the Camp David framework agreements for the establishment of peace in the Middle East are the only path towards autonomy for the Palestinians. It is obvious that these Israeli allegations are very far from the truth and that the Camp David agreements do not give the Palestinians the right to self-determination for which they are struggling. Everyone is aware that there is an enormous difference between the exercise of the right to self-determination and the so-called granting of autonomy. During the past two years, we have repeatedly proved to the world that the so-called Camp David agreements are a failure. Those agreements, indeed, have not made possible any progress so far and, despite all the efforts, they have not been able to achieve one

of their goals—that is, the liquidation of the Palestine question—because it has not been possible to win over a Palestinian spokesman. These agreements, which provide no solution, have been supported by no one. The Palestinian people, who are in exile and whose homeland is occupied, have rejected them. The Arab countries and peoples continue to regard them as a failure and are trying to overcome their effects.

139. Moreover, the General Assembly itself rejected those agreements when it noted with concern in its resolution 34/65 B that they “have been concluded outside the framework of the United Nations and without the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people”.

140. In the same resolution the Assembly rejected “those provisions of the accords which ignore, infringe, violate or deny the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return, the right of self-determination and the right to national independence and sovereignty in Palestine, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations”.

141. Furthermore, it declared that the agreements “have no validity in so far as they purport to determine the future of the Palestinian people”.

142. In that connexion I should like to refer to a passage from a statement made to the General Assembly on 30 September this year by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic. He said that the Camp David agreements had the following objectives:

“first, to weaken the Arab nation by embroiling the Egyptian régime in a policy that runs counter to the interests and future of the Arabs and to the interests of peace and security; secondly, to liquidate the cause of Palestine and undermine the national unity of the Palestinian people and their aspirations to liberation and self-determination and to establish their independent State on their national soil; thirdly, to perpetuate the Israeli aggression in Palestine and the occupied Arab territories and to use Israel as a base endangering the security, peace and future of the region; and fourthly, to spread United States hegemony in the region, notably military, economic and political hegemony. This trend is manifested in the setting up of a series of United States military bases in some countries of the region [16th meeting, para. 21.]

143. If the General Assembly is to take a clear and specific stand in dealing with the question of Palestine in its live context and if it really has the will to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, we must implement the relevant General Assembly resolutions and oblige Israel to comply with those resolutions, which are based on two essential points: first, the complete and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all occupied Arab territories and, secondly, the granting of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, according to the principle, nature and limits of those rights as defined by the General Assembly.

144. In paragraph 5 of his report the Secretary-General stated what measures should be taken at this stage in order to implement the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, and referred to

resolution ES-7/2, in paragraph 13 of which the Security Council was requested to convene in the event of Israel's non-compliance with that resolution in order to consider the possibility of adopting effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

145. Similarly, the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People indicated in its recommendations, in paragraphs 45 and 46 of its report that the repeated endorsement of its recommendations by the General Assembly at its thirty-first, thirty-second, thirty-third and thirty-fourth sessions and its seventh emergency special session strengthened the Committee's conviction that positive action by the Security Council could create the necessary conditions for a just and lasting peace, since the recommendations contain the basic principles relating to the solution of the problem of Palestine within the Middle East situation. The Committee, consequently, deemed it necessary that the General Assembly once more reaffirm the validity of those recommendations and adopt every positive measure by the Security Council.

146. We feel that Israel's persistent intransigence and refusal to comply with General Assembly resolutions aimed at restoring peace and security in the Middle East region mean that the time has come for the Security Council to consider how the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter can be applied. We feel

further that the General Assembly must discharge its responsibility by applying sanctions against Israel, in particular if we take into account the fact that the United States has thus far managed to prevent the Security Council from arriving at a decision on this question by using its right of veto, thus defying the will of the overwhelming majority of the international community.

147. Before concluding, we should like to thank the Secretary-General for his co-operation and to express our appreciation of the report before us, in which appropriate measures are indicated. We should further like to thank Mr. Falilou Kane, the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, as well as all its members for the efforts they have made to carry out the difficult mission entrusted to them. We wish them every success in achieving the objectives for which their Committee was established.

148. We hope that at the next session effective measures will be adopted to ensure that the General Assembly resolutions are implemented, and that the United States will not use its right of veto. We should like to see the General Assembly play a much more positive and effective role so that the Palestinian people may exercise their legitimate rights.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.