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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Katapodis  
(Greece), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

## AGENDA ITEM 24

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

1. Mr. MRANI ZENTAR (Morocco) (*interpretation from Arabic*). The General Assembly is once again studying the Palestine question in an attempt to put an end to the tragedy that has been experienced and suffered for more than 30 years by the Palestinian people.

2. The General Assembly this year also is taking as the basis for its examination of this question the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [A/35/35], which has persistently exerted its utmost efforts in order to make it possible for the Palestinian people to exercise its legitimate national rights.

3. I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Committee for its positive action and to express our sincere and warm congratulations to its Chairman, Mr. Falilou Kane of the sister State of Senegal, for the wisdom and expertise with which he guides the work of the Committee. Our respect for the Committee and our appreciation of its efforts are increased by the fact that it works in very difficult circumstances and without real co-operation from those who have the capacity speedily to implement its recommendations.

4. The most important event witnessed by the international community this year as far as the Palestine question is concerned was the convening of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly last July to examine this question, once it was obvious that the Security Council was unable to fulfil its responsibilities by taking the necessary decisions to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights and particularly their right to return to their land and to self-determination.

5. The convening of that session was on the one hand an affirmation by the General Assembly of its commitment and its determination to carry out its historic responsibility to the Palestinian people and on the other a clear expression of the determination of the international community to use all available ways and means in order to remedy the injustice experienced by the Palestinian people for over three decades.

6. During that session a<sup>1</sup> freedom-loving countries expressed their support for that people in their bitter struggle led by their sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. At that session the international community demonstrated its refusal to remain idle in the face of the defiant attitude of the Israeli authorities. Those authorities, not satisfied with expelling the majority of the Palestinian people from their homeland by the use of all kinds of force and oppression, have also tried to destroy the Arab and Islamic character of occupied Palestine through assassination and destruction.

7. Since 1948 the world has witnessed the extent of Israeli intransigence and of the moral and material destruction carried out by Israel against the land and the people in a part of the world that should have been the land of love, co-operation and peace.

8. The tragedy of the Palestinian is far greater than can be described in speeches. Documents of the United Nations and other international organizations and reports of a large number of international committees give a detailed picture of the inhuman practices of the Israeli authorities in Palestine and the occupied Arab territories, through which Israel is trying not only to continue its occupation but also to change the civilization and the cultural aspect of all the areas it occupies.

9. The actions of the Israeli authorities in the Holy City of Jerusalem and in Hebron are the strongest proof of Israel's defiance not only of political resolutions and international codes but also of moral values. To the international conscience these are the worst political and moral crimes.

10. The Israeli decisions concerning Jerusalem, particularly the decision to annex that Holy City and to proclaim it the eternal capital of Israel, are positive proof that the Israeli authorities base their actions on a policy of expansion, hegemony and usurpation. Their policy is rigidly racist, detrimental to the rights of man, contrary to his moral values and aimed at destroying the spirit of brotherhood and tolerance which should prevail among religions.

11. The response of the Islamic world to Israel's violation of the Holy Places in Palestine and in the Arab occupied territories was commensurate with the shock that was felt by hundreds of millions of

Moslems in every part of the world. The establishment of the Organization of the Islamic Conference at Rabat in 1969 during the Conference held on the initiative of King Hassan II after the burning of Al-Aqsa Mosque, and the setting up within the Islamic Conference of the Committee on Jerusalem, which is presided over by King Hassan II, are two important steps taken by the Islamic countries in order to liberate the Islamic Holy Places and to support the Palestinian people in their just struggle to return to their homeland, exercise their right to self-determination, sovereignty and national independence and set up their own State on their territory. The actions of the Committee on Jerusalem and the initiatives taken by its Chairman have deepened the international community's understanding of the problem of Jerusalem and increased its support for the cause of the Palestinian people.

12. I should like in this context to recall the historic resolution 465 (1980), adopted unanimously on 1 March 1980, in which the Security Council affirmed that the measures adopted by Israel in the occupied Arab territories and in the Holy City of Jerusalem are null and void. It is a source of pleasure in that context to express the great appreciation of the Kingdom of Morocco of the noble stand taken by Holland, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Panama, Uruguay and Venezuela, in transferring their embassies from Jerusalem in response to the call by the Islamic Conference and in accordance with Security Council resolution 478 (1980).

13. Israel's policy in the occupied Arab territories and particularly in Jerusalem is flagrant aggression against the feelings and dignity of mankind as a whole and of Moslems and Christians in particular. Moslem and Christian believers find themselves today standing together in the face of Israeli defiance and aggression concerning Jerusalem, and their co-operation and joint efforts are necessary in order to liberate the Holy City. The liberation of that Holy City is undoubtedly the key to the liberation of the rest of the occupied Arab territories. Among the initiatives taken by His Majesty King Hassan II, the Chairman of the Committee on Jerusalem, was his historic visit to His Holiness Pope John Paul II, which strengthened the links between the Islamic and Christian worlds as regards the tragic situation of the Holy City and of the people of Palestine. The delegation of the Kingdom of Morocco would like, in this regard, to express its conviction that the perception and far-sightedness of His Holiness the Pope constitute a positive element which can certainly assist in the achievement of the just and comprehensive solution that we all desire, not only for the problem of Jerusalem but for the entire question of Palestine.

14. At this time, when we are glad to see that the question of Palestine has gained increased understanding on the part of the international community and to witness the growing support of that community for the Palestinian people, represented by the PLO, its sole and legitimate representative, we can only reaffirm our denunciation of Israel's intransigence and its clear refusal to implement the resolutions of the United Nations. Worse than that, Israel, instead of responding to the calls of the international

community, insists on implementing its aggressive policy against the Palestinian people, whose land it has usurped and whose people it has dispersed. In fact, by its repeated acts of aggression against the sister State of Lebanon it is trying to cut off part of the territory of that State and to destroy its territorial integrity. On this occasion we should like to declare the solidarity of the Kingdom of Morocco with the sister republic of Lebanon in the efforts it is making to maintain its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

15. The international community, today more than ever before, has the duty to restore to the Palestinian people the exercise of their inalienable rights, particularly the right to return to their land and property, their right to self-determination without any foreign interference and to complete national independence and sovereignty and their right to establish and independent State on their own land.

16. The Kingdom of Morocco is profoundly convinced that the question of Palestine is the core of the conflict in the Middle East and that no just, comprehensive and durable peace can be established in that region without restoring to the Palestinian people the exercise of their legitimate national rights in accordance with the Charter and United Nations resolutions, which provide for the participation of the Palestinian people, represented by the PLO, in all efforts to solve this problem. Morocco reaffirms its commitment to help the Palestinian people in their sacred cause and will continue to make all possible efforts at every level, both nationally and internationally, to ensure the liberation of the Holy City of Jerusalem and the restoration to the Palestinian people of their dignity and their sovereignty over their own homeland.

17. Mr. MITTAL (India): The deadline set by the United Nations for the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories passed uneventfully a few days ago. The demand of the overwhelming majority of the Member States of the United Nations, expressed forcefully through resolution ES-7/2 of the historic seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, went unheeded. The promise of a homeland given to the Palestinian people by the United Nations 33 years ago remains unfulfilled to this day, and the Palestinians, uprooted from their hearts and homes, continue to be subjected to atrocities and indignities. The situation in West Asia remains tense, and the threat of a conflagration faces the region and the entire world. Once again the United Nations has been rendered powerless in the face of Israel's intransigence and expansionism.

18. Behind the present explosive situation in West Asia lies the history of the denial of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people, their systematic persecution and the desecration of their holy land. Even before the attainment of independence by India, our national leaders, Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, expressed their indignation at the atrocities committed against the Palestinians. India has consistently advocated a just and comprehensive solution of the problems of West Asia, which should consist in the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable national and human rights, including the

right to establish an independent State in their homeland, the total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all Arab territories occupied since June 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the guarantee of the right of all States in the region, including Arab Palestine, to live within secure and recognized borders.

19. An essential prerequisite for the attainment of a peaceful solution is the full and equal participation of the PLO, the only genuine representative of the Palestinian people, in any discussions that may have a bearing on their future. Experience has shown that partial agreements and superficial solutions that do not take these cardinal principles into account have not contributed to peace. On the contrary, such agreements and so-called peace processes have undermined the unity of the supporters of the Palestinians and given Israel lame excuses to delay the abandonment of aggression.

20. The recent events in West Asia have not kindled even a ray of hope that Israel will withdraw from the occupied Arab territories. On the contrary, Israel has continued to consolidate its occupation by building new settlements and unleas'ing a reign of terror on the Arab inhabitants, who are waging a just struggle to realize their aspirations. Not even the faintest voice of dissent is tolerated by Israel. Indeed, by all accounts the Israeli practices in the occupied territories are aimed at humiliating and subjugating the Arab people with a view to perpetuating the occupation and the illegal settlements. We have no doubt that the indomitable courage and the irresistible will of the Palestinian people will not suffer.

21. The Premier Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, said on 28 November in a message to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People:

“As always, India considers the Palestinian question as central to the West Asian situation. Along with other Members of the United Nations, we reiterate our support for the Palestinian cause. We are confident that the continued efforts of the United Nations will further strengthen the indomitable spirit of the Palestinian people to continue their struggle. The fulfilment of their aspirations is only a matter of time.”

22. The annexation of Jerusalem by Israel in total disregard of its historic personality and sacred heritage stands universally condemned. Security Council resolution 478 (1980), adopted unanimously on 20 August, reflects the indignation of the world. India has consistently held the view that Jerusalem is a part of those territories which must be vacated by Israel in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. India has always been, and continues to be, totally opposed to Israel's attempts to make the Holy City of Jerusalem its capital.

23. The report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for the year 1980 is eloquent testimony to the excellent work being done by that Committee in furtherance of the rights of the Palestinian people. Even though its recommendations, repeatedly endorsed by the General Assembly, have remained unimplemented, the Committee has rendered yeoman service to the

Palestinian cause by increasing the awareness of the world community as regards the injustice done to the Palestinian people and the justness of their demand for the establishment of a Palestine State. As a member of the Committee, we fully endorse its recommendations as contained in the report and pledge our continuing support for its activities.

24. The Arab people, particularly the Palestinians, have suffered long enough at the hands of Israel. The aggressive and expansionist policies of Israel pose a grave threat to the peace and security of the region and the entire world. Blinded by its military strength and the support of a super-Power, Israel does not see that it cannot guarantee its own security and national rights by constantly threatening the security of neighbouring States and seeking to reverse the tide of history. Only concerted action by the United Nations can bring Israel to its senses, and we should therefore once again reaffirm the inalienable rights in Palestine of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish their own independent State; demand the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since June 1967; and call upon the Security Council to consider the adoption of effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter in the event of non-compliance by Israel.

25. Mr. AL-SAFFAR (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): We had great hopes for—and attached great importance to—the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly when it met to examine the Palestinian question in all its aspects, in response to the urgent need to find a peaceful and comprehensive solution to the tragic problem of the Palestinian people, who have been living in exile for more than 30 years. Unfortunately, that hope was not fulfilled; the Palestinian people are still in exile and the Palestinian territories are still under occupation. Although there is still tension in the area—indeed, it is increasing—the international community continues to be unable to impose its will in matters concerning the maintenance of international peace and security because of Zionist intransigence and the American military and other material support for the Zionists, which feeds their intransigence.

26. The call by States for the convening last summer of an emergency special session of the General Assembly to examine the Palestinian question was a clear indication of the interest of those States in the search for a peaceful solution to the problem of the Palestinian people and the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territory. That great interest and concern still prevails in the international community because of the deteriorating situation in the Middle East, which is the direct result of Israel's continuing refusal to implement the numerous and repeated resolutions adopted by the United Nations calling for an end to the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territory and other Arab territories as well as for recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination.

27. That refusal and defiance of the Zionist authorities and American encouragement of that attitude are matters of extreme gravity and seriousness, for they force the Arab world constantly to resort to the lan-

guage of force, thereby increasing tension. That tension could escalate into an international conflict. Therefore, the settlement of the Palestinian question is a matter of extreme urgency for the maintenance of peace and security in our world.

28. From the outset the creation of Israel was in contravention of international principles, and that is why since its creation Israel has rejected and opposed the desire of the international community to find a solution to the Palestine question in particular and the Middle East question in general. Israel has persistently robbed the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights, totally ignoring the basic principles of human rights and opposing the will of peace-loving peoples and the whole international community. Israel has practised its policies of occupation and intransigence since 1948, and has not been satisfied with occupying all the Palestinian territory: it has in fact expelled and dispersed the Palestinian people and imposed its reign of terrorism and brute force on those who remain in the occupied areas. Israel has also usurped Palestinian territory by force in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and set up settlements in those areas. In addition, the Zionist authorities have pursued a consistent policy of creating a shortage of water by diverting Arab waters, thus forcing farmers and property owners to leave their farms and their lands. Israel has practised and continues to practice a policy of terrorism and assassination and uses all kinds of action against the inhabitants of the West Bank, in general, and the Palestinian leaders and mayors in particular. We all know of the attempted murder of the mayors of Nablus, Ramallah and Al-Bireh because they opposed Israel's inhumane policy in the occupied territories and insisted on maintaining the basic rights of the Palestinian people.

29. The Zionist defiance of all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, whether of the General Assembly or of the Security Council, is a challenge not only to the Palestinian people but also to the Organization, which has adopted recommendations and resolutions on the Palestinian question and the Israeli occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories. More than ever before the international community is called upon today to face its responsibilities emanating from the principles of the Charter and put an end to this continued defiance by a State Member of the United Nations.

30. We consider that United States support for and encouragement of Israel are two main factors in this continued defiance and intransigence with regard to the rules of law and the refusal of Israel to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The flow of all types of United States weapons to Israel and the moral and material support received by Israel from the international Zionist movement are certainly the primary causes of Israel's intransigence and refusal to withdraw from Palestinian territory and occupied Arab territories, including Arab Jerusalem. Here we see the true harmony between Zionist objectives and imperialist objectives in their defiance of the international will, which has rejected hegemony and imperialism. However, whatever the importance of that support and the flow of weapons, the will of the Palestinian people cannot be suppressed and their national character will never be destroyed.

31. The Palestinian people have proved that they reject all types of foreign domination and all interference by foreign Powers, in this case, that of the Zionist authorities. The Palestinian people have from the outset resisted Zionist occupation by deploying all their efforts against the forces of occupation; they are continuing to do so under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

32. Zionist intransigence has reached such a degree that Israel believes that it is safe from any penalties and that it enjoys immunity from punishment by the international community or any other authority for its brutal action against the Palestinian people and its repeated acts of aggression against Arab territories, particularly southern Lebanon.

33. The establishment of armed settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is not only a contravention of principles of international law and of the Charter but also constitutes the preliminary stages of the zionization of the area by eliminating the national institutions of the Palestinian people from these territories in order to achieve Israel's aim of annexation and the Zionist goal of Greater Israel.

34. The annexation of the Holy City of Jerusalem and the radical measures adopted by Israel in order to change the historic, religious and cultural aspects and the character of the Holy City have shown for all the world to see Israel's intentions with regard to Jerusalem and all the occupied Arab territories.

35. International tolerance of a racist State which deliberately contravenes international principles in every way and continues the implementation of its plans to obliterate the human and political personality of an entire people, the Palestinian people, is something that cannot be ignored. Israel's contempt for and defiance of recommendations and resolutions with regard to its policies in the occupied territories has led us to an impasse and prevented the achievement of peaceful solutions. The United Nations should find the means to ensure respect for and implementation of its resolutions relating to the Arab territories occupied by Israel.

36. Israel's lack of respect for the will of the international community as reflected in the resolutions calling for the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and respect for the principles of the Charter should impel the Organization to carry out its responsibilities and take effective measures to guarantee the implementation of those resolutions, in particular the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

37. The situation in the Middle East is explosive, and its continuance, closely linked as it is to the international situation, is very dangerous and could have a direct effect on the political and economic stability of the world. The countries of the world should stand together in dealing with the deteriorating situation in the Middle East resulting from the Israeli occupation of Arab territories.

38. In 1947 the United Nations assumed the responsibility of partitioning Palestine. Today it should assume the responsibility of finding a comprehensive and just solution to the problem it has created, namely, the problem of the Palestinian people, by res-

toring the national rights that were usurped when the Organization divided their homeland. On the basis of that principle the Palestinian people rejected the separate Camp David agreements, which have not proved to be a means to a just peace in the region. The three countries that are parties to these agreements have a very special way of interpreting them. That is particularly true of Israel, which has established even more imperialist settlements in the occupied Palestinian territory. It has also adopted radical measures to change the special status and the Arab character of the Holy City of Jerusalem, deciding its fate by making it the capital of the Greater Israel that Israel wishes to set up to the detriment of the rights of the Palestinian people and the expense of Palestinian territory.

39. Since the signing of the Camp David agreements, Israel has continued its aggressions against the Palestinian people in southern Lebanon and the people of that area. Hence, the Camp David agreements are a violation of the rights of the Palestinian people and their sovereignty over its land; they erode those rights and that sovereignty. This applies equally to the sovereignty of other Arab States over their territory. These agreements have given Israel encouragement, motivation and justification for its expansionist policy in the Arab area.

40. The statement by the United States of America that the Camp David agreements are the sole means of achieving peace in the Middle East serves only to weaken and even paralyse the capacity of the United Nations, and particularly its political component, to assume its responsibility to find a just solution to the Middle East problem. Therefore, today more than ever, the United Nations must show that it is ready to assume its responsibility to put an end to this violation which encourages Israel to continue and even intensify its struggle against the Palestinian people.

41. We have on more than one occasion set forth our position on the conflict in the Middle East and the solution of the question of Palestine. We are fully aware of the gravity of the situation in our Arab area, and we know how necessary it is to find a just and peaceful solution to the conflict. Our position on the conflict in the Middle East is based on the principle of the inadmissibility of the use of force to acquire territory and on our support for the right of the colonized to self-determination, and I should like once again to set it forth.

42. First, the Israeli forces must completely withdraw from all the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, which must be considered an Arab city and not the capital of Israel. Also, Israel must withdraw from all the settlements it has established in these territories.

43. Secondly, the right of the Palestinian people—like all other peoples of the world—to self-determination must be recognized, as is affirmed in the Charter and in international law, and in General Assembly resolutions on the question of Palestine, in particular resolution 3236 (XXIX), adopted on 22 November 1974, in which the General Assembly reaffirmed the right of the Palestinian to self-determination and to establish their own independent State in their homeland.

44. Thirdly, there must be full recognition of the fact that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Such full recognition flows from its acceptance by all Palestinians, those living under Israeli occupation and those living in exile, and also by all the peace-loving peoples and those who believe in the legitimacy of the PLO.

45. Fourthly, the Palestinian refugees have the right to return to their homeland, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 194 (III), adopted on 11 December 1948. It will be impossible to achieve a just and comprehensive peace unless the Palestinians who became refugees before the 1967 war are allowed to return to their homes or are compensated if they do not wish to return.

46. The fact that there has been an accumulation of unimplemented resolutions in which the United Nations calls for guaranteeing the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, and especially their right to self-determination and to establish their own State in their homeland, constitutes a challenge and a violation of the Charter and disregard for the Organization's capabilities and international responsibility. We therefore urgently request all States to do all in their power to assure the correct and complete implementation of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, in order to guarantee the peace of the countries involved and of the world and the purpose for which the United Nations was established—namely, the safeguarding of the peace and freedom of the peoples of the world.

47. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): For more than three decades now, this assembly of States has been debating the question of a just solution to the problem of Palestine. During that time, the overwhelming majority of Member States have repeatedly and staunchly advocated the only possible way of bringing about a just and lasting peace in that region of the Middle East. What is required is the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, the restitution of the inalienable right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the establishment of its own independent State, and the guaranteeing of the sovereignty and security of all the States in the region.

48. It is with deep regret that we are compelled to note that only a few weeks after the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly the situation is becoming ever worse and that the initiators of the anti-Arab Camp David collusion are continuing their attempt to deceive the people of Palestine by opposing the implementation of its national rights. While the majority of the liberated peoples have already reached the stage where, through the creation of their own economic independence, they have achieved full, unlimited national sovereignty, the people of Palestine has been placed in conditions of abject colonialism on its ancestral lands.

49. The people of Palestine is ready and able, under the leadership of its vanguard, the PLO, to accomplish its national tasks, but it is being denied its fundamental right to its own homeland and its own State. In view of the success of the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, that



is a dangerous anachronism, which requires us to call historical circumstances by their right name.

50. After the devastating Second World War there arose among peoples an understanding that the maintenance of peace is of decisive importance for the development of each nation and that, furthermore, the right of each people to resolve issues pertaining to its own development is a prerequisite for guaranteeing stable peace.

51. That was the essence of resolution 181 (II) of 1947, in which the General Assembly called for the creation of an Arab State as well in Palestine and laid down the foundations for a democratic solution of the problem of Palestine.

52. Despite the complexity and the divergent views which exist, most States Members of the United Nations take that basic resolution as a foundation for the quest for a just and comprehensive solution of the problem of Palestine. More than 200 General Assembly and Security Council resolutions have indicated a solution to the Middle East question, the core of which is the problem of Palestine.

53. Finally, events in December 1977 required an effective long-term and just solution. All those concerned about peace and détente, in particular the Arab nations, welcomed the joint Soviet-United States communiqué of 1977, which offered a genuine possibility of putting an end to the sufferings of the Palestinian people.

54. However, this was followed by frantic actions by the Israeli aggressor, which, having mobilized the military-industrial complex of the United States, was pushing in a different direction. This led to Camp David and, as subsequent events in the Middle East showed, to most unfavourable consequences for the peoples of the Middle East.

55. It was this situation that led to the convening as a matter of urgency of the seventh emergency special session, devoted to the question of Palestine, at which the General Assembly adopted resolution ES-7/2 pointing to the need for the Security Council to take measures under Chapter VII of the Charter unless Israel put an end to its policy of occupation.

56. We have seen that the ruling circles in Israel have ignored that resolution too. They have been encouraged in this since the decisive political forces in the United States, in the interests of their hegemonic policies, have made possible Israel's economic and military activities, which are contrary to international law.

57. Today, two years after Camp David, the whole region of the Middle East has been turned into a hot-bed of smouldering conflict and dangerous international tension.

58. Not one of the basic demands for a genuinely peaceful settlement has been met.

59. The irrefutable facts show that the present régime in Israel is not even thinking of putting an end to its policies of occupation, colonization and settlement. It is not merely ignoring the will of the Arab people of Palestine but the position taken by the United Nations, and therefore the attitude of the peoples of the world. In view of these facts, listening to the official statement of Israel that it will never allow the creation of a Palestinian State, can anyone

really speak about the so-called autonomy argument and pretend that a step in the right direction is being taken here?

60. This is all being done merely to mask the truth and to foster the policies of this Greater Israel, to help it achieve aims which are against the interests of the Arab peoples.

61. In view of the situation which has developed, it is hypocritical to repeat the argument about the peace process that has been started or is going on. The Western European States that talk so much about a European-Arab dialogue should finally take a decisive step and recognize not simply the PLO as the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people but also recognize the right of the Arab people of Palestine to its own State, as required by the resolution adopted at the seventh emergency special session.

62. The Arab States and many other States, at that emergency special session and at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, decisively denounced the various manoeuvres aimed at diverting attention from a genuine solution and hiding the true intentions behind the Camp David deal, which is essence is an attempt to turn back the wheel of history and to subjugate the entire region to world imperialist interests—or, more accurately, the imperialist interests of the United States.

63. But everyone can see for himself that Camp David was another stage in the imperialist attempt to torpedo the policy of détente and to create fresh tension in the world.

64. It is with particular disquiet that the world public has been following the present escalation of those policies through the manoeuvres of the so-called rapid deployment forces in the Middle East. Does this not give fresh encouragement to the aggressor, which is also threatening the south of Lebanon?

65. Notwithstanding this, we emphasize the fact that if the imperialists miscalculated then, when the Palestinian people was ousted by Israel, the imperialists' plans are even more certainly doomed to failure this time.

66. History teaches us that there will be no solution of the Middle East problem as long as the Palestinians are subjected to oppression and cannot live in peace in their own State. The German Democratic Republic welcomes and supports the constructive policy of the PLO and the policy of the Arab countries which is geared to the attainment of that goal. It is high time to restore the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people, as enumerated by Farouk Kaddoumi, member of the Executive Committee and head of the Political Department of the PLO, when he spoke before the Assembly. He said:

“The first is the right to return to our land and recover our property; the second is the right to self-determination without any foreign interference; and the third is our right to sovereignty and national independence and to establish an independent Palestinian State in Palestine.” [75th meeting, para. 127.]

67. As a socialist State, the German Democratic Republic stands in solidarity with the Palestinian people. We have been following with profound res-

pect the valiant struggle of the Palestinian people, led by the battle-hardened PLO.

68. The German Democratic Republic, as a member of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, will continue to advocate peace and security in the Middle East and the just cause of the oppressed Arab people of Palestine.

69. Mr. ALLAGANY (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The terrible circumstances through which the question of Palestine is now passing are extremely dangerous to international peace and security, for the tragedy is becoming more acute and the situation is deteriorating in the absence of a decisive and practical attitude on the part of the international community, which alone could lead to the restoration to the Palestinian people of its usurped territory and its inalienable right to self-determination and especially its rights to return to its homeland and to set up its independent State in its national territory.

70. The seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, held last July to consider the question of Palestine, confirmed the extreme importance of that question and its vital significance to the international community. The world today faces serious problems which threaten international peace and security. However, there has never been such prevarication and procrastination as has happened in the case of Palestine, and those acts carry within them the germs of serious danger. Never in 30 years has the feeling of the international community's failure to assume its responsibility to guarantee justice and fairness to an entire people been so sharply perceived.

71. Every year since 1947, the international community reaffirms its increasing anxiety regarding the deterioration of the Middle East situation and the danger that poses to the region. As a result of that deterioration, there have been four wars waged by Israel against the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples, in an attempt to rid the Palestinian territory of its indigenous population and to evacuate that people forcibly from that area in order to seize their lands and to build up settlements in which to implant foreigners coming from every part of the world as a result of the plot waged by the international racist Zionist movement with support from some Western countries, with the goal of taking the place of the Arab Palestinian people. That has made of the Middle East a pocket of tension, conflict and rivalry between the major Powers, and the fate of the people of that area is endangered by that rivalry. That has become obvious from the exploitation by Israel, supported by international Zionism, of those circumstances in order to continue its oppression and to implement its policy of swallowing up by stages Palestine and all the other available Arab territories whenever circumstances are conducive to such wrenching away of pieces of territory, as happened with the Holy City of Jerusalem and the widening of its borders after it had been annexed, and the plan to annex the Syrian Arab Golan Heights.

72. The circumstance that led to the convening of that seventh emergency special session was Israel's continued defiance of public opinion and its violation of the resolutions of the Security Council and the

General Assembly as well as international laws and codes, and the fact that the Security Council had not been able to adopt practical measures to put an end to the injustice suffered by the Palestinian Arab people and the peoples of other Arab countries. The impotence of the international community has been clearly demonstrated in the question of Palestine.

73. Recent events since the discussion by the General Assembly of the Palestinian question at its seventh emergency special session—particularly the occupation of parts of southern Lebanon and the plan to annex the Syrian Arab Golan Heights—have given clear, obvious proof that Israel will continue its intransigence, expansion and aggression. Israel has not been deterred from achieving its objectives; in fact, it has ignored all the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly; that is true also of the resolutions adopted before the convening of the seventh emergency special session.

74. The international community has become increasingly aware of the acuteness and the dimensions of the tragedy of the Palestinian Arab people. It has drawn attention to the danger of this explosive situation, which could lead to international confrontation, and has called for practical measures to put an end to the Israeli policy and to find a solution to the Palestine question. However, Israel and its allies have tried and continue to try to ensure the failure of all the international efforts that have been exerted to find a just and comprehensive solution and have tried to maintain the situation in a state of continual deterioration in order to serve their ambitions and interests.

75. Israel and the Zionist movement that supports it continue to defy the will of the international community and to violate the principles and purposes of the Charter, United Nations resolutions, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Hague Protocol relating to a Certain Case of Statelessness, of 12 April 1930<sup>1</sup> and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.<sup>2</sup> Israel is still determined to usurp Palestinian and neighbouring Arab territories, refuses to withdraw unconditionally and completely from the occupied Arab territories, and denies the Arab Palestinian people its inalienable rights. Israel continues its racist, expansionist and aggressive policies in the Palestinian and other Arab territories. It has annexed parts of those territories and set up Jewish settlements in them, expelling the Arab people from their homes and dispossessing them of their properties and lands and denying them their right to return. It has also carried out mass arrests and tortured the Arabs, sometimes even torturing prisoners to death. It has usurped the cultural and religious patrimony and infringed religious freedom, while at the same time defiling Moslem and Christian Holy Places.

76. Israel continues its efforts to change the Islamic and Arab character of the Holy City of Jerusalem. It continues its intransigence and defiance and has gone so far as to announce publicly its annexation of the Holy City of Jerusalem and to state that it regards that city as the "united capital" of the Zionist entity.

<sup>1</sup> League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. CLXXIX, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, No. 973, p. 287.

77. Israel continues its illegal usurpation of the natural wealth of the occupied Palestinian territory and its resources of subterranean waters, to the detriment of the people of those territories. Israel continues its advance into Lebanese territory, occupying part of it and carrying out land, sea and air campaigns in order to infringe that country's sovereignty and territorial integrity, following the Palestinian Arab people both within and outside their land.

78. Israel's continued occupation of the Arab territories by force and its consolidation of this occupation in an attempt to change the cultural aspects of the area, as well as its additional annexation of land, as has happened in the south of Lebanon and in the Syrian Arab Golan Heights, are further signs of its aggressive and expansionist policy, which is a serious threat for the entire Middle East area. Israel is the only country among the States Members of the United Nations that has no known borders, and references to this are found in a statement of Chaim Weizmann, Director of the Weizmann Institute of Science and the leader of the Zionist movement, when he said:

"I know that God has promised the sons of Israel the land of Palestine, but I do not know the borders that He has set for that land. I believe that they are larger than those proposed now, and perhaps they may include east Jordan. If God at the chosen time keeps his promises to his people then our duty will be to save whatever we can of what remains of Israel."

79. This logic has been very clear in the Zionist expansionist ambitions and concerns more than a single event. All the students and researchers on the Palestinian cause and Zionist policy have known since the establishment of Israel that its leaders have affirmed that Israel as it is now represents only one step on the way to the achievement of the objective of Zionism—that of establishing a State encompassing what is called the "historic land of Israel". It is simply one landmark on that road and not the end in itself. The expansionist trend is clearly linked to the ideological factor, and this was shown immediately following the establishment of Israel.

80. In a statement on 7 April 1950, the Zionist terrorist Menachem Begin said:

"There shall be no peace for the peoples of Israel or for the land of Israel, or even for the Arabs, until we have liberated all our territory, even if we sign a peace treaty."

81. Israel's expansionist and aggressive record leaves no doubt the fact that its expansionist ambitions are more than just simple dreams and aspirations. They are plans which are ready for implementation, and they are translated into actions and aggression that are afterwards defended by the Zionists. It is impossible for us to ignore them. The unconditional and unlimited political, military and material support given to Israel by some Western States has led to its continued expansionist policy, its aggressive practices and its attempts to impose its hegemony over the Middle East area. The situation that prevails in the area, the sacrifices that the Palestinian Arab people has been called upon to make and its resistance to all kinds of injustice and oppression have led the international community to consider the Palestine

question in its political context, and its condemnation of the occupation of land by force has been embodied in the historic General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX), that resolution clearly requires the complete withdrawal of Israel from all the Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories without pre-conditions and recognizes the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and supports the exercise of all its rights, including in particular its right to return to its homeland, to self-determination in its territory and to set up an independent State under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people.

82. However, this and other resolutions preceding it, although they are very clear and leave no room for doubt, have not been heeded by Israel, which has continued with its customary obstinacy and intransigence to ignore all United Nations resolutions and treat them with contempt and to oppress the Palestinian Arab people by all possible means, thus violating the most basic human rights.

83. Therefore we are fully convinced that Israel's policies and expansionist and aggressive practices are part and parcel of Zionist philosophy, especially its refusal to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab people in its own land, which is a great impediment to any political solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict and the Palestinian problem, which lies at the core of the Middle East problem.

84. My country's attitude to the Palestinian cause is firm and clear. We have explained it on various occasions and in various forums and most recently in the message of His Royal Highness Crown Prince Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz, our Deputy Prime Minister, on the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, when he said:

"Saudi Arabia is firmly convinced that a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without anticipating total withdrawal from Arab territories occupied by Israel by force, especially the Arab city of Jerusalem, and without the Arab people of Palestine being able to enjoy its right to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty. We are sure that this question will be properly studied by peace-loving States and peoples, from whom the people of Palestine, under the direction of the Palestine Liberation Organization, is receiving increasing support in its just cause."

85. My country supports the Palestinian Arab people and shows its solidarity with it by all the means at its disposal. Our attitude emanates from our deep conviction of the legitimacy of the struggle waged by that proud people, which continues to make great sacrifices in order to establish its rights and guarantee peace, justice and stability in the Middle East and in every part of the world.

86. The time has come for the General Assembly to show that it can fulfil its responsibilities by dealing with this area of tension in the world and not allowing Israel to persist with impunity in its aggressive, intransigent and unlawful actions. Can Israel continue its defiance of the international community and the General Assembly? Can Israel be permitted to continue to practise injustice and oppression and to wage



further wars in the area? The correct way to solve the question of Palestine is very clear. It requires that we fulfil the responsibility that we have accepted and show greater objectivity and realism in dealing with this just and noble cause. It is not possible to ignore the responsibilities to which the United Nations has committed itself. The commitment of the international community to the Palestinian Arab people represents a decisive stage, because peace and security in the Middle East cannot be achieved except by guaranteeing the rights of the Palestinian people and by putting an end to the cause of injustice and oppression.

87. Mr. BLUM (Israel): The item before the Assembly, as inscribed in the agenda, is the "Question of Palestine". But, once again, it has already become obvious that the aim of the sponsors of this debate is to focus on those selected aspects of the question which suit their belligerent purposes. Members of the Assembly know full well that were they to discuss the Palestinian question in its proper and full sense, they would not be able to ignore the rights of Israel and of the Jewish people. Indeed it is precisely the rejection of those rights by almost all Arab States that constitutes the main cause of this problem and is, in fact, the crux of the Arab-Israel conflict in general.

88. There is, of course, a question of the Palestinian Arabs which requires solution. It is an important problem which forms one of the many complex elements making up the Arab-Israel conflict as a whole. It is also a problem which is amenable to solution. For a practical solution to be achieved, this question must be addressed seriously in the context of all the other interrelated issues making up the Arab-Israel conflict. For practical progress to be made, it must be tackled by representatives of the States involved and of the Palestinian Arabs concerned, in a spirit of serious dialogue and a willingness to negotiate.

89. To discuss this question in isolation and indeed with deliberate disregard for all the other interrelated aspects can only impede progress. The Arab League States have left us with no doubt that they seek debates such as this one precisely in order to prevent any progress towards a negotiated peace. Those States which reject peace with Israel have, after all, been exploiting the question of the Palestinian Arabs for over 30 years to serve their own selfish and differing interests. To this end, they have harnessed the General Assembly to assist them. They have used the question of the Palestinian Arabs for various purposes—to draw attention away from the numerous conflicts throughout the Arab world, and also to try to achieve a semblance of unity when no such unity exists elsewhere. But as is evident at this very moment, sometimes the rivalries and dissensions between the Arab League States are so deep that they cannot paper over the cracks even by exploiting the question of the Palestinian Arabs.

90. Thus it is not surprising that yesterday the representative of Jordan treated us to a turgid *discursus* into the past, which was characterized by his customary devotion to truth and to historical fact. His reluctance to address himself to the present is understandable enough in view of the fact that recent events involving his country have spotlighted once again the

real nature and background of the question of the Palestinian Arabs.

91. As we all know, the Middle East is a region riddled with tensions. Conflicts are both endemic and chronic, from one end of the region to the other, literally from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf. The Arab-Israel conflict is only one among many, and by no means the predominant one at that.

92. But over the years, the Arab League States, both for tactical reasons and out of what became their total obsession with Israel, have blown the Arab-Israel conflict up, out of all proportion to its real significance on the regional and global scale of things. Various Arab rulers and régimes have done so in an attempt to advance their own interests and conflicting ambitions within their own countries and in the Arab world. In so doing they have deliberately obscured the fact the Arab-Israel conflict is, to a large degree, an outgrowth of their own rivalries, and not the basic cause of tension in the Middle East, as some would have us believe.

93. In recent years the Arab-Israel conflict has also provided a convenient cover for Arab oil-producing countries to extort excessive prices for their oil, and to blackmail and coerce sovereign States, developed and developing alike, into surrendering to their greed. To further these objectives, the Arab League States have had no compunction about exploiting religious sentiments and indeed fanning the flames of religious incitement.

94. Others, perhaps somewhat less religious, led by the Soviet Union, have been only too eager to take advantage in an even more cynical way of Arab animosity towards Israel in order to penetrate and destabilize the Middle East. Their aim has been and remains to promote age-old imperialistic ambitions, at the price of much suffering and misery to the peoples of the region, and in some cases at the cost of their freedom.

95. Regrettably, many Members of the United Nations have been all too willing to accept without demur the distorted view of the Arab-Israel conflict, as presented here year-in year-out by the Arab League States and by their supporters. The majority in the General Assembly has been prepared to go along with those Arab States because such acquiescence was found to be rewarding, or simply because it was the line of least resistance. After all, why invoke Arab wrath if appeasement, at the expense of Israel, will do?

96. In line with this, they have been prepared to let the time, energy and resources of the United Nations be monopolized and manipulated by those Arab States that have been and remain implacably opposed to a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict. The net result has been a profusion of special committees, special units, special missions, special sessions, special reports, special groups of experts, as well as a special vocabulary—all created and exploited to further their hostile ends.

97. This is not a debating point. Nor is it an abstruse one. It stands to reason that if the United Nations, an organization of limited resources, devotes a totally disproportionate amount of its time, documentation

and financial resources to the Arab-Israel conflict, as defined by the new Arab League, then inevitably it must do so at the expense, and to the detriment, of many of the major issues and problems confronting the world today. I would ask representatives to reflect on this point, because at the end of the day, it is their peoples—people all over the globe—who are neglected as a result of the Arab manipulation of the Organization.

98. Recent events have only underscored the real sources of instability in the Middle East. These sources are: first, internal convulsions inside countries of the Middle East; and third, subversion and aggression from outside the region.

99. Internal strife and convulsion have beset many countries of the Middle East. The example of Iran is only one of the many manifestations of this phenomenon, but one which also illustrates the grave and direct repercussions that such domestic upheaval can have for the rest of the world.

100. Illustrative of the many conflicts between the States of the region is the invasion by Iraq of Iran, with all its accompanying carnage and devastation. This war in the Persian Gulf also has serious implications for international peace and for the economies of most States represented here.

101. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is a clear example of imperialist intervention from outside against a country in our region. This is an instance of both naked and direct aggression, with all its consequences for the stability of the Middle East. However, our region has more frequently been subjected to less overt penetration, when the same subversive objectives were pursued by the Soviet Union through local proxies, including terrorist organizations.

102. Those three examples are no doubt freshest in our memories, but they are typical of many other conflicts that either have erupted in recent decades or are simmering at present. One only needs to look at the fraternal and friendly rendezvous of Syrian and Jordanian tanks on their common border to see yet another illustration of these conflicts. All of them keep the Arab countries and some of their neighbours in a state of constant tension and turbulence. What these conflicts have in common is that they exist independently of the Arab-Israel conflict. They all have a genesis of their own and a dynamic of their own.

103. Thus the assertion, parroted uncritically here and elsewhere, that the Arab-Israel dispute is at the core of instability in the region is demonstrably false. At the same time, there can be little doubt that these other conflicts have affected and aggravated the Arab-Israel conflict. Furthermore, it is clear that the Arabs have grossly exaggerated their quarrel with Israel because of the other disputes in the area. Does anyone seriously believe that if the Arab-Israel conflict did not exist peace and harmony would reign throughout the Middle East? Would the manifold tensions in the Middle East go away, and would the price of oil be one cent cheaper?

104. The events over the last two years in the Middle East should have also helped to put the Arab-Israel conflict into a more realistic perspective. Its dimensions have shrunk to their real proportions. In

the process, the question of the Palestinian Arabs has also been cut down to size.

105. With that more realistic picture emerging, it would be helpful if the General Assembly for its part were now also to try to cut through some of the smokescreen and camouflage obscuring the presentation here of the question of the Palestinian Arabs. That carefully cultivated presentation rests on a series of false premises and assumptions, which have been consciously disseminated. They include *inter alia* the claim that the Palestinian Arabs do not enjoy self-determination in a State of their own. They also include the false assumption that the Arab League States, having destroyed General Assembly resolution 181 (II) in 1947 and 1948, can now have recourse to those parts of that resolution which best suit their present-day purposes.

106. Beyond that, the presentation of the question of the Palestinian Arabs in this forum also suffers from some other conscious deficiencies. One of them is the outright denial of the inalienable rights of the Jewish people to its homeland. Another is the deliberate disregard of the *de facto* exchange of populations between Israel and the Arab States since 1948.

107. Members of the Assembly have been swamped with countless resolutions and documents reflecting this distorted Arab version of the Arab-Israel conflict. They know full well why the Arabs have propagated it. I have had occasion to rebut it frequently, both in the Assembly and in the Security Council. Therefore I shall confine my remarks to pointing very briefly at some of its major fallacies.

108. The Palestinian Arabs have long enjoyed self-determination in their own State—the Palestinian Arab State of Jordan. As everyone knows, the Palestine Mandate originally embraced territory on both sides of the River Jordan. It was in that territory that the League of Nations Mandate provided for the establishment of the Jewish National Home. In 1921 Great Britain decided to establish on the area east of the river an emirate under Abdullah ibn Husein of the Hashemite family of Mecca. That area—Transjordan—comprised about three quarters of the total territory of the Palestine Mandate. In 1922 the “Jewish National Home” articles of the Mandate were declared inapplicable to Transjordan, which nevertheless remained an integral part of Mandated Palestine. With the passage of time, Transjordan became in 1946 an independent State, subsequently renamed “Jordan”. Thus there was established an independent Arab State on the territory of Palestine. The independent Jewish State in Palestine—that is, Israel—was established only two years later, in 1948.

109. By virtue of its history, territory, population and culture, Jordan remains the Palestinian Arab State. The Palestinian Arabs have achieved their self-determination there. More than two thirds of Jordan's citizens are Palestinian Arabs, and, similarly, the vast majority of Palestinian Arabs are Jordanian citizens. Palestinian Arabs are the backbone and mainstay of the country. It is patently false, therefore, to maintain that the Palestinian Arabs do not have a State of their own.

110. Of late, the Arab League States have displayed a growing nostalgia for General Assembly resolu-

tion 181 (II) of 29 November 1947. In that resolution the General Assembly recommended the partition of the rump of the Palestine Mandate, that is, the remaining quarter of Palestine west of the River Jordan. Despite the painful sacrifice involved in that proposed second truncation, the resolution was accepted by the Jewish community in Palestine on condition of reciprocity. It was, however, immediately rejected out of hand in the General Assembly by the Arab States that were Members of the United Nations at the time as well as by all the other members of the Arab League and by the Arabs in Palestine, who set out together to put an end to it by the illegal use of force. The United Nations documentation on this matter is unequivocal, as is that on Arab defiance of repeated Security Council calls for a cease-fire in 1948—see my letter of 12 December 1978 to the Secretary-General.<sup>3</sup> Arab aggression and, in particular, the invasion of Israel by the forces of seven Arab States one day after the State was established in 1948, irreversibly destroyed resolution 181 (II). It is surely an affront to history and good sense alike to suggest that, having aborted that resolution over 30 years ago by force of arms, the Arab States can now claim any of its benefits.

111. Having failed to destroy Israel in their war of aggression of 1948 and 1949, the Arab League States persisted in their unrelenting attempts to achieve that objective. To that end, they established in 1964 the terror organization known as the PLO. Since that time the PLO has put itself at the service of different Arab régimes scheming against one another. It also serves the interests of international terrorism as well as the subversive aims of the Soviet Union in the region. The PLO's role as the linchpin of the "terrorist international" and the Soviet Union's use of it as an instrument to advance Soviet objectives not only in the Middle East but as far afield as Western Europe and Australia were described in detail in an authoritative article appearing in *The New York Times Magazine* of 2 November 1980, by Robert Moss, a lecturer at the Royal College of Defence Studies in London. Excerpts from that article were submitted with my letter of 21 November 1980 to the Secretary-General [A/35/654-S/14267].

112. Much has been made in recent years of the need for a so-called Palestinian State in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District. It will be recalled that before 1967 Israel did not control those territories. Yet there was no demand then for the establishment of a "Palestinian State" in those areas. The Arab States which now so sanctimoniously preach about the necessity for such a State in those areas did scarcely anything at the time—and that despite the fact that Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District were under Arab control between 1949 and 1967. The explanation for this is very simple: the entire world knew that the Kingdom of Jordan is the Arab State in Palestine just as the State of Israel is the Jewish State in Palestine.

113. After their defeat in the six-day war of 1967 the Arabs changed their strategy. Recognizing their

inability to destroy Israel by force of arms, they explored alternative avenues to reach the same goal. Arab tacticians seized upon slogans and a terminology that would catch on in the political climate which had developed in the world by that time. They estimated that they stood more to gain by promoting the alleged existence of a second Palestinian Arab people, entitled to self-determination in a second Palestinian Arab State, in addition to Jordan.

114. In so doing, the Arab States involved never gave up their final objective of liquidating Israel. However, for tactical reasons, rather than spell this out aloud, they let the PLO evolve what is euphemistically called in their jargon a two-stage policy. In essence, the first stage would be to establish a second Palestinian Arab State anywhere in the territories administered by Israel since 1967, while the second stage would be to use that proposed State as a launching pad for the ultimate liquidation of Israel.

115. Many politicians, including leading statesmen in the West, fell into this trap of false moderation. They must have been bitterly disappointed when their illusions were unkindly shattered in late May of this year by the so-called political programme and resolutions adopted at the Fourth Congress of the Fatah terrorist organization, headed by that well-known moderate, Yasser Arafat. Fatah, the largest single component of the terrorist PLO, calls for the liquidation of Israel no less than three times in its so-called political programme. As noted in my letter of 14 August 1980 to the Secretary-General, that organization's aim is defined as "to liquidate the Zionist entity politically, economically, militarily, culturally and ideologically" [see A/35/395]. To this end, certain Arab States have engaged in a division of labour. They have established a so-called Eastern Front which can draw on the vast arsenals at the disposal of all the States of the new Arab League. In practical terms, this means that the Eastern Front has a battle order which in certain spheres, including manpower, airpower, artillery and tanks, is considerably larger than that of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. Some States in the Assembly choose to make light of this vast military threat to Israel. If the same massive array of weaponry and firepower were deployed on their borders, they certainly would be more cautious, especially if the military threat to them were backed up by the Arab oil weapon and the staggering wealth that that oil yields.

116. The rejectionist Arab States have given the PLO a specific role in their grand design, namely to try to convert Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District into forward bases for attacks on Israel. If those territories, leading to the outskirts of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and every major town and city in Israel, could become a PLO State and thus could be emptied of any Israeli presence that might stand in the way of Eastern Front armies, then so much the better.

117. In the meantime, the PLO has been put in charge of the attempt to transform Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District into platforms for acts of hostility, terror, sabotage, agitation and subversion. In parallel, and in particular since the signing of the Camp David Framework agreements for Peace in the Middle East in September 1978, the PLO has also been allotted the task of intimidating and silencing

<sup>3</sup> *Officials Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third day, Supplement for October, November and December 1978, document S/12966.*

Arabs in those territories who support the peace process. As I pointed out in my letter of 27 November 1980 to the Secretary-General [A/35/666] and in those of 20 and 26 November 1980 to the President of the Security Council,<sup>4</sup> the PLO's campaign of subversion and intimidation has been stepped up in recent weeks.

118. Without dwelling at great length on the current division of labour between the Arab rejectionist States and their instrument, the PLO, let me only say that Israel feels no obligation to accommodate its enemies by evacuating Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District, nor to offer the PLO a free hand in those territories.

119. If any doubt in this regard could still remain, it was dispelled yesterday in the unabashed remarks made by the representative of Iraq, who proclaimed without the slightest embarrassment that the so-called liberation of certain territories in Iran by his country's invading armies was a prelude to the "liberation of Palestine."<sup>4</sup> Iraq has steadfastly rejected Security Council resolution 242 (1967), and all its recent declarations and actions with regard to the war which it launched in September vividly demonstrate why. The lesson has not been lost on Israel, as indeed it should not be lost on others.

120. I referred earlier to conscious omissions in the perverted presentation of the Arab-Israel conflict prevailing here. One of those omissions is the failure to mention the Jewish refugee problem which was created in the wake of the Arab aggression against my country in 1948 and 1949, as an integral component of the Arab-Israel conflict and its solution.

121. Again, I have no wish to elaborate on this aspect of the conflict. I would only remark that the Jewish refugee problem was similar in dimensions to the Arab refugee problem created in 1948 and that for all practical purposes Arab aggression triggered off a *de facto* exchange of populations between the Arab States and Israel. The Jews who fled Arab lands left behind them the heritage of many centuries, including considerable property and material assets together with priceless cultural and religious treasures. An equitable settlement of their material and legal claims constitutes an indispensable element of any comprehensive solution of the Arab-Israel conflict. This is also recognized in Security Council resolution 242 (1967)—the only agreed basis for a negotiated settlement of the conflict—which speaks *inter alia* of the need for a just solution to "the refugee problem", that is, both Arab and Jewish.

122. As I have said, the most damning aspect of the Arab League's presentation of the conflict is its conscious refusal to recognize the inalienable rights of the Jewish people to national sovereignty and independence in its homeland. Nowhere is this clearer than in the so-called Covenant of the PLO.

123. Article 20 of that document denies outright the historical and spiritual ties between the Jews and the Land of Israel. In other words, with one cavalier stroke of the pen, the PLO and its Arab League backers seek to rewrite over 3,000 years of the his-

tory of mankind. But that history cannot be rewritten with such facility. It will not be gainsaid.

124. Once again, it is unnecessary to describe the unbroken bonds maintained over the centuries between the Jewish people and its land, or between the Jewish people and Jerusalem, the eternal and indivisible capital of the State of Israel.

125. But what the PLO's Covenant epitomizes is the essence of the Arab-Israel conflict, namely, the consistent Arab refusal since 1948 to recognize the right of Israel to exist. It is that refusal that lies at the heart of the conflict. Anything else is camouflage and is designed to serve belligerent ends.

126. One only needs to look at the other side of the coin to find conclusive proof of what I am saying. When an Arab State is prepared to recognize Israel's rights, things fall rapidly into place. This was clearly demonstrated when, at the invitation of Prime Minister Menachem Begin, President Sadat came to Jerusalem three years ago and the current peace process was started. By any yardstick of international negotiations, break-throughs were quickly achieved, despite the fact that there had been four wars in three decades between the two countries, the last of which was fought only four years before the peace process was begun. The Camp David Framework agreements were signed within 10 months of President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and the Peace Treaty between our two countries was signed just over six months later.

127. Since then, progress has been made in two spheres. First, there has been the ongoing normalization of relations between Egypt and Israel. The recent visits to Egypt by the President and Foreign Minister of Israel have stepped up that process, which is gradually taking on concrete expression in different areas and aspects of normal co-operation between neighbouring States.

128. Secondly, there have been intensive negotiations for full autonomy for the inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District.

129. Concrete progress has been made in these negotiations. One area in which progress has been achieved is the modalities of the free elections to be held in the territories concerned. These procedures would make the proposed autonomy into one of the few, all too few, examples of free democratic process in the Middle East. Progress has also been achieved in the area of powers and responsibilities of autonomy, covering many aspects of the every-day life of the inhabitants of the territories in question.

130. The Camp David Framework invites the Palestinian Arab residents of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District to play an active role in shaping their future by calling on them to participate not only in the current negotiations but also in the negotiations which will determine the final status of the areas they live in as well as in the eventual negotiations on a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, in which the delimitation of boundaries between the two countries will be agreed.

131. The programme of autonomy which we have proposed for the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District, as accepted in principle in the Camp David Frameworks, is the first

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1980*, documents S/14264 and S/14273.



practical proposal to be advanced to provide a dignified solution for the needs of the Arab population of those areas. It comes in place of all the empty declarations with which the Palestinian Arabs concerned have been deluded by States and organizations over the years.

132. If members of the Assembly were prepared to step back and take a cool look at the Middle East, most would recognize that the pattern adopted by the Organization in its deliberations on the Arab-Israel conflict has proved sterile and has indeed become an obstacle to a peaceful settlement. Yet, that conflict is clearly amenable to solution, given a political will to effect a solution. Moreover, it is a conflict for which a framework for a solution exists and, indeed, one which has over the last few years been moving towards a solution within that framework.

133. Members have a simple choice to make. Do they want to accept at face value the Arab League version of the Arab-Israel conflict, or do they prefer their own common sense? As a measure of the credibility of the Arab League's version, I would remind members of the Assembly that only two weeks ago, on 17 November 1980, our scholar-in-residence, the new Observer of the new Arab League, held a press conference in which he astounded his listeners by contending that the war in the Persian Gulf was not a war at all but merely an instance of—and I quote him—“very severe armed conflict”. This shows just how out of focus are the lenses worn by the representatives of the Arab League.

134. The same warped terminology and semantic acrobatics have been employed by Arab representatives over the years in the presentation of the Arab-Israel conflict. They have used linguistic and conceptual devices to mislead the Organization and the world at large. This technique, which has been so aptly described as “semantic infiltration”, has been allowed to penetrate and pervert the approach in many forums to the question before us.

135. For reasons which I have explained, the Arab League's perspective has been out of focus for three decades. Captivated by their own exclusivist and hegemonistic hallucinations, they have refused to face up to reality. For reasons of political convenience, they have tried to blur others' vision as well. They have drawn encouragement from the facility by which their distorted and destructive views have been endorsed in the United Nations. The time is long overdue to cut through that fog and to approach the Arab-Israel conflict and the question of the Palestinian Arabs within it as they really are: problems of manageable proportions and amenable to solution, given the political will to negotiate them directly on the basis of compromise and mutual respect.

136. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly is holding this debate on the question of Palestine directly after the international community's solemn commemoration of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, at a time when the international prestige of the PLO, the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people, is growing ever greater and when the relentless struggle which that heroic people

has been waging for more than three decades is each day gaining stronger support by the peoples of the five continents.

137. For years now, the General Assembly and the Security Council have been adopting resolution after resolution reaffirming the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to return to its homes and to recover its property in Palestine, its right to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty, and its right to establish its own sovereign State, as well as the right of the PLO to participate, on an equal footing, in all international efforts to solve the question of Palestine and the Middle East situation which are made under the auspices of the United Nations. The General Assembly, in resolution 3236 (XXIX), emphasized that full respect for and the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are indispensable for the solution of the question of Palestine.

138. The General Assembly, at its seventh emergency special session, held last July, reaffirmed once again that the question of Palestine is at the heart of the Middle East problem. A lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved until the question of Palestine is solved in an equitable and appropriate manner, in keeping with the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people and the principles of the Charter and of international law.

139. In recent years the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has been constantly carrying out, with praiseworthy dedication, many diplomatic and political activities, as well as activities related to the dissemination of information; in particular, it has been closely following the status of the question of Palestine and has recommended to the international community measures towards a settlement of that question. Those activities by the Committee have helped the peoples of the world to become more familiar with the tragic situation of the Palestinian people and with its ardent desire to regain its fundamental national rights; at the same time, they have helped the peoples of the world to become more aware of the obstinacy and insolence of the Israeli Zionist aggressors, supported by the United States.

140. The Assembly has repeatedly considered and condemned the policy and acts of aggression of the Israeli expansionists. The recent report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People provides a complete account of the situation. In this document the Committee demonstrates Israel's stubbornness, despite its ever-more-severe condemnation by the international community. The General Assembly, in resolution ES-7/2—of which Viet Nam was a sponsor—sets forth a comprehensive solution to the question of Palestine and

“Calls upon Israel to withdraw completely and unconditionally from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem, with all property and services intact, and urges that such withdrawal from all the occupied territories should start before 15 November 1980.”

141. Far from taking any action to implement that resolution, Israel has even annexed the Golan Heights, which belong to Syria, after occupying Jerusalem and transforming that city into its capital. That new act of Israeli expansionism is part of Israel's comprehensive plan to annex all the occupied Arab territories, in defiance of all the elementary rules of international law. It is also a most brazen challenge to the Arab peoples and all the other peoples in the world that cherish peace and justice.

142. Alongside that hegemonistic policy, the Israeli Zionists have been constantly committing crimes against the Palestinian people; among them we must note the arbitrary arrests of the Mayors of Halhul and Al-Khalil, the attempt on the life of the Mayor of Nablus, the repression of political prisoners, the acts of aggression against the Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon, the seizure of the tools of production and the means of livelihood of the Palestinians, the cutting off of the water supply thereby making all cultivation impossible, and, most recently, the brutal repression of the students at the Bir Zeit University. It is high time that an end was put to all these criminal acts by the Israeli aggressors, which have aroused the indignation of the people of the world.

143. The Vietnamese delegation has frequently stressed that without the encouragement and the assistance of all kinds provided by the United States, and without United States protection, Israel would never have dared to act as obstinately and insolently as it has acted so far. The Camp David agreements and the separate Egyptian-Israeli treaty, condemned by the Arab world and progressive public opinion, are flagrant violations of the national interests of the Palestinian people. It is clear that since the signing of those separate agreements the situation in the Middle East has grown worse daily and that Israel has become even more stubborn and aggressive. In the meantime, the United States has proceeded to a military build-up in the Middle East, endangering the peace and security of that strategic area and of the entire world.

144. What is even more serious, disquieting news has just shown that Israel has served as an intermediary in the sale of American weapons to a certain Power which has expansionist and hegemonist ambitions and is blindly involving itself in the arms race. This was reported in the 24 November 1980 issue of *Newsweek*.

145. This has revealed the hypocrisy of those who talk about peace but engage in frantic preparations for war, the hypocrisy of those who say they respect the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination by try to help Israel deprive the Palestinian people of that right and deny the existence of the PLO, and finally the hypocrisy of those who say they are fighting expansionism and hegemonism but in fact are helping Israel to continue to annex Arab territories which have been illegally occupied since 1967.

146. The question of Palestine can be resolved only on the basis of respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to its homeland and the right to create a Palestinian State.

Any settlement of the question requires the participation of the PLO on an equal footing. The question of Palestine can be resolved only if Israel renounces its policy of aggression and expansion and if the United States renounces its policy of encouraging and supporting Israel. The people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, together with the international community, demand that an end be put immediately to the criminal acts of Israel against the Palestinian people and other Arab peoples. We condemn the imperialists' collusion in the plans of the Israeli Zionists to divide the Arab world and weaken its struggle against imperialism, zionism and other reactionary forces, for the just cause of the Palestinian Arab people and in the interest of peace and security in the Middle East and in the world.

147. The position of the people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam was clearly set forth in the message of Prime Minister Pham Van Dong on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People:

"... the Vietnamese people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam reaffirm once again their militant solidarity and their resolute support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization for the recovery of its sacred and inalienable national rights, including the right to establish an independent and sovereign State of Palestine.

"We severely condemn the Camp David agreements, the separate Egypt-Israel treaty and the policy of repression and expulsion of the Palestinian people pursued by the Zionist Israeli aggressors, supported by the United States of America, in an attempt to achieve their ambitions of expansion and invasion of Palestinian and Arab territory. We believe that any solution genuinely aimed at bringing a just and lasting peace to the Middle East must ensure Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, respect for the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people and the assurance of the indispensable participation of the PLO, the only authentic representative of the Palestinian people."

148. Because Israel scorned resolution ES-7/2, the Vietnamese delegation believes that it is necessary to implement paragraph 13 of that resolution, 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".

149. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*translation from Chinese*): With the development of the Middle East situation, the Palestinian question is becoming more and more prominent, and it has been universally acknowledged by the just public opinion of the world that the solution of the Middle East question requires, first of all, the solution of the Palestinian question. Over the past year, the United Nations has taken many actions for the solution of the Palestinian question. The Chinese delegation wishes first of all to express its appreciation to the Committee on the

Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for the effort it has made in the past year and to pay our respects to the Palestinian people and their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, who are fighting for the restoration of their national rights.

150. This year, a number of meetings have been convened by the Security Council on the Palestinian issue and the question of Jerusalem. The seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly was also held last July to consider the Palestinian question. These meetings and the session produced a series of constructive resolutions favourable to the just and reasonable settlement of the Palestinian question. It is most regrettable that the Israeli authorities, having refused to implement these resolutions adopted by the Security Council and those adopted by the General Assembly at the seventh emergency special session, have gone even further in pursuing their policy of aggression and expansion. Such acts cannot but arouse more serious concern in us.

151. Over the last 30-odd years, the Palestinian people have experienced untold hardships. Their national rights have been recklessly trampled on, large tracts of their land occupied, their riches plundered and millions of Palestinians driven from their homelands where they had lived for generations. Those Palestinians living in Israeli-occupied areas have known no end to torture and humiliation, examples of which are amply provided by the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories.

152. But, undeterred by violence, the heroic Palestinian people have in recent years, under the leadership of the PLO, actively carried out various forms of struggle resolutely to fight back at Israeli aggression. The strength they have built up through the ordeal of these difficult years has earned them the admiration and respect of all the countries and people that uphold justice.

153. The failure to find a solution to the Palestinian question, which is long overdue, lies mainly in the aggressive stand which the Israeli authorities stubbornly maintain, in disregard of internationally recognized principles and the common aspirations of more than 100 million Arab and Palestinian people, as well as the resolutions of the United Nations and other international bodies.

154. In recent months, the Israeli authorities have continued to invade the southern part of Lebanon, savagely bombing villages and Palestinian refugee camps, thus infringing upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. They have also drawn up a huge plan to expand or build additional "settlements" in the territories they are occupying in an attempt to place these occupied Arab territories under their unlimited military occupation and colonial rule. The Israeli Knesset has, moreover, unilaterally changed the status of Jerusalem, proclaiming it to be the "eternal and indivisible capital" of Israel, in defiance of the strong objection of world public opinion. It has flagrantly refused to act in accordance with the decision of the General Assembly at the seventh emergency special session concerning a

time-frame for progressive Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

155. Recently the Israeli authorities have defied public opinion and drafted legislation in preparation for Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights. In resorting to force and the aberrant policy of aggression, the Israeli authorities have provoked great indignation from the international community, which reacted with strong condemnation of those acts. Only a month or so after Israel proclaimed its annexation of Jerusalem, the States that had their embassies in that city successively decided to remove them from it and the State that had its consulate-general there decided to close it. Those facts are eloquent proofs that the illegal acts of the Israeli authorities are regarded with disfavour while the just struggle of the Palestinian people is receiving wider sympathy and support from more and more countries in the world.

156. The audacity of the Israeli authorities in their open challenge to the international community is not to be separated from super-Power expansion and rivalry in the Middle East. Refusing to adapt itself to new developments, one super-Power has consistently lent Israel political, diplomatic, military, economic and other support which has helped to reinforce Israel's arrogance. The other super-Power strives to take advantage of the situation. While openly proclaiming its support for the struggle of the Arab and Palestinian peoples, it actually seeks to divide Arab unity and weaken Arab fighting strength by creating dissension, so that the state of "no war, no peace" can be maintained in the Middle East to facilitate its tactic of fishing in troubled waters by which it seizes important strategic positions and oil resources. The rivalry of the two super-Powers in the Middle East constitutes a serious obstacle to the solution of the Middle East question. Consequently, the struggle of the Palestinian and Arab peoples for the restoration of their national rights and the recovery of their lost territories is closely linked with the resistance to super-Power expansion and rivalry in the Middle East. Until Israel desists from aggression and the super-Powers discontinue their expansion and rivalry in the Middle East, it will be difficult for genuine peace and stability to prevail there.

157. China has always supported the just struggle of the Arab and Palestinian peoples and sympathized with the Palestinian people for the immense sufferings they have endured. We have consistently opposed and strongly condemned the policy of aggression and expansion pursued by the Israeli authorities and the aggression and rivalry carried out by the super-Powers in the Middle East. When the delegation of the Palestine national liberation movement visited China this year, our State leaders explicitly pointed out that the crux of the Middle East problem is the Palestinian question and that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. A just and comprehensive solution of the Middle East question must be found as quickly as possible. As a prerequisite for this solution, Israel must withdraw from all the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; it must recognize the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including the right to establish an independent Palestinian State;

and the PLO must be fully entitled to participate in the just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem. We are glad to note that the just cause of the Palestinian and Arab peoples has already won the sympathy and support of the Islamic countries, the African countries, the non-aligned countries and all the countries and peoples which uphold justice. We believe that, through the joint effort of the Arab countries in seeking common ground while allowing for minor differences, in consolidating their unity and freeing themselves from outside interference and

meddling, favourable conditions will be created for the early achievement of a just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East question. At the same time, the Chinese delegation sincerely hopes that at this session the General Assembly will spare no effort for the fulfilment of that end in order to live up to the expectations of the Palestinian people, the Arab people and all the justice-upholding countries and people in the world.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*