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

In the absence of the President, Mr. Dashtseren
(Mongolia), *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. RÁCZ (Hungary): Shortly after the end of the Second World War, Israel's aggressive and expansionist policy gave rise to a situation in the Middle East which has cast a heavy burden on international politics. The Middle East crisis continues to be one of the most dangerous focal points of tension jeopardizing international peace and security. In the successive phases of that crisis, hundreds of thousands of people have either lost their lives, been reduced to the status of oppressed second-class citizens in their own countries, or been forced to leave their native lands to become deprived of home and country. It is the Arab people of Palestine that has been tried most by such afflictions and sufferings.

2. A satisfactory solution of the grave problems that have accumulated and have been besetting Palestine over the past decades cannot be envisaged except in the framework of a comprehensive settlement for the Middle East. At the same time, the question of Palestine is a major factor in, and the key to, the solution of the entire Middle East crisis.

3. No just and lasting settlement of the question, including the assuring of Israel's security, is therefore possible without the solution of the question of Palestine. It is thus evident that no genuine solution can result from manoeuvres that are intended to lead to a comprehensive settlement through partial solutions under a piecemeal approach which takes one or another element of the problem from the whole complex of the issues involved.

4. As is laid down also in a number of relevant United Nations resolutions, any solution of the Palestine question should be based on the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab terri-

tories occupied since 1967 as well as on respect for and recognition of the inalienable legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination, the right to return to their homeland, the right to national independence and sovereignty and the right to establish an independent State.

5. However, the policy pursued by Israel in the region and particularly in the occupied Arab territories is precisely one of trampling on those very same rights, refusing to recognize the existence of the Palestinian people and degrading the whole problem to one of refugees. What Israel's aggressive annexationist policy, which manifests itself in various forms and flagrantly violates United Nations resolutions in disregard of international public opinion, is seeking to achieve is precisely to change the geographical character, the demographic nature and the legal status of the areas occupied in 1967 and inhabited mostly by Palestinians, in the hope of perpetuating the results of the June 1967 aggression by relying on military support from the United States. Such an endeavour is in sharp contrast with the generally accepted principle of inadmissibility of territorial acquisition by the use of force.

6. The Camp David agreements and the separate deal between Egypt and Israel served and still serves these aspirations of Israeli policy. The so-called autonomy talks provided for by the said agreements aim at closing the Palestinian case by sham solutions and deciding the fate of the long-suffering Palestinian Arab people by excluding its representatives from those talks and by seeking to affirm the selfish interests of the actual participants.

7. I wish to underline this time again that, in my Government's view, no settlement of the question of Palestine is possible without the participation of the Palestinian people, or which would be to their detriment, and that their sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], should be directly involved on an equal footing with other participants in any negotiations dealing with the Middle East crisis and directly or indirectly affecting the question of Palestine.

8. It is a positive sign that recent years have seen a considerable increase worldwide in the number of those who recognize the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the PLO as the leader of this unremitting struggle for the exercise of that right. This is shown by a growing international interest in the question of Palestine, a strengthening of solidarity with the Palestinian cause and by an ever increasing number of affirmative votes in the United Nations for resolutions urging a settlement of this question. This positive tendency should lead the Security Council to take firm action against Israel as early as possible for its repeated violations of the provisions

of United Nations resolutions and to adopt appropriate and effective resolutions in the quest for a solution of the problem and to ensure their consistent implementation. It is only in this way, through concerted positive efforts on the part of the permanent members of the Security Council, that Israel can be prevented from repeating its earlier actions such as its adoption of unlawful and invalid legislation on the annexation of Jerusalem or its complete disregard for the 15 November 1980 deadline for the termination of the occupation of Arab territories held by Israel since 1967, which deadline was set by the General Assembly at its seventh emergency special session in resolution ES-7/2.

9. As one of the members of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and a consistent supporter of the just struggle of the Palestinian Arab people, Hungary has paid and is paying increased attention to the question of Palestine. Members may rest assured that the Hungarian delegation stands ready to take an active part also in the future in the valuable activity of that Committee and to contribute to efforts towards a speedy solution to this long-outstanding problem. Our position of principle is unchanged: we continue to follow with sympathy and to support consistently the struggle waged by the Palestinian Arab people under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative, for the exercise of its right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State of Palestine.

10. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): For more than 36 years the international community has witnessed the tragedy of a people which, pursuant to a United Nations resolution wilfully and illegally implemented by the Israeli Zionists, has been stripped of its homeland, thrown into gaol, driven out of the country or into concentration camps. The people of Palestine is, without a doubt, a victim of the one of the greatest iniquities in history and, in like measures, an example of the concept of life as a heroic act of freedom.

11. For Cuba, which for more than 100 years fought to win its real national independence and sovereignty, the struggle of the people of Palestine is an inseparable part of that same process, which inevitably will lead to the downfall of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism including zionism, *apartheid* and all forms of foreign oppression and domination. Throughout the last 20 years we have been—and we shall be until the final victory—brothers in the struggle and the hope for a world free from exploitation and injustice. If for our people the dilemma of “Fatherland or death” has only one answer for the Palestinians and their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, this is translated into the exercise of their inalienable rights and the establishment of their own State in the homeland that today is occupied.

12. Never has an international organization adopted a greater number of resolutions on any subject whatsoever than the United Nations has on the question of Palestine. Since its inception this body has repeatedly made decisions about the right of the Palestinian people to live in its own land in freedom and sovereignty. The General Assembly has condemned, year after year, the usurpation by the Zionist State of

Israel, the expulsion by force of arms of the Arab people of Palestine from their properties and homes, arbitrary imprisonment, State terrorism and the incredible suffering inflicted by the Israeli racists, yet so far the will of the international community has not been imposed.

13. Today, as yesterday, the demand of the overwhelming majority of the Members of the Organization for the withdrawal of Israel from the territories that it has illegally occupied since 1967 and recognition of the right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland and property, to the exercise of self-determination without outside interference, to sovereignty and independence and to establish an independent Palestinian State in Palestine is met obstinately and persistently by the veto of the Government of the United States.

14. However, this is neither obtuse lack of understanding nor a political whim. American imperialism is perfectly aware that its conduct is open to reproach and contrary to the most fundamental principles of international law, while it plays eloquently with words in claiming allegiance to fundamental human rights, justice and liberty. Everything they do is designed solely to ensure the predominance of their petty hegemonistic interests, to strengthen the role of the Zionist State as a spearhead for imperialist designs against the Arab and African peoples, to turn the Middle East into a private reserve for their monopolies and prevent the development of genuinely popular revolutionary movements in that strategic area of the world.

15. That is the purpose of the Camp David “agreements”, through which it is claimed that the Middle East conflict can be settled, ignoring the inalienable legitimate rights and interests of the Palestinian people, whose legitimate representative, the PLO, was deliberately excluded from all negotiations. Therefore the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September 1979, firmly condemned that shameful covenant as a real stab in the back for the Arab world and the Palestinian cause.

16. Meanwhile, we are witness to the unlimited support that the North American Government is giving to its Zionist friends. Of the \$23 billion received since its establishment by the Zionist entity, \$11 billion have been provided in the last four years. That undoubtedly explains why more than 40 per cent of the Israeli population between the ages of 16 and 35 are in one capacity or another members of the armed forces; why a military pilot has a salary far higher than that of a university lecturer; why the intolerant racist régime of Tel Aviv has acquired, to the horror of the world, the capability to produce nuclear weapons, thus becoming a major supplier of arms and military advice to the most disgusting régimes of our time. The South African patriots suffering in the *apartheid* dungeons, the Namibian freedom fighters, the Salvadorian revolutionaries or the Nicaraguan Sandinists, can tell us whether or not this is so.

17. American imperialism has created a real Leviathan in Israel, a monstrous assembly that threatens all the peoples and has unleashed on the Palestinians and their Arab neighbours a campaign of extermina-

tion only equalled during the period of the Nazi madness.

18. Last July, on the initiative of the movement of non-aligned countries and emergency special session of the General Assembly was held on the question of Palestine. The verdict of the Member States was overwhelming and definite and was summed up in a very clear and specific resolution. Earlier, the Security Council had adopted an unequivocal resolution on the problem of Jerusalem. Various international bodies have since then expressed their views in a way that leaves no room for doubt as to the will of the international community to put an end to the bandit-like policy of the Israeli Zionists and their imperialist allies. Why, then, is not the edict of the nearly unanimous majority of the world's Governments and peoples strictly complied with?

19. Since the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries justly called for the application of sanctions against the State of Israel, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, there is no reason at all—as the representative of the PLO, comrade Farouk Kaddoumi, argued in this forum—for Member States not to apply such sanctions on their own against the occupiers of the land of Palestine. We must oppose the Yankee veto in the Security Council by the concerted action of all our peoples and Governments.

20. My delegation, further, agrees with the reasons which prompted comrade Kaddoumi to propose the expulsion of Israel from the United Nations. It is truly intolerable that Israel, like South Africa, can flout General Assembly and Security Council resolutions without the full moral and political weight of the Organization being brought to bear upon them.

21. Since last July Israel has refused to withdraw from Palestine or from the other occupied Arab territories. It refuses to abide by the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People as endorsed by the General Assembly. It blatantly ignores Security Council resolution 465 (1980). It persists in its policy of establishing new settlements in the usurped Palestinian lands. And it has proclaimed Jerusalem the "eternal capital of Israel". In recent weeks, as a bloody appendage, it has launched numerous attacks against southern Lebanon, causing the indiscriminate death of children, women and old people. In sum, it has repeated with impunity its barbarous, Fascist behaviour without the United Nations doing more than express its verbal indignation.

22. The Palestinian people, through its legitimate representatives, has called on the entire world to "shoulder its human and legal responsibility to put an end to its suffering and to the denial of its fundamental rights". It is not possible to disregard that dramatic appeal, nor is it possible to be a complete and true human being without taking to heart any attack on the dignity of man. It would be truly shameful for the United Nations conveniently to permit once again the impotent rage of justifications and not to take decisive steps—even outside the framework of the institution, since the United States veto has paralyzed the Security Council—to put an end to this disgraceful situation.

23. I should not like to close without stressing one of the Cuban Government's unswerving positions of principle: there will be no just and lasting solution to the problems of the Middle East if the question of Palestine is not settled; only the PLO legitimately represents the Palestinian people; and no organization or group of individuals, or even any other State, can claim to replace the PLO in any negotiations aimed at deciding the fate of that fraternal people.

24. I can assure the head of the delegation of the PLO, comrade Farouk Kaddoumi, that the unshakable solidarity of the people and Government of Cuba will not be lacking. Sooner rather than later, the homeland of Yasser Arafat will be independent and sovereign. We have no doubt at all about victory.

25. Mr. ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen): In 1947, when most of us were languishing under colonialism, the General Assembly decided to partition Palestine and to accord to its Zionist usurpers legitimacy over parts of Palestine. That was a decision forced upon the General Assembly by those same imperialist Powers which have ever since sustained the Zionist intruders militarily and politically, thus enabling them to occupy the whole of Palestine as well as the Sinai peninsula and the Golan Heights. In an attempt to make up for its original sin, the General Assembly has adopted numerous resolutions calling for the withdrawal of the Zionist occupying forces and upholding the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to national self-determination and statehood.

26. In every instance, Israel has responded with disdain. It has ridiculed the international consensus and flouted the Charter as well as United Nations resolutions. It is a wonder that this international rebel still continues to enjoy membership in the United Nations. For how long can the international community tolerate Israeli lawlessness and arrogance? When every other issue has been resolved over the years, why should the Palestine problem be the exception to the rule?

27. The answer is quite obvious: the Zionist entity has been forcibly planted in Palestine to serve the interests of international imperialism—mainly American imperialism. For how could Israel survive without the huge and continuing influx of American armaments and lavish financial support? Purporting to defend human rights everywhere, successive American presidents have all but ignored the rights of 4 million Palestinians who have been deprived of their elementary human and national rights.

28. While American politicians "raise hell" on behalf of a few Jewish dissidents here and there, we find them shamelessly insensitive to the plight of those Palestinians who have been uprooted from their homeland and rendered refugees. What credibility can any American Government have when its policies are predicated on a double standard—one for the Zionist gangs and the other for their victims?

29. The Palestinian people have not been waiting; they have marched along organizing themselves and struggling under their authentic leadership, the PLO. It is irrelevant whether the outgoing or the incoming American President recognizes the PLO, for it has become the *raison d'être* of Palestinian national existence. Today the PLO is recognized by the whole

international community and the Palestinian cause is espoused by people all over the world. It is the United States and Israel that find themselves isolated—not the PLO. It is quite predictable that the United States Government will continue to use its veto power in the Security Council to frustrate any measures to impose sanctions on Israel, because no American administration can withstand the pressure of blackmail of the Jewish lobby in Washington. It is now up to the General Assembly to exercise its powers by suspending the membership of Israel, for the very credibility of the United Nations is at stake.

30. The Palestinian people, on the other hand, have no choice but to fight for their national independence and statehood. The so-called autonomy talks have proved to be irrelevant to the solution of the Palestine problem and the Camp David accords, which gave rise to those autonomy talks, are declared almost dead. What, then, awaits the Palestinians but the determined struggle to regain their rights?

31. Mr. AL-QASIMI (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like at the outset to express our thanks to Mr. Falilou Kane, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, for his valuable report and the positive and objective statement he made at the 75th meeting. I should also like to thank Mr. Victor Gauci, Rapporteur of the Committee, for his valuable statement at the same meeting, which has shed more light on the work of the Committee.

32. The Committee's report [A/35/35] has once again demonstrated the colonial settlement nature of the Zionist entity, which is continuing practices whose purpose is to deny the Palestinian people its inalienable rights. Such action by Israel constitutes a violation of various international resolutions calling for respect for those rights and a disregard of the international community as a whole. Hence, the effectiveness of the Organization in carrying out its functions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, helping the peoples of the world without any discrimination and preserving the legitimate rights of all peoples, is called into question.

33. A glance at the developments with regard to the question of Palestine that have taken place since our discussion of the matter at the thirty-fourth session clearly shows that these aggressive practices by the Zionist entity have not been limited to disregarding the efforts of the international community but have also gone beyond that. For, while the international community, through its various organs, is trying to help the Palestinian people to recover its rights, Israel is taking action in an exactly opposite direction aimed at diminishing the prestige of the Organization and casting doubt on its effectiveness.

34. General Assembly resolution ES-7/2, adopted at the seventh emergency special session, devoted to the question of Palestine, is a clear expression of the determination of the international community to ensure respect for its actions, since that resolution called for consideration of the imposition of sanctions against Israel if it did not withdraw from the occupied Arab territories by 15 November 1980. However, that date has passed and Israel has not complied with that resolution. Israel's reply to it was to annex Jeru-

salem and declare it the eternal capital of Israel, in total defiance of the will of the international community.

35. Moreover, in spite of the fact that the Security Council, in resolution 476 (1980), declared that annexation null and void, Israel once again refused to comply with that resolution.

36. In view of such acts of defiance, the United Arab Emirates requests the General Assembly to adopt a resolution calling upon the Security Council to impose sanctions against Israel under Chapter VII of the Charter.

37. Further evidence of Israel's intransigence and its continuation of its expansionist policy is the fact that Israel is expropriating more Palestinian lands in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Jerusalem for the purpose of establishing Jewish settlements. The aim of such actions is to change the geographic and demographic character of these lands with a view to preventing the Palestinian people from enjoying its right to self-determination, establishing an independent State on its national territory and exercising its inalienable rights. These actions are being taken in spite of the existence of international unanimity as expressed in resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and various international organizations declaring the establishment of settlements null and void and contrary to the rules of international law.

38. We have reached the conclusion that the military and political support provided by previous American administrations is the main factor behind Israeli intransigence. We therefore call upon the new American Administration seriously to consider a comprehensive review of American policy on the question of Palestine. Such a review should take into consideration the interests of the American people itself and the suffering to which the Palestinian people has been subjected for more than 30 years.

39. Before concluding, I should like to emphasize once again the solidarity of the State of the United Arab Emirates with the struggle of the Palestinian people, as evidenced by a cable sent by Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan, our President, to the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People on 29 November, marking the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, which read:

"We see in the present celebration and in the choice of the date of 29 November as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People a clear reflection of the awareness of the United Nations of its responsibility towards that people since 1947... We see in that commitment the resolve of the international community to rectify the injustice and to help the Palestinian people in its fight for the recovery of its rights. Moreover, we note with satisfaction the growing support of the international community for that people's struggle to recover its rights and to reject any agreements which do not take into account its inalienable rights or which will not recognize the Palestinian people, represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the principal party in all efforts made to find a solution to the Palestinian problem.

“The Palestinian people has suffered all too long and is still waiting for the restoration of its rights. We urge the international community to increase its support of the Palestinian people by taking effective measures to punish the aggressor...”

“Once again, Mr. Chairman, I should like to emphasize that we shall spare no effort to help this people recover its rights.”

40. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): The growing tension in the Middle East has grave implications for international peace and security. It makes the need for a comprehensive solution of the question of Palestine more urgent than ever before. But the conflict cannot be resolved by armed force. Violence leads to more violence, and not to peace. The peoples of the Middle East have surely for all too long been deprived of the right to live in dignity, free from fear and need. The attainment of a just and lasting negotiated peace settlement can no longer be delayed.

41. The United Nations, having participated in the creation of the State of Israel and thus having been actively involved in the question of Palestine for more than 30 years, carries a particular responsibility in the search for an equitable and durable peace settlement. The General Assembly, at the seventh emergency special session held last July, did not, however, achieve what we had hoped for. It was for my delegation a matter of regret and concern that resolution ES-7/2 then submitted and adopted should be so lacking in balance that we were compelled to abstain in the voting.

42. A peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict and the question of Palestine must, in our view, satisfy two central requirements. One is Israel's right to continued existence within secure and recognized borders. The other is the recognition of the Palestinians' legitimate national rights, including the right, should they so wish, to establish a State of their own, living in peace side-by-side with Israel. In accordance with these principles, the Palestinians must also recognize the right of Israel to exist, as Israel must recognize the right of the Palestinians to self-determination. Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), although incomplete, continue to be the foundation for a peaceful settlement. A just solution of the question of Palestine is an obvious prerequisite for a lasting peace in the area.

43. A final peace settlement can be comprehensive and lasting only if all parties concerned participate in it. The Palestinians must therefore, as a matter of course, be represented in all negotiations concerning their own future, and Israel and the PLO should negotiate with each other.

The peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed in Washington on 26 March 1979, was in our view an important step towards breaking the vicious circle of violence and hatred in the Middle East. The ongoing negotiations between Egypt, Israel and the United States on so-called full autonomy for the Palestinians have, however, so far brought no concrete results. Israel's evasive and narrow interpretation of full autonomy, compounded by the provocative continuation and extension of the Israeli settlement policy in the occupied territories, constitutes a serious obstacle in this context. The Swedish Gov-

ernment has repeatedly expressed its firm rejection of the settlement policy, which is in clear violation of international law. We urge the Government of Israel to call a halt to it. We believe that Israel's apparent claims of sovereignty over the occupied territories render the search for a peaceful solution even more difficult. The Israeli policy of occupation is bound to increase the desperation among the Palestinians and lead to further acts of violence. We have, however, repeatedly rejected the PLO's recourse to violence in the occupied territories and we urge the PLO to halt it.

45. The policies pursued by Israel in the occupied territories are rightly a matter of concern to the international community. There is no doubt that the relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,¹ is fully applicable to the occupied territories. The settlement policy is a clear transgression of this Convention. We find it unacceptable that civilian inhabitants of the occupied territories are summarily deported to neighbouring countries. The widely published case of the deportation of the mayors of Hebron and Halhul and the Sharia Judge of Hebron are, unfortunately, not isolated cases. We have further noted with distress the many allegations of ill-treatment of Palestinian detainees and prisoners in Israeli prisons. The Swedish Government expects that the Israeli authorities will see to it that any such allegations, as reported for instance by Amnesty International, are investigated impartially and that other measures are taken to eliminate the risk of improper treatment of detainees. We also wish to underline in this connexion that, in accordance with the Geneva Convention of 1949 collective penalties and measures of intimidation or of terrorism are prohibited, as are reprisals against protected persons and their property.

46. The problem of Jerusalem deserves particular mention. We fully recognize the profound religious and political significance attached to Jerusalem by all parties concerned. We also recognize the need to determine the status of the city of Jerusalem in a comprehensive peace settlement. Any such agreement on the city's status should, in our view, guarantee freedom of access for everyone to the Holy Places. It is our firm opinion that the Geneva Convention of 1949 applies fully also to East Jerusalem, occupied in 1967. The law recently passed by the Knesset on the status of Jerusalem constitutes a regrettable further aggravation of the situation. Unilateral Israeli measures in this respect cannot be accepted and will be regarded as null and void.

47. The conflict in the Middle East has affected Lebanon and its people in a particularly tragic way. We are dismayed to see how violence and hatred are threatening to tear apart this once peaceful country. We appeal to all concerned, both inside and outside Lebanon, to refrain from further armed activities and border violations and to contribute to strengthening the authority of the Lebanese Government. We wish to express our support for Lebanon's unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We wish to underline the importance of giving UNIFIL, to which we are now again a troop contributor, the opportunity to

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.

take control over the whole of its operational area, in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council. We appeal to all concerned to co-operate with UNIFIL and the concomitant United Nations efforts to bring about peaceful conditions in southern Lebanon.

48. We are fully conscious that the history of the Jewish people is a history of persecution, exile and torment. But they had a vision of nationhood and self-determination, a vision that has come true through the creation of the State of Israel.

49. We are equally cognizant of the fact that the Palestinians have a similar vision. They too have a right to have their demands for nationhood and self-determination met and to have a home of their own after years of banishment, misery and uncertainty.

50. Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): A few months ago, the Romanian delegation presented in detail² the position of Romania concerning the vital need to intensify efforts to resolve the Palestinian problem and to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

51. The events which have taken place since then in that important region of the world have merely confirmed that, in the absence of an acceptable political solution to the Palestinian problem, the legitimate aspirations of all the people of the Middle East to peace, security and progress will never be achieved. Those events have likewise demonstrated that the perpetuation of the situations of confrontation and tension in the Middle East, as in other regions of the world for that matter, are bound to lead to further complications and further conflicts which will seriously affect the economy and independence of the States and peoples concerned, as well as world security and peace.

52. The extremely harmful consequences of the Middle East conflict for international relations as a whole and for the policy of détente, of understanding and of peaceful co-operation between States are strongly felt in all corners of the world. There is no doubt that continuing to postpone the adoption of a decision which is in fact unavoidable can only aggravate those consequences and increase the already very great risks of an armed confrontation of considerable magnitude, the effects of which on the whole of mankind would be irreparable.

53. It was precisely for the purpose of preventing such a course of events that the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, in a message addressed to the President of the General Assembly and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, emphasized the profound conviction of our country that:

“at present the most resolute efforts of all States and all peoples should be oriented towards accelerating the settlement by political means of conflicts and sources of war, resolving all controversial problems solely by means of negotiations and bringing about the conditions necessary for all peoples to devote their creative capacities to their economic and social development”.

54. The message reaffirmed once again the active support for and the feelings of solidarity of the Romanian people with the Palestinian people in their just struggle to achieve their legitimate right to develop in total freedom and independence within the framework of their own national State.

55. The consistent support by Romania of a political settlement of the problem of the Palestinian people derives from our firm conviction that without a solution to that problem, which represents an essential component of the settlement of the Middle East situation, the establishment of a lasting peace in the region is inconceivable. This support flows also and especially from our total adherence to the principle of the self-determination of peoples, which represents, in terms of the Charter and of international law, the keystone of modern international relations.

56. By virtue of that cardinal principle, the Palestinian people has, like all other peoples on earth, the inalienable right to a free and independent existence to establish its own independent State. When we speak in favour of an independent Palestinian State we are merely asking for the establishment of conditions that would make it possible for the Palestinian people to exercise a right which has been recognized in the case of all other peoples. It is in this spirit that the Romanian Government has followed from the outset, and continues to promote, a policy aimed at developing relations of friendship, solidarity and co-operation with the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

57. The President of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, once again reaffirmed, during talks that he held with the Chairman of the Executive Council of the PLO, Yasser Arafat, when the latter visited Romania last July, the determination of the Government and people of Romania to continue to give their full support to the just cause of the Palestinian people in its struggle to realize its national aspirations and rights and to do everything to establish an equitable and lasting peace in the Middle East.

58. As we have already stressed on numerous occasions, Romania has always been in favour of the resolution of all international disputes and situations of crisis exclusively by negotiations and other peaceful means. The Romanian Government tries to promote that position, proceeding from the truth, amply confirmed by events of the past few years, that nowadays recourse to force and to the threat of force is not a legal reaction from the juridical standpoint or a viable one from the practical standpoint to the problems and disputes that can arise in the relations between States. Resort to force, far from contributing to the solution of the problems put forward as justification for unleashing hostilities, on the contrary merely complicates and aggravates them even further.

59. On the other hand, the experience of international relations fully illustrates the proposition that mutually acceptable, and thus lasting, political and diplomatic solutions to the most complex problems and disputes can be found provided the parties concerned are truly moved by the desire and the political will to choose the course of mutual understanding and good-neighbourliness.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 5th meeting.*

60. As regards the Palestinian problem and the future of peace in the Middle East, Romania has always worked actively and consistently, as is well known, for a comprehensive political solution of the situation in the region. In the view of the Romanian Government, such a solution must lead to the establishment of a just and lasting peace based on the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories occupied as a result of the 1967 war, including the Arab part of Jerusalem, the settlement of the problem of the Palestinian people in conformity with its right to self-determination, including the right to establish its own independent State and, at the same time, a guarantee of the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of all States of the region.

61. In order to achieve that noble objective, it appears to us to be vitally necessary to produce through extensive consultations an initiative which would lead to the establishment of a new framework for negotiations. Such a framework could be provided by an international conference organized with the participation of all the parties involved in the conflict, including the PLO, as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the Soviet Union and the United States in their capacity as co-Chairmen of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East and other States which wish to participate and are in a position to make a positive contribution to the process of the peaceful settlement of the Middle Eastern situation. In our opinion, the participation of the PLO in all negotiations on the settlement of the Palestinian problem and the establishment of peace in the Middle East is necessary not only from the legal point of view, in view of the pertinent resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, but also for vital practical reasons. It is obvious that no formula for a comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East is attainable without the participation of all parties to the conflict, above all the recognized legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Almost all States of the world agree that the PLO has already clearly demonstrated its desire and the political will to participate on an equal footing in all discussions and negotiations undertaken within the framework or under the auspices of the United Nations for the purpose of establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

62. The demonstrations last week on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People once again provided evidence of the existence of widespread international support for the intensification of efforts to achieve a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement of the situation in the Middle East and for the full participation of the PLO in the elaboration of future peace arrangements in the region.

63. In the opinion of the Romanian delegation, the present international situation more than ever requires realism and political foresight, moderation and a feeling of responsibility for the achievement of peace and avoidance of any action that might aggravate and further complicate the situation in the area. It is in this spirit that the Government and the people of Romania have expressed their firm disapproval of the illegal practices of Israel, such as the establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories,

the expulsion of Palestinian officials from the West Bank of the Jordan and the steps taken to annex the Arab part of Jerusalem, occupied in 1967. Such illegal practices and measures, like the military actions in Lebanon, which have evoked the censure and legitimate protests of the international community, could not but have the effect of aggravating the crisis and raising new obstacles in the way of the comprehensive political settlement of the situation in the Middle East.

64. The anxiety, concern and demands of the United Nations in the face of the aggravation of the situation in the Middle East have been reflected in the adoption by the General Assembly and the Security Council of a large number of resolutions, which, as has been justly emphasized during the present debate, have not elicited any appropriate response on the part of the Government of Israel.

65. As we have frequently stated, we are firmly convinced that a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict would be in the higher interest of the economic and social development of all the States and peoples of the region as well as in the interest of international peace, security and co-operation. The establishment of peace would enable the Palestinian people to devote its undoubted creative abilities to the building of a free and independent life. This would offer all the peoples of the region, including the people of Israel, genuine security based on relations of equality, mutual understanding and peaceful co-operation with neighbouring peoples. The Romanian Government has on more than one occasion emphasized that the Government of Israel must understand that the security and independence of that country can be assured only to the extent that it respects, for its part, the independence and security of others and the right of the Palestinian people to freedom and to establish its own independent State within the framework of a comprehensive peace which would guarantee to all the States and peoples of the region the right to independence and territorial integrity.

66. The settlement of the Middle East situation would certainly have a positive influence on the international climate as a whole. It would be a highly important contribution to the strengthening of confidence between States, to efforts to ensure the continuance of the policy of peace and détente and to the free and independent development of all nations of the world.

67. We wish to express in this context also our firm conviction that the United Nations can and must play a more active role in the comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict and in the peaceful settlement of all situations of conflict, in accordance with the expectations of the peoples and their desire to live in a climate of peace, security and co-operation.

68. For its part, Romania will also do everything in its power to make its contribution to the just and lasting solution of the problems of the Middle East, the establishment of a comprehensive peace in the region and the achievement by the Palestinian people of their legitimate rights.

69. Mr. CHEBAANE (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): We are today once again considering a mat-

ter which we all regard as the greatest injustice of the century—that inflicted on the Palestinian people, which has been deprived of its rights and driven from its territory. At the end of every session of the General Assembly we are tempted to hope that new horizons will open up at the following session which will allow us to emerge from the impasse caused by certain parties and give us the impetus to find a solution that is lasting because it is just. But every time we meet once again to discuss this we find ourselves still going round in a vicious circle and our way blocked because of the intransigence of some and the wait-and-see attitude of others. However, for our part, we refuse to view this debate as a ritual exercise or to take part in sterile oratorical jousting, which cannot hide the glaring reality of a land occupied and a people enslaved.

70. Indeed, in the question of Palestine we find all the elements of oppression, all the practices and tragic consequences of colonialism and every manifestation of racism. Of course, such phenomena are far from unfamiliar to us. Africa has more than just a passing acquaintance with that evil; it is acquainted with it as a victim is with his oppressor. It is high time to put an end to this situation. The Palestinian people has rejected and will always reject the status of an assimilated refugee and is committed to a struggle which will inevitably lead to victory, because it is a struggle for justice and freedom.

71. Three essential elements are the basis of our analysis and relate to the reality of the situation which prevails: the dynamics of hostility and continuing obstruction from Israel; its constant policy based on the fait accompli and its obdurate rejection of any positive practical approach and of all pressing appeals by the international community; and finally, interference from certain external influences, albeit rare, tied to strategic considerations, to political opportunism or to other factors which have nothing to do with the substance of the issue, namely, the right and justice demanded by the people of Palestine. The result is that this policy is assured of total impunity.

72. These first considerations make it possible to define the global approach to the Palestinian cause and the problem of the Middle East: on the one hand, United Nations action through the vast number of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council in the last 30 years, or through the *démarches* and untiring efforts of the Secretary-General, has not made it possible either to resolve the substance of the conflict or to stabilize it, since it is spreading and getting worse every year; on the other hand, the considerable means of destruction which essentially come from outside the region, continue to increase and to perpetuate the imbalance in favour of the occupier, on the grounds that Israel's security, and consequently Israel's over-armament, is an inviolable prerequisite in the quest for a peaceful solution. It is clearly for these reasons that the scope of the problem threatens to go beyond the Middle East and to impose upon the world a problem, or rather a conflict, of quite a different scope and nature. In other words, we are faced with an emergency, a situation which emerged when a whole people was uprooted from its home and driven from its lands, a situation which has remained with us while genera-

tions are born in exile, a situation which will last until legality has been restored. In recognition of this emergency, the General Assembly met in an emergency special session last July and adopted by an overwhelming majority resolution ES-7/2, offering an alternative to arrogance, to the law of might and arbitrariness, and putting forward a strategy for overall peace, based on the Charter and on United Nations resolutions. Unfortunately, this has had no impact on the Government of Tel Aviv and has not been able to redress the wrongs inflicted on the people of Palestine. The violation of rights and the practice of violence continue and contribute to the process of rapid degradation in occupied Palestine, and domination is perpetuated in its two facets: colonialism and racism. The international community and the Assembly must draw their own conclusions.

73. The General Assembly has two reports before it dealing with the question of Palestine: the report of the Secretary-General, prepared at the request of the seventh emergency special session [A/35/618-S/14250]; and the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [A/35/35].

74. These reports eloquently bear witness to the facts and establish responsibility. We can draw two fundamental lessons from them. First of all, there is a totally mistaken concept of peace, because it obstinately identifies itself with the territorial and military *status quo* and with a baffling political immobilism, based on short-term alliances, a concept which remains blind to the need, more pressing than ever, to create the dynamics of a real peace which would correspond to legality and the irreversible march of history.

75. Unfortunately, there is not the slightest initiative or sign which can be taken as an Israeli peace strategy or a will to recognize right. The opposite is true. Moreover, the whole world is aware of the intolerable situation which still prevails in the occupied territories. A settlement policy has been relentlessly pursued since 1967. It is implacable because, by its very constancy, it modifies the legal status, the geographical nature and the demographic composition of the territories. Day by day, Palestinians are being driven out of their homes and their lands are being illegally confiscated. Water resources are being diverted to stifle a population on the brink of despair. Palestinian mayors are attacked in a cowardly way or are expelled from their towns, their only crime being their opposition to occupation and oppression. Unarmed youths and students are being arbitrarily detained or die under the bullets of the occupier. I shall not dwell on these acts, these serious extortions. Such actions have been brought to the knowledge of all from various sources, in particular, the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories. In short, it is State terrorism raised to a systematic and institutionalized practice which is the only logic of the occupying power.

76. The Security Council has this year adopted many resolutions, one of them—resolution 465 (1980)—by a unanimous vote. But they all remain dead letters

77. This leads us to the second fundamental assertion. This situation, one of extreme military tension, international isolation and political immobilism, is still deadlocked, and that is failure, the failure of any quest for a just and lasting settlement, and therefore failure to implement United Nations resolutions and to apply the Charter. This failure is desired by some and imposed on the majority.

78. Two things bear this out. First of all, the inability of the Security Council to take appropriate action of any kind on the basis of the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, which have been referred to it since October 1977 and which were adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session in 1976 [see resolution 31/20]. Such action could have led to tangible progress towards a settlement of the question of Palestine. A resolution to that effect was submitted and voted on in the Security Council, but the use of the veto prevented its adoption.

79. Secondly, the Holy City of Al Quds, which has always been regarded as being among the most valuable legacies of mankind, has been annexed and declared the eternal capital of the Jewish State, in contempt of the Charter, the law of nations and the most elementary rules of international morality. Hence, the situation in Jerusalem acquires greater urgency and importance. Its historic and religious nature is threatened with effacement and total elimination because of the constant desecration and even demolition of the Holy Places in the interests of unbridled Judaization. The Security Council adopted resolutions 476 (1980) and 478 (1980), declaring those measures null and void; we know what action was taken on those resolutions.

80. That is the situation which has been imposed not only on the region of the Middle East and on the Arab and Islamic world, but on the whole international community.

81. If we add to all that the fact that the Palestinians who have been driven out by force and who have taken refuge in Lebanon are being bombed daily and that Israel is deliberately waging in that country an atrocious war without a name, sowing death and desolation, our own perplexity and that of world public opinion will be easily understood.

82. This feeling of perplexity and the latent feeling of the people of Palestine, which may well break out one day because it is becoming more radical in view of the acute national awareness, can only increase and worsen in view of the wait-and-see attitude and the hesitation of some people who still feel they have to reserve judgement and stand outside our immense unanimity. In view of the present state of affairs, they should, however, understand that an open and decisive move on their part would certainly be going in the direction set by history.

83. Tunisia is deeply convinced that a fundamental solution would open up vast horizons for coexistence of the two peoples, Palestinian and Jewish, in stability and peace in that land where blood has been flowing for decades, and that it would spare mankind the dangers of war and permanent confrontation. This solution entails four essential considerations: the question of Palestine is the very heart of the whole

of the Middle East problem; the PLO must be accepted as a full partner in its capacity as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine; international legality, which has acknowledged the right of the people of Palestine to return to its homeland, to self-determination and to the establishment of its own State on its own territory, must be re-established; and the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab and Palestinian territories now occupied, including Jerusalem, must be ensured in accordance with international law, which condemns the acquisition of territory by force.

84. To ignore these principles would be a matter of obstruction and irresponsibility, and it is unrealistic to imagine that the *status quo* can be maintained indefinitely.

85. Israel and its few allies never stop saying that any debate on this question is "deliberately got up to hamper the peace efforts under way in the Middle East". We all know that nothing could hamper peace more than the constant policy of the Israeli Government and its systematic practices designed to maintain and strengthen the *status quo* I have described.

86. Furthermore, isolated attempts, separate moves and half-measures to establish any kind of solution would in no wise be sufficient, particularly when the final aim is not clear and not determined. Indeed, the problem of the Middle East and of Palestine constitutes a whole; it cannot be dissected. Israel must recognize this fact and accept it. To deny it is to insist on looking for false solutions based on the policy of fait accompli and on contempt for the inalienable rights of peoples. Delaying tactics merely add to the confusion and put off the hour of deliverance.

87. The last point which I should like to touch on concerns the role and responsibility of the Organization.

88. The Palestinians cannot continue to be the unfortunate victims of a situation which they did not create and, indeed, of a situation for which the Organization must fully assume its share of responsibility.

89. It was, indeed, the United Nations which in 1947 established the State of Israel. It is therefore for the United Nations now to be the vehicle for a just solution and to work for the establishment of a Palestinian State.

90. General Assembly resolution 181 (II) can in this respect be a realistic basis for any final comprehensive solution. It is not entirely satisfactory or just for the people of Palestine, but it could be a way of implementing a peace strategy and a commitment to peaceful coexistence, understanding and mutual recognition.

91. That is why we must have recourse to the capacity of the United Nations to define for the settlement of the question of Palestine guidelines and actions that are viable and effective because they are just and durable, provided there is a sincere political will on the part of all the parties to work to that end and not to be bound by their narrow selfish interests. For what is at stake is peace in the region and security in the world.

92. The people of Palestine, for its part, aspires more than anyone else to peace, a real peace which

would give it back its national rights and ensure it of its right to live free among all the peoples of the region.

93. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, may I express on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf our thanks and appreciation to the Chairman and members of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for their valuable report submitted at this session, as well as for all the efforts they have made during the last year in order to ensure the implementation of their recommendations, which are the basis for a just and lasting solution to the question of Palestine.

94. Since the adoption by the General Assembly of recommendations on this subject during its thirty-first session, the international community has increased in its conviction that these recommendations constitute the best basis for a just solution to the question of Palestine under which legitimate rights of the displaced people of Palestine could be restored to them. Without such a restoration, peace will not be possible in the Middle East. On the contrary, tension and warfare will continue in the area and in the world.

95. The events of 1980 have further increased the international unanimity concerning the need for a solution of the Palestinian problem on the basis of the Committee's recommendations. Thus, the seventh emergency special session, held during the period from 22 to 29 July, was a demonstration of world support for the principles which have guided the Committee in the formulation of its recommendations concerning the Palestinian problem. In resolution ES-7/2, the General Assembly requests and authorizes "the Secretary-General, in consultation, as appropriate, with the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, to take the necessary measures towards the implementation of the recommendations". This is further evidence of the validity of the principles and recommendations formulated by the Committee as an indispensable means for finding a just and comprehensive solution to the Palestinian problem.

96. Moreover, last year witnessed increased support for the need to solve the Palestinian question within the framework of the United Nations and on the basis of the recommendations of the Committee. The same events also demonstrated the futility and failure of any attempts made outside the United Nations and in a manner inconsistent with the resolutions of the General Assembly.

97. The same year also witnessed the failure of the Camp David agreements, which were concluded outside the framework of the United Nations and without the participation of the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Those accords disregarded the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to return to its homeland, to determine its own fate and to achieve national independence and sovereignty in Palestine in accordance with the Charter. Those agreements, moreover, do not offer any reasonable solution to the problem; on the contrary, they contribute to an increase in the tension in the area and the creation of new obstacles to a just and lasting solution. The reason for this is that those

agreements disregard the basic principles that should govern such a solution. The Palestinian people living under Israeli domination has emphasized its rejection of those accords, in spite of the ferociously oppressive policies of the occupation authorities. The Palestinian people has insisted on its rejection of those policies in spite of the Israeli declared policy of what it has called the iron fist. This Fascist policy is based on assassination, arbitrary arrest, deportation, violation of basic freedoms and the closing of schools and universities. Only last week the soldiers of the Israeli occupation authorities directed their bullets against demonstrating students, leading to the injury of 11 students. One of the victims was the daughter of the President of Bir Zeit University, which was closed by the occupation forces because that University decided to celebrate a cultural programme within the framework of Palestine Week.

98. The ferocity of the oppression practised by the Israeli occupation authorities cannot weaken the resistance and the struggle of the Palestinian people for the restoration of its legitimate rights, nor will such acts prevent that people from siding with the PLO, its only legitimate and genuine leaders.

99. Neither the ferocity of the racist régime in South Africa in trying to prevent the people of Zimbabwe from achieving victory under their national front nor the Fascist practices of the Menachem Begin authorities can arrest the march of history towards the liberation and independence of oppressed peoples. The victory of the Palestinian people is historically inevitable; any attempt to stop the march of the Palestinian people towards freedom and independence would only lead to more bloodshed and to the wastage of human and economic resources.

100. The international community as represented in the General Assembly cannot allow a racist régime to continue its occupation and expansion by controlling the destiny of people and the future of international peace and security. A just and lasting peace in the Middle East is possible. Actually, that peace could have been achieved a long time ago on the basis of the implementation of the various resolutions of the United Nations, especially General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3375 (XXX). The rejection of those resolutions by the Zionist leaders is the main obstacle to peace. That rejection is in line with Zionist ideology from Theodor Herzl to Menachem Begin. That ideology is based on uprooting a people from its homeland and putting another people in its place by force. The maintenance of a state of war is essential for the achievement of the Zionist objectives. That fact has been recognized by many Zionist leaders. In a lecture delivered in Haifa on 9 May 1973 and reported in Israeli newspapers on 10 May 1973, Moshe Dayan said:

"We have to be straightforward. We have to declare clearly and frankly that the State of Israel has been established at the expense of the Arabs and in their own land. We have not come to a vacuum. There were Arab citizens and now we are settling Jews in lands where Arabs have lived before. We are transforming an Arab country into a Jewish country."

101. This Zionist plan, as has been declared by Menachem Begin, is still continuing. We read in the newspapers every day that there are new plans to establish new settlements in the occupied Arab territories. A few weeks ago in New York Menachem Begin and other Zionist leaders celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of a Zionist leader, Vladimir Jabotinsky, who called for the establishment of Greater Israel on the basis of a "Jewish homeland" encompassing the eastern bank of the river Jordan. The Zionist leaders, together with Menachem Begin, in the Waldorf Astoria hotel, discussed what had been written by Jabotinsky, that the "two banks of the Jordan" should be theirs. Actually that has become the motto of the Herut Party, which is chaired by Menachem Begin. Moreover, the expansionist dream of Menachem Begin envisages the annexation of other lands, starting with the Arab territories occupied at present. That Zionist position is the real cause of the state of war in the region and of the refusal to implement the resolutions of the United Nations calling for a just and lasting peace in the area.

102. The international community is fully aware that this Zionist entity, which lacks the very basic necessities, could not have persisted in its practices and defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council were it not for the continuous arrival of economic and military assistance from the United States. It is because of the veto power of the United States in the Security Council that the Zionist entity has been able to frustrate the will of the majority of the States here, which call for the return of the Palestinian people to its country and for the establishment of an independent Palestinian State in Palestine. Now, since a new American Administration is going to take control very soon, we should like to urge that new Administration to go beyond the parochial view taken by previous Administration, which did not discriminate between right and wrong and which did not take into account the very interests of the United States of America in the region.

103. The Security Council has failed so far to adopt a resolution based on the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. Last time, when a draft resolution on the subject was submitted by Tunisia, the reason for that failure was the American veto. As a result of that, an emergency special session of the General Assembly was convened, at which the General Assembly adopted resolution ES-7/2, which fixed 15 November 1980 as a deadline for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories. However, instead of responding positively to the international will, Israel expressed its intention not to withdraw. On the contrary, it has continued its policy of establishing settlements in the West Bank, Gaza, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. Israel has also continued to deny the applicability of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Moreover, the Zionist régime has refused to comply with Security Council resolutions 476 (1980) and 478 (1980) regarding the Holy City of Jerusalem.

104. My delegation calls on the General Assembly vigorously to urge the Security Council to employ all possible ways and means likely to ensure the im-

plementation of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on the settlement of the question of Palestine and that of the Holy City of Jerusalem.

105. My delegation denounces Israeli practices regarding the city of Jerusalem. We also denounce the profanation of Islamic and Christian Holy Places in Israel by the Israeli occupation authorities. Furthermore, my delegation fully subscribes to the resolutions adopted by the Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Islamabad from 17 to 22 May 1980, regarding the question of Palestine and the Holy City of Jerusalem [see A/35/419-S/14129], as well as to the final declaration of the Al Quds Committee, meeting in an extraordinary session in Casablanca from 16 to 18 August 1980.³

106. We should like to pay a tribute to all those countries which have withdrawn their diplomatic missions from the city of Jerusalem in accordance with Security Council resolution 478 (1980), thus demonstrating their respect for international law. The consistent position of my country is one of firm support for the Palestinian people in its just struggle for freedom and national independence under the leadership of the PLO. That position is dictated by our national duty and our respect for the justice and peace that we wish to see established in the region.

107. Mr. POJANI (Albania): The Albanian people have always followed closely and with pain the tragedy from which the fraternal people of Palestine has suffered for so many years. The sacred cause of that brave and freedom-loving people has always been very understandable and close to us; its just liberation struggle against Zionist-imperialist aggression has enjoyed and will always enjoy our full support.

108. It was for this reason that the Albanian Government welcomed and supported the initiative concerning the convening of the emergency special session of the General Assembly last July. That was a correct action expressing the desire of international public opinion for the urgent solution of the question of Palestine and for the attainment by the people of Palestine of its sovereign right to live in freedom and independence in its own homeland. That session showed that the liberation struggle of the people of Palestine has wide support in the world.

109. In its statement at the seventh emergency special session⁴, the Albanian delegation expressed its point of view on the serious situation in the Middle East resulting from the policy of war and aggression followed by the two imperialist super-Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and on the dangers threatening the people of Palestine and other Arab peoples. We stressed the importance of the right solution of the Palestine question for the settlement of the entire Middle East problem.

110. Now, four months after the emergency special session, we see that the situation has become even more complicated and that the prospects for the solution of the question of Palestine are not at all encour-

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1980*, document S/14169.

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 8th meeting.

aging. Israel, supported by the United States of America and other imperialist Powers, continues to occupy Palestine and other Arab territories, refusing to recognize the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national independence. It continues its intensification of repression of the people of Palestine, the establishment of new settlements in the occupied Arab territories and its constant attacks against Lebanon and other Arab countries.

111. The most recent events have further increased the dangers and threats to the freedom and independence of the peoples of the entire Middle East and the Persian Gulf region. While the violent Soviet occupation continues in Afghanistan, for more than 10 weeks the armed conflict instigated by the imperialist super-Powers has been causing immense destruction and claiming victims in the Persian Gulf area.

112. The Albanian delegation considers that the present complicated situation in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf area, the hostilities and divisions to the point of armed conflict among the countries of those regions, which are caused or instigated by the super-Powers and other imperialist Powers, are calculated to damage and create difficulties for the struggle of the Arab peoples and in particular for the struggle of the Palestinian people against imperialist-Zionist aggression. And Israel, which has always profited from the hegemonistic policy and manoeuvres of the imperialist super-Powers and Arab reaction, now rejoices and hopes that in these circumstances the question of Palestine and of the liberation of the occupied Arab territories will not be considered to be of priority importance, Israel hopes also that the unity of the Arab countries, which is now suffering new splits, will not be re-established for a long period and that thus Israel will be able easily to achieve its expansionist ambitions. Experience has clearly shown that Israel is not going to pay any attention at all to the numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations or give up its policy of war and aggression, genocide, massacres and the mass destruction of the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

113. We think this is the occasion to mention once more that Israel would never have been able to carry through such a criminal policy had it not had the great and direct military, economic and political support of the United States of America. The manoeuvres of the American imperialists to create the impression that they had been making some adjustments in their policy with the aim of solving the question of Palestine and the Middle East problem and that they had been trying to restrain Israel were very quickly discredited. Facts prove that actually the United States has tried by all possible means to strengthen Israel's position in the occupied territories. That was also the aim of the Camp David plot which was organized by the United States, Israel and Arab reactionaries. There has been no step forward towards the solution of the Middle East problem. On the contrary, as a result of the Camp David agreements a very dangerous situation has been created for the Palestinian movement and for the cause of the Arab peoples in general.

114. In spite of many sacrifices and difficulties, the Palestinian people is resolutely continuing its just

struggle to achieve freedom and independence and to regain its own lands that have been taken by force by Israeli Zionists. This heroic struggle for the preservation of national identity, led by the PLO, today enjoys the admiration of all peoples of the world that cherish peace and freedom and of international public opinion as a whole. The long experience of the Palestinian people in its struggle against imperialist-Zionist aggression has taught that people how to face the most varied difficulties and not be deceived by the demagoguery and diabolic manoeuvres of the imperialist super-Powers and the Israeli Zionists.

115. The people of Palestine and other Arab peoples are now well aware who are their friends and who are their sworn enemies and the supporters of the Israeli Zionists. It is quite evident that the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are the main cause of the present serious situation in the Middle East and the greatest enemies of the Palestinian people and other Arab peoples, in spite of their demagogic statements and manoeuvres attempting to show that they are behaving as friends of the Arab peoples and their support for one or the other Arab State. The Chinese social-imperialists too, pretending to be friends of the Arab peoples, follow the policy of a super-Power and of alliance with the United States of America and cannot hide their support for the policy of United States imperialism and its tool, Israel.

116. We are confident that, in spite of difficulties, the question of Palestine will be solved through the determined liberation struggle of the Palestinian people. No solution of that problem can be reached if that struggle and the will and the aspirations of the Palestinian people are not taken into consideration. At present it is more necessary than ever that peoples and countries that cherish freedom express their complete solidarity and give that struggle their strong support.

117. We believe that of particular importance at present is the unity of the Arab peoples in their stand and support for the Palestinian people in order to make its liberation struggle victorious. The question of Palestine is the common cause of all the Arab peoples. Their unity is not a question of sentiment and religious belief, as the enemies of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples try to present it. The unity required today is a principled unity based on the common interests of the Arab peoples in the struggle against American imperialism and its tool in the region, Israel, and against the intentions of the two imperialist super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, to gain positions of domination and diktat in the region.

118. The Albanian people and Government wholeheartedly support the armed struggle of the Palestinian people for national liberation and the realization of its legitimate aspirations to become the master of its own destiny in its own land. We strongly condemn the aggressive policy of the Israeli Zionists and the intrigues, plots and hegemonistic policy of the imperialist super-Powers against the Palestinian people and other Arab peoples. We express our confidence that the resolute and uncompromising struggle of the Palestinian people will be successful.

119. Mr. KATAPODIS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): Of all the items inscribed on the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly, the problem of Palestine is at once of the most complex and one whose stagnation seems to be most unjustifiable. This stagnation is due chiefly to the gap existing between the actions of one of the parties to the conflict and its professions of faith in the Charter.

120. As my delegation has often had occasion to say—and it is far from being the only delegation to do so—the facts of the problem are as follows:

121. First, the people of Palestine, like any other people having its own ethnic, historical and cultural characteristics, has the right freely to decide its destiny and, if such be its wish, to establish its own State on the territory of its ancestors.

122. Secondly, that right must not imply the denial of the right of Israel to live in peace within secured and guaranteed borders.

123. Thirdly, the settlement of the problem can be achieved only through negotiation. The PLO, which is unquestionably a major representative element of the Palestinian people, cannot be excluded from the negotiating process if that process is to succeed.

124. Fourthly, no settlement can be contemplated without the complete withdrawal of the Arab territories occupied since the 1948 war, including the city of Jerusalem, because the occupation of those territories constitutes a violation of the most fundamental principles of the Charter.

125. It is ironic to note that all the parties to the tragedy claim to agree on the principles I have just enumerated, which are incorporated, *inter alia*, in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). And yet the solution of the problem seems today to be as remote as when the problem first arose. Why is that so? The reasons for this paradox are not difficult to detect.

126. In the first place the State of Israel, although it says that it is in agreement with the aforementioned resolutions, is pursuing a policy which, quite obviously, is designed to consolidate the occupation of the territories conquered as the result of the 1967 war. The establishment of new settlements at an accelerated pace; the oppression of the Arab populations living under Israeli administration; the law adopted a few months ago, in spite of the protests of the international community, to make Jerusalem the "eternal" capital of the State of Israel; and, lastly, the law recently introduced in the Knesset for the pure and simple annexation of the Golan Heights—all that bespeaks a spirit of conquest and total contempt for the will of the overwhelming majority of the Member States, which have on numerous occasions opposed such infractions of the law of nations and international morality.

127. With regard more specifically to the city of Jerusalem, Israeli policy tends to modify the historical character of this Holy City, which is the site of devotion and pilgrimage for hundreds of millions of believers belonging to the three great monotheistic religions. Greece, whose ties with this centre of Christianity are, I would say, centuries old, cannot but express its concern with respect to the explosive

situation of which Jerusalem is at present the focus and join with all those who have called upon Israel to respect the *status quo*.

128. Similarly, we are against the constant violations of human rights in the occupied areas, which is contrary to the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, which laid down explicit and specific guarantees for such rights. Actions such as the deportation of mayors of various cities in Palestine or the use of firearms to disperse demonstrations can only lead to vigorous protests and perpetuate the hostility of the inhabitants against the occupying authorities.

129. Equally reprehensible are the armed incursions of Israeli armed forces and elements acting in complicity with them and under their protection against southern Lebanon, a country whose sovereignty and territorial integrity should be scrupulously respected, as has been called for by so many General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

130. Lastly, to round out this brief presentation of the views of my delegation concerning the various aspects of the problem, I must say that the Government of Greece condemns any recourse to violence, not only because violence produces a far larger number of victims among innocent bystanders than among the belligerents, but also because it maintains and exacerbates mutual hatred and suspicion, which make any peaceful settlement all that much more difficult.

131. The inhabitants of the Middle East have been living for more than 30 years in an atmosphere of tension, confrontation, hatred and violence which is assuming ever more alarming proportions. Israel, taking advantage of circumstances favourable to it, has succeeded in occupying territories which do not belong to it. Let us assume that it has the means of maintaining these territories under its authority for a certain time to come. It could do so only by force of arms, because violence is bound to engender violence. Israeli intransigence has brought to this country suffering, sacrifices, privations and increasing international isolation. Is not this too high a price to pay for expansion? If the people of Israel and those who govern were to reply in the affirmative—and it is difficult to see how a people that claims to be peace-loving can reply otherwise—it is indeed high time to yield to reason and to accept mediation by the international community, which is only too ready, in one form or another, to provide its help in the search for a solution of the Palestinian problem. The Israeli people and all other peoples of the region would be the great beneficiaries of such an act of political courage.

132. Mr. FAKHOURI (Lebanon) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should at the outset of my statement like to express our thanks to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for the efforts he has been making to find a solution to the question of Palestine. I should also like to express our thanks and appreciation to the Chairman and members of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

133. The report of the Secretary-General and the report of the Committee show that the question of Palestine is in a stalemate as a result of the intransi-

gence of Israel and its continued refusal to implement the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. In our view, such a stalemate constitutes a serious threat to the Middle East and to the world as a whole. Every day sad news reaches us regarding the criminal practices of the Israelis directed against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and their acts of aggression against the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, especially in southern Lebanon, where the Lebanese and Palestinians live in camps and villages in fear of bombs from Israeli jets and shells from Israeli cannons. Moreover, the United Nations forces in southern Lebanon are the object of constant attacks by Israeli forces. Such activities prevent the United Nations forces from performing their task, namely, helping the legitimate Lebanese authorities to exercise their sovereignty over all parts of Lebanon.

134. If the presence of Palestinians in Lebanon is indeed the only reason for continued Israeli attacks on the country, then Israel can blame only itself for that state of affairs, for it is responsible for that presence and consequently for such attacks. Had Israel implemented United Nations resolutions, especially those resolutions recognizing the right of return, that pretext invoked by Israel would have disappeared. But Israel refused to allow the Palestinians to return to their homes. In fact, Israel refuses to recognize the Palestinians as a people. Otherwise, Israel would have offered to negotiate a peace with them, as it is pretending to do with neighbouring Arab countries, and would have negotiated with the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in accordance with the principles enshrined in resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council and within the framework of the United Nations.

135. Much has been said about the question of Palestine during the last 30 years or so. This has helped the world public to understand the demands of the Palestinian people. Consequently, the majority of States Members of the United Nations have come to regard these demands as a firm and key basis for a solution of the Palestinian problem. There can be no peace or stability in the region or in the world without implementation of the United Nations resolutions in a manner that will allow the Palestinians to return to their homeland, to determine their own destiny and to establish their own State in the land of Palestine.

136. Israel must understand that it is futile to try to exterminate a people such as the Palestinians, who are determined to repulse attempts to exterminate them, to resist settlements and to frustrate all plans and policies aimed at keeping them a refugee people outside their homeland.

137. The only progress made regarding the question of Palestine since the creation of that problem by Israel is to be found in the fact that the United Nations, which played a role in bringing about the illegal existence of Israel and in uprooting the people of Palestine, has today become more aware of the need to eliminate the injustice it has caused the Palestinian people. The majority of States Members of the United Nations have sided with the Palestinian people and are supporting that people, at least by the adoption of resolutions. But the United Nations should see to it

that that people enjoys the very rights that it itself has recognized. The United Nations should take immediate and radical measures to eliminate the injustice resulting from the dispossession of the Palestinians and help them to avert the danger of extermination in their own land and, finally, to spare the Middle East region and the world as a whole the dangers likely to arise from a continued stalemate. This is especially important in view of the aggressive Israeli practices and in view of the fact that some States Members of the United Nations are providing Israel with money and weapons at an increasing pace.

Mr. Zainal Abidin (Malaysia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

138. Israel has been defying the United Nations for more than 30 years. Resolution ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980, in which called General Assembly for the complete and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the occupied Arab territories by 15 November 1980, at the latest, is yet another in a long series of resolutions which unfortunately have remained dead letters. Israel is disregarding those resolutions and is defying the United Nations. Even worse, Israel expresses its defiance by taking decisions which run counter to resolutions adopted by the United Nations, for it is establishing settlements, trying to change the physical character of the land and annexing Arab eastern Jerusalem.

139. In reality, Israel may do more than that if we do not display determination and courage, the courage and determination displayed by the people of Palestine and the inhabitants of southern Lebanon.

140. Mr. SOUTHICHAK (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): At the current session, the General Assembly is considering the question of Palestine at a time when the situation in the Middle East is increasingly stormy and unclear. Because of that situation, the international community cannot but be deeply concerned at the fate of the people of Palestine and by the question of Palestine, which are considered by the Organization as being at the very heart of the problem of the Middle East. That concern involves first, besides the Palestinians themselves, the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, of which my country is a member, which, since 1976, in accordance with its mandate, has been striving to obtain the full exercise by the people of Palestine of their right to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty.

141. At the 75th meeting, the Chairman of the Committee dwelt at length on the various aspects of the problem of Palestine. The Committee's Rapporteur, at the same meeting, presented with great clarity the report on the Committee's activities during the past year.

142. It is now more than 30 years since the Palestinian people was driven out of its homes and condemned to live on international charity. To this day, that people, despite its obstinate struggle and the growing support of the international community, has not yet been able to enjoy its most fundamental rights. It is the only case in the world where a people has been stripped of its ancestral land and has been refused, in the most categorical manner, the exercise

of its inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

143. Although I do not wish to dwell on the atrocities engaged in by the Israeli occupation authorities towards the Palestinian people, I feel bound to say that the crimes perpetrated against that people by the expansionist Israeli régime are foul and ever-increasing in intensity.

144. In the past year, the world has witnessed the increase of acts of brutal repression by the occupation authorities, such as the arbitrary expulsion of mayors, terrorism against the young people of Palestine, harassment of students and teachers, and inhuman imprisonment and treatment of Palestinians who resist occupation.

145. Furthermore, pursuing its expansionist and colonialist policy to the limit, the Israeli Government, in the most brazen manner, proclaimed the Holy City of Jerusalem the eternal capital of Israel. We add our voice to those which have denounced that senseless act and solemnly declare that we shall never recognize this *coup de force*, which is another act of provocation aimed at the international community and more especially at the Arab nation.

146. It is clear that Israel, in daring to take such a decision, was assured that the imperialist circles, despite their verbal denunciations, would always stand shoulder to shoulder with it, as long as they need it as their bridgehead in that highly sensitive part of the world. Furthermore, the defection of the Cairo régime, which signed the treacherous Camp David agreements, offered the Israeli expansionists the opportunity of going even further in achieving the policy of "swallowing up" Arab territories. In that respect, we should stress once again that the Camp David agreements, far from contributing to a settlement of the Middle East problem and the Palestinian problem, served rather to accelerate the realization of Israel's expansionist plan and singularly to complicate the struggle of the Arab peoples to recover their occupied territories and of the Palestinian people to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination. It is therefore quite natural that the Palestinian people and the Arab peoples of the rejection front, who are faithful to the cause of the Arab nation, have condemned those agreements as well as the separate dealings between Egypt and Israel, which perpetuate the policy of occupation of the Arab territories and the denial of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people.

147. That situation has given rise to active concern on the part of the international community and more particularly of the Security Council, which has had to deal with the situation in the region several times this year. However, all the decisions taken by the Council always come up against the intransigence of Israel, which continues to disregard the appeals of the international community. That intransigence is due, as everyone has become aware, to the fact that several influential States Members of the Organization continually support the expansionist and colonialist policy of Israel, in particular the United States, a permanent member of the Security Council, which in unreservedly siding with the Israeli cause, has made the situation in the Middle East insoluble

and so generated permanent tension which seriously threatens international peace and security.

148. This unreserved support of the United States has led to the refusal by that country to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people—in particular its right to establish its own State in Palestine—and to recognize the PLO as one of the parties involved in the search for a lasting solution to the problem of the Middle East. United States opposition to the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, which the General Assembly has endorsed at successive sessions, and to the draft resolution submitted to the Security Council⁵ in which the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people were reaffirmed, indicated its position, which in no way corresponds to the Palestinian reality and which runs counter to the tide of history.

149. This persistent refusal by the United States to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people has given rise to great concern among the non-aligned countries, which, in accordance with the decision of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in 1979, called urgently for the convening of an emergency special session of the General Assembly to deal in depth with the question of Palestine⁶. Resolution ES-7/2, adopted by a very large majority, once again reaffirmed in the most forceful manner the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The negative vote cast by the United States demonstrated its complete isolation, as their Western allies have for some time now been adopting an increasingly positive attitude towards the people of Palestine.

150. In order to allow the people of Palestine to enjoy their inalienable rights, the international community, in General Assembly resolution ES-7/2, called upon Israel to withdraw completely and unconditionally from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem, and urged that such withdrawal should start before 15 November 1980.

151. That date has already passed, and there is nothing to indicate at present that Israel is ready to comply with the demands of the international community. In this respect, the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of that resolution gives Israel's reply, which was based on the search for a separate solution to the Middle East problem within the framework of the Camp David agreements. But those agreements are null and void in the eyes of the international community. That reply demonstrates the true intention of Israel never to abide by United Nations resolutions, still less to withdraw from all the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories.

152. In view of this situation, it is incumbent upon the General Assembly to make at its present session a decisive choice, a choice that involves the strict implementation of the relevant provisions of that resolution. In this respect, it is well to remember that in paragraph 13 of resolution ES-7/2 the General

⁵ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1976, document S/11945.

⁶ See A/34/542, annex.

Assembly requested the Security Council to convene in order to consider the situation and the adoption of effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

153. In the face of Israel's persistence in its policy of perpetuating its occupation of the Palestinian and Arab territories and its repeated acts of aggression against Lebanon, a meeting of the Security Council is fully justified, particularly since the world has just received disquieting information with regard to the consideration by the Israeli Knesset of a bill pertaining to the annexation by Israel of the Syrian region of Golan, in flagrant violation of the principles of international law and of the Charter. This is a new adventure which cannot fail to give rise to grave threats to the peace and security of that region and of the world. We vigorously denounce that attempt, which constitutes a real act of provocation against the international community.

154. We feel that the Security Council, the body responsible for maintaining international peace and security, should urgently adopt appropriate measures to force Israel to put an end to its bellicose and expansionist policy.

155. Meanwhile, the Council has had before it since 1976 the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, recommendations which are still very relevant since they concern principally the exercise by the Palestinian people of its fundamental and inalienable rights. We are sure that, regardless of what obstacles or barriers are raised to the enjoyment of those rights, the just cause of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, will ultimately triumph in a most spectacular manner.

156. In order to hasten that victory, there is an urgent need for energetic international action against the Israeli expansionists. The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, together with the non-aligned countries in the struggle for the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, advocated at the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly⁷ the strict implementation of the recommendations in the Havana Declaration.⁶ We also advocated the exploration of every avenue agreed on by the Heads of State or Government, for example those concerning the implementation of the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. We feel that the time has come to adopt such measures in order to compel Israel to submit to reason and justice. The General Assembly should clearly reaffirm at this session its attitude concerning the Palestinian cause and, in this context, demand that Israel withdraw its forces completely and immediately from all the territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. Furthermore, it should vigorously condemn the Israeli occupation authorities for the atrocities committed against the peoples of the occupied territories, as well as for the intensification of their settlement policy. We invite Member States to support the efforts of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People by giving their massive support to the recommendations of the Committee.

157. Before concluding, we wish to express once again our deep concern over developments in the Middle East situation, which, following the increasing military activities of the imperialists, is extremely tense and close to flash-point. This situation poses a greater threat than ever to the peace and security of the region and may at any time cause a conflagration of unforeseeable consequences. The international community should unite its efforts in order to eliminate this danger by endeavouring to find not a partial but a comprehensive solution to the problem of the Middle East. This should be brought about with the participation of the PLO, within the framework of the United Nations, with strict respect for the Charter and the resolutions of the Organization and on the basis of the attainment by the Palestinian people of the full enjoyment of its inalienable rights, including the right to establish its own independent and sovereign State.

158. The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic will continue resolutely to support the just struggle of the people of Palestine under the leadership of the PLO, its authentic representative, and we are certain that that struggle will lead to victory.

159. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): Let me begin by expressing the appreciation of the delegation of Kuwait to the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, the Ambassador of Senegal, its Rapporteur, the Ambassador of Malta, and all its members for their indefatigable efforts to promote the cause of peace and the cause of the people of Palestine. Their task is not only a noble but also a dignified one. Justice, right and fairness are on their side. They should therefore not be discouraged by any disparaging remarks by the delegation of Israel or by the negative attitude of the Western Powers to the work of the Committee.

160. The question of Palestine is a unique tragedy that knows no parallel in modern history. But it would be useful at this juncture to recall some of its past and be convinced of some of the present complexities.

161. I know it is useless to repeat what has been said in the last two days, but it is useful to remind ourselves that the General Assembly took a decision in 1947 to partition Palestine, against the will of its people, into two States. One, the Jewish State, was established by brutal force, by unmatched terrorism, and expanded beyond the lines of partition. On the other hand, a Palestinian State was decided upon by the General Assembly but has never seen the light of day. It is also useful to remember and to remind ourselves that those who today oppose the creation of a Palestinian State, such as the delegation of the United States, voted in 1947 for the Partition Plan. We cannot accept, indeed, the "about face", the change that characterizes the American attitude, for in our view the passage of time does not deprive the people of Palestine of their primordial right to self-determination and the right to establish their own State in Palestine. All of us must be convinced of the glaring fact that the people of Palestine yearn for and aspire to statehood, like any other nation represented in the Assembly. We must also be convinced that political convenience and expediency is not neces-

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 9th meeting.*

sarily the right way towards the establishment of peace in the Middle East.

162. We must remind ourselves that Israel's admission to the United Nations was conditional on its acceptance of United Nations resolutions and its adherence to the Charter. I am certain that all of us are convinced that Israel has flouted those resolutions and trampled underfoot the provisions of the Charter, in stark defiance of the international community, and has done so with exceptional impunity. We must remember that Israel has achieved its objectives by brute force and ruthless terrorism. In 1947 and thereafter, peaceful and defenceless Palestinians were driven out of their homelands, their territory and their homes by armed gangsters who resorted to unthinkable means to uproot the indigenous Palestinians, whose voice we heard yesterday. If we accept this indisputable fact, then we must come to the conclusion that Israel is a product of terrorism—which it is, no matter what others may say. We must also remember that Israel is a country of alien settlers, imported from abroad to take the place of the real owners of the land, who were consigned to live in bleak misery, in miserable camps, while their homes were left open to accommodate Jewish foreigners, imported mainly from this country. Hence we have the question of the Palestinian refugees every year, a question which came about as a result of the creation of Israel, no matter how we debate how it came about. We must also remember that the Zionist movement tried between 1947 and 1967 to manipulate the Western Powers so as to suppress any reference to the problem of the Palestinians. In this respect it succeeded, notwithstanding the indictment of the reports of United Nations observers who were supervising the truce lines.

163. Who can forget Israel's terrorism in Deir Yassin, in Kibya, in Gaza, in the Lake Tiberias area of Syria—and the catalogue is endless. We must remember that by stealth, deceit, deception and wickedness Israel expanded between 1948 and 1967 at the expense of the Arabs. It could not have done so had it encountered opposition from the world, and particularly from the Western world on which it depended.

164. In 1967 Israel occupied all the Palestinian territory on the West Bank and in Gaza, in addition to the Golan Heights and Sinai. It could not have maintained its occupation of those territories if it had met with opposition from the Western Powers. On the contrary, the United States, in another "about face", supported the position of Israel and, instead of asking it to withdraw, rewarded it with exceptional generosity in economic, political and military assistance, in total disregard of the earlier commitment of the United States to the Partition Plan, and in breach of the United States obligations under the Charter.

165. We must remember that the occupied Palestinian territory was earlier called "the administered territories". Then, in a sudden change of heart, those territories became "Judea" and "Samaria", on the grounds that the Bible's generosity can be stretched to include the territories of others. It is macabre illogic, but nothing in the Palestinian tragedy is logical, and there is no doubt that the support of the United States for Israel defies all logic and, furthermore, works against the interests of the United States.

166. We must be convinced that had it not been for the blind support of the United States, Israel would not have dared to behave as it has behaved since 1967. We must also remember that there has never been such tolerance by a super-Power for such defiance from a country that depends on unmitigated terrorism.

167. The tragedy of Palestine is a tragedy that shames the international community and those who speak of justice for others but deny it to the people of Palestine. It shames those who speak about the principles of President Wilson and at the same time support the tyranny of Mr. Begin, who is at best a celebrated and rewarded terrorist. Israel cannot—and it must be clear to everybody that it cannot—defy United Nations resolutions, violate its Charter, disregard the consensus of the international community, and at the same time seek the protection of the Charter. Those who violate the Charter and breach its provisions have no right to enjoy the privileges derived from it. Israel must realize that it cannot abrogate the Charter and simultaneously find shelter behind it. Therefore, in the view of the delegation of Kuwait, Israel's presence in the United Nations is an unbearable anomaly, and the rectification of that anomaly lies in the application of relevant enforcing measures to make Israel choose between its continued refusal to abide by the Charter and consequently face sanctions, or comply with the Charter and implement the resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Palestine.

168. Let us be clear on Jerusalem. No Moslem on earth could or would accept that the holy Moslem shrines should remain under Zionist rule. Without the return of the Holy City of Jerusalem to Arab rule there will be no peace. Jerusalem and peace are indivisible: there is no peace without Jerusalem, and a free Jerusalem is the road to peace.

169. For how long will the world tolerate Israel's defiance of the international community? For how long will Mr. Begin hold the whole world hostage to his caprices and whim? Who is endangering world peace and security? Who is keeping the Middle East in a state of turmoil? Who is jeopardizing Western interests in the region? Who is imperiling American interests and preventing American friendship for the Arab world? Who, in another sense, is depriving the global negotiations on economic matters of their real meaning? It is Israel and only Israel. It is Israel for which the Western Powers have shown such inexplicable and unjustified patience and tolerance. It is Israel which is adding to the suffering of the developing countries by refusing to acknowledge the rights of the people of Palestine. It is Israel whose ruthlessness and selfishness have caused the world immeasurable problems. We must stand up and say with a collective voice: enough is enough. If we do not do so, all will suffer, including the United States, whose romance with Israel surpasses its obligations to the Charter.

170. We must tell Israel and the Zionists and the gangsters that support them strongly and unequivocally that Israel has duties to fulfil before its delegation talks about responsibilities and rights. These duties include the indispensability of the withdrawal of its forces and the Israeli presence from all occupied

territories; for there will never be peace without withdrawal from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. We cannot accept the incorporation of Arab territories into Israel on the pretext of security. Security lies in understanding and not in conquest. The right of the people of Palestine to self-determination is sacrosanct and was endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 181 (II) of 1947. The Palestinian people want a State of their own. Let us help them to obtain that objective. After all, the General Assembly recognized that in 1947. The PLO, no matter what some may think, is more democratic in its structure than many of those who vilify it. It is the voice of the Palestinian people and no one knows that better than the Israeli occupying forces.

171. What are the daily incidents in the West Bank and Gaza all about? What is more convincing for the legitimacy of the PLO than the daily stone-throwing and demonstrations by all Palestinians under occupation as they flaunt the banners and the flag of the Palestinians and sing the lyrics of the PLO songs and emphasize the objectives and the rights of the people of Palestine to self-determination and statehood?

172. The PLO is the legitimate representative of the people of Palestine no matter what others may think, and there can be no solution to the problem without the PLO. This is a fact no less glaring, no less powerful than the fact that the sun rises every morning. The delegation of Kuwait believes that there is a consensus on this issue and there is a consensus that without self-determination for the people of Palestine and without their right to statehood in Palestine there will never be peace in the area. No matter what the United States says and no matter how much it is committed to the Camp David agreements, we believe it is engaged in a wild-goose chase. Let me say what Plato said once: "It is forgivable for a child to be afraid of the dark. The tragedy of life is when men are afraid of the light". The United States and Israel are afraid of the light and therefore they are in no position to accept reality and are consequently unable to see the light. It is our duty in the General Assembly to make them see the light, otherwise we part company with incalculably grave consequences for everybody.

173. Mr. TURBANSKI (Poland): Four months ago, at the seventh emergency special session, the General Assembly once again recalled and reaffirmed its resolutions on the question of Palestine. It emphasized in particular that this question constituted the heart of the Middle East problem. It stressed that a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in this region could not be established without the withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and without the achievement of a just solution of the problem of Palestine on the basis of the attainment of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

174. Today, this crucial issue has again to be dealt with, as the situation remains unchanged. The Israeli occupation and the annexation of Arab territories continues unabated in flagrant violation of international law and of numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations. The constant and stubborn refusal of the Israeli authorities to comply with the United Nations resolutions and Israel's persistence in its aggressive line, manifested recently in the provoca-

tive continuation of illegal measures in the occupied territories, are obviously contrary to political realism. These deeds only deepen the isolation of Israel among the nations of the world. They cannot bring down the Palestinian people. They cannot and will not stop its legitimate struggle, led by the PLO, the authentic representative of the Palestinian people, to carry out its national aspirations.

175. The non-compliance of the Israeli Government with all the United Nations resolutions on the question of Palestine has been clearly pointed out in the report of the Secretary-General, submitted in pursuance of paragraph 12 of General Assembly resolution ES-7/2.

176. The important and increasingly pressing problem of Palestine remains unresolved. Four million Palestinian Arabs are being exposed to enormous human sufferings and continue to be deprived of their legitimate national rights. The clear-cut over-all picture of the situation in this respect has been given in the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories [see A/35/425]. As long as it remains unresolved, the question of Palestine, which is the crux of the problem of the Middle East, contributes greatly to the maintenance of one of the most dangerous focal points of tension in the world. It poses a serious threat to international peace and security.

177. The consistent position of the Polish People's Republic on the question of Palestine has been presented in international forums, including the United Nations, on numerous occasions in the course of the more than 30 years of discussion of the problem, which for seven years has been one of the most important items of the deliberations of the General Assembly.

178. This position derives from the principles and purposes on which the foreign policy of the Polish People's Republic has invariably been based through the entire post-Second World War period, the principles and purposes of a socialist country deeply engaged in the struggle for peace and security, for justice, for the consolidation of détente and the development of international co-operation.

179. Our position has been reflected recently in the joint declaration of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee held at Warsaw on 14 and 15 May 1980. It stated *inter alia*:

"A lasting peace in the Middle East could have been established long ago. The road to such peace is well known, and the States represented at the meeting have also indicated it on many occasions—an all-embracing Middle Eastern political settlement with the direct participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestinian Arab people as embodied by its representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, on the basis of respect for the legitimate interests of all States and peoples of the Middle East, including Israel.

"Such a settlement requires the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, the restoration of the right of the Arab people

of Palestine to self-determination, including the establishment of its own independent State, and the safeguarding of the sovereignty and security of all States of the region. A political settlement in the Middle East also requires that no one should take any action which could make the attainment of those goals more difficult and that no State should interfere in the internal affairs of the countries and peoples of the region, attempt to prescribe what socio-political systems they should establish for themselves, or assert any claims or encroach in any way on their natural resources." [A/35/237-S/13948, annex II.]

180. The roots of the aggravated situation in the Middle East, of the continued tension in that region poisoning the international climate and posing a constant threat to world peace and security are found in the continued Israeli aggression against Arab States and the illegal occupation of their lands. We consider that the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, as well as the guarantee of the rights of the Palestinian people, would restore a just and lasting peace to the Middle East region. A comprehensive political settlement would permit the secure and peaceful existence of all the States and nations of the Middle East and would have a favourable effect on the climate of international relations.

181. In his statement in the general debate at this session of the General Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic, Jozef Czyrek, emphasized, *inter alia*:

"The concern for the future of the world and for the fate of nations makes it imperative to break out of the vicious circle of tensions and conflicts by seeking just and enduring solutions to acute political problems in different regions of the world. In reducing and extinguishing hotbeds of tension and conflict, we recognize an important component of the struggle for the strengthening of international security. To the best of our ability, we have taken and are still taking part in the efforts aimed at their solution pursued both within and outside the United Nations.

"We fully reaffirm our position concerning a comprehensive and just settlement of the situation in the Middle East, in which the key issue is the question of ensuring independent statehood for the Arab people of Palestine, in accordance with the postulates of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], a settlement that would bring lasting security to all States of the region." [10th meeting, paras. 81 and 82.]

182. Poland's serious preoccupation with and indeed genuine interest in finding a lasting and comprehensive settlement to the Middle East problem is manifested not only in words but also in deeds through our active involvement. Suffice it to recall the honourable service of several thousand Polish soldiers in UNEF and UNDOF in the region.

183. There is growing international awareness now of the fact that any solution of the Middle East problem must fully take into account the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people. There is an ever broader awakening of conscience of the international

community to the cause of the Arab people of Palestine and the true nature of the question being discussed today.

184. In that connexion we wish to note with satisfaction and appreciation the great effort and outstanding contribution on the part of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for its tireless and persistent efforts in favour of the speedy attainment of those rights by the Palestinian people. That is one of the basic conditions for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

185. That goal cannot be achieved by separatist negotiations and agreements, by procrastination and manoeuvres to gain time.

186. What is needed is determined action on the part of the United Nations, using all available and appropriate means at its disposal, to bring about the compliance by Israel with the resolutions adopted by us. Without that there can be no solution to the complex issues of that region.

187. Mr. AZHARUL ABIDIN (Malaysia): Thirty-three years have passed since the question of Palestine was first raised at the United Nations, and yet today the question continues to engage our close and urgent attention, as our current deliberations demonstrate. In spite of all the efforts to find a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the problem, it remains one of the most sensitive and dangerous issues facing the Organization. This year alone, the Security Council has met several times to consider issues related to the question of Palestine, and the seventh emergency special session was held from 22 to 29 July to discuss the question following the failure of the Council to act on the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

188. At the seventh emergency special session the General Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and property, to self-determination and independence and to national sovereignty. It also called on Israel to withdraw from all occupied Arab territories by 15 November 1980. As in the past, the Israeli authorities once again ignored the overwhelming call of the General Assembly and continued with their policy of consolidation and annexation of occupied territories in blatant violation of the established principles of international law.

189. The demographic nature and Islamic character of the Holy City of Jerusalem continued to be altered in their bid to strengthen their hold on the city and to transform it into the undivided capital of Israel. Israel did not care if those actions offended the sensitivities and feelings of hundreds of millions of Moslems the world over. The date of 15 November 1980 passed without a single Israeli soldier being withdrawn from the occupied territories. Instead it saw more repressive measures mounted by the Israeli authorities against students and other civilians intent on expressing their opposition to Israel's illegal policy in those territories.

190. My delegation does not wish to go into detail in describing the various atrocities and illegal actions perpetrated by the Israeli authorities. They are al-

ready adequately described in the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, which was considered in the Special Political Committee in November. Suffice it for me to say that Israel could not have acted the way it did through all those years had the major Powers shown greater will and sincerity in searching for a just and lasting solution to the question of Palestine. It would appear to my delegation that the major Powers were more interested in preserving and perpetuating their strategic and political advantages in the entire Middle East than they were in the search for a solution that would serve the interests of the peoples of the region themselves. We have seen how, in their attempts to secure their respective areas of influence, the major Powers created serious divisions among the peoples of the region, further weakening their resolve to face the challenge of external manipulations. Such an attitude on the part of the big Powers could never produce an acceptable and durable solution to the Middle East conflict. As my delegation said during the seventh emergency special session,⁸ the peoples of the region must constantly be aware of those manipulations and remain united, for without unity their struggle will remain mere rhetoric, devoid of strength.

191. The world has recognized that the question of Palestine is at the centre of the Middle East conflict which, in the life of the United Nations, has exploded into four major wars. No just and lasting solution can be envisaged without taking into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The representatives of the Palestinian people, the PLO, must therefore be involved on an equal footing in all deliberations and conferences held for the purpose of finding a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict. Any attempt to prevent the participation of the PLO will only jeopardize the prospects for a settlement.

192. On this occasion, my delegation wishes once again to reaffirm its solidarity with the people of Palestine in their just struggle to exercise their inalienable rights. They have suffered for so long, and it is only right, after all these years, that the United Nations act to remove the injustice and the consequent misery that has befallen them. Let us help them shed the life of refugees and exiles so that they can live in peace and dignity in their own homeland.

193. It is the view of my delegation that the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, which were endorsed by the General Assembly at the thirty-first session [*resolution 31/20*], still provide the most reasonable basis for a solution to the question of Palestine. The proposal for the phased return of the Palestinian people to their homes, land and property, the withdrawal under United Nations supervision of Israeli forces from territories occupied in 1967 and the establishment of an independent Palestinian entity represents the best hope for a start towards a peaceful solution of the entire Middle East conflict.

194. Mr. KOSTOV (Bulgaria): The plight of the Palestinian people continues to be a cause of serious concern for the world community. The thirty-fifth

session of the General Assembly is the seventh consecutive session at which the question of Palestine has been considered as a separate item on its agenda. The emergency special session of the General Assembly held last July on Palestine proved once again the need for a just settlement of this question by reaffirming the validity of the important decisions adopted so far within the framework of the United Nations.

195. It is not necessary to repeat the tragic history of a people which for more than 30 years has been a people of refugees, banished from and deprived of their homeland. That history has long been familiar to all of us, as has the fact that those 30 years have been marked by a growing political and military aggravation of tensions. There is hardly anyone who would deny that the Middle East crisis, which has repeatedly erupted into full-scale war, is one of the gravest and most explosive conflicts in that particular region, one which at the same time endangers the peace and security of the whole world. Likewise, there is no doubt whatsoever that the failure to resolve the Palestinian issue, which is at the heart of that crisis, is the root cause for the continuing deterioration of the Middle East situation.

196. In the last few years the United Nations has adopted a number of important decisions on the question of Palestine, among which I should like to mention the historic resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3237 (XXIX), whose provisions have been upheld at each succeeding session of the General Assembly, including the emergency special session on Palestine.

197. After a long and persistent struggle the question of Palestine has at last been put into a proper perspective and has quite justifiably grown from a purely refugee problem into a problem of the exercise of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the creation of its own State. Moreover, the world Organization has recognized the political vanguard of the Palestinian people, the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. The work of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, whose recommendations are aimed at implementing the decisions of the General Assembly, is both necessary and constructive. The significance of these recommendations, far from diminishing, is in fact increasing as the need for their prompt realization has been dramatically confirmed by the most recent developments, especially those in this region of the world.

198. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has repeatedly underlined its support for these recommendations, which envisage the adoption by the Security Council of practical measures for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, termination of the policy of new Israeli settlements in those territories and observance by Israel of the provisions of the 1949 Geneva Convention, as well as comprehensive assistance and support for the full exercise of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions. We are of the opinion that the Security Council, as the principal organ of the United Nations responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, must

⁸ *Ibid.*, 10th meeting.

take practical measures to implement the concrete proposals contained in the Committee's recommendations and in Assembly resolution ES-7/2, on the question of Palestine.

199. I regret to note, however, that, notwithstanding numerous resolutions of the United Nations and the unequivocally expressed will of the international community, the Palestinian problem has not yet found an adequate solution. The Arab people of Palestine does not yet enjoy those fundamental rights to which, in accordance with the Charter and other norms of international law, the peoples of the world are entitled, including, first and foremost, the inalienable right to self-determination and the creation of a sovereign State.

200. The reasons behind this situation are well known. Israel, bolstered and encouraged by imperialist circles, primarily the United States, continues stubbornly to defy the United Nations and to pursue its adventurist and expansionist policy of changing the geographic character and demographic composition of the Arab lands seized in 1967. The Israeli occupation authorities are systematically displacing the native Arab population from its territory and illegally establishing militarized settlements. This has been accompanied by brutal terror and repression and gross violations of basic human rights.

201. According to *The New York Times* of 2 December, "the Government... has toughened legislation to restrict political activity and has used extraordinary police methods to restrict the movement of certain Arab leaders". Further in the same article we read that a Palestinian university president of the West Bank was arrested "for having knowledge of and failing to block students' plans for a 'Palestine Week' featuring speeches, songs and slogans in support of the PLO".

202. The Israeli Knesset's proclamation of Jerusalem as the "eternal and indivisible capital of Israel", in contravention of Security Council resolutions 476 (1980) and 478 (1980), can only be viewed as a cynical provocation. All those facts reveal unequivocally the basic strategic goals of the Israeli expansionists, namely, to perpetuate their aggression and occupation by denying the right of the Palestinian people to return to its homeland and by exterminating the PLO.

203. The various plans and political manoeuvres—first and foremost the Camp David agreements and the separate Egypt-Israel treaty reached through the active mediation of the United States—serve precisely to realize these strategic goals. Two years have elapsed since the ratification of these agreements, and there is still no peace in the Middle East. The key issue of the Middle East crisis, namely, the exercise of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, was left outside their "framework for peace". Under the smokescreen of such agreements which, it is pretended, constitute a peaceful and comprehensive settlement of all aspects of the Middle East conflict, Israel continues to pursue its policy of expansionism, annexation and aggression against the Palestinian people and the neighbouring Arab countries. The talks on the so-called administrative autonomy for the Palestinians—an idea rejected by the Palestinians themselves—are but a disguised

attempt at denying the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine and, at the same time, at legitimizing aggression, annexation and expansionism. The futility of these talks is all the more obvious since, instead of leading to a lasting peace and a comprehensive settlement, they aggravate the situation even more and, in practice, make the fair and lasting settlement of the problems, with the participation of all the parties concerned and taking their interests into full consideration, even more remote.

204. Thus we have, on the one hand, the jingoistic aspirations for a "Greater Israel" backed up by various misanthropic theories, while, on the other, we have the no less ominous global strategic interests of United States imperialism in the Middle East officially claiming "a sphere of vital interest" for the United States with all the inherent military and political implications for the region. The Camp David agreements have not delineated a framework for peace but, rather, the framework of the military and political alliance of the United States, Israel and Egypt with a clear-cut anti-Arab orientation and with the principal aim of making the Middle East and the Near East a sphere of exclusive influence of the United States and a springboard of aggression and intimidation against the peoples of the region. The United States military presence is increasing and the network of military bases in the region is being modernized. A special combined force has been set up—the so-called rapid deployment force—whose units, according to media reports, have already had their first war games in the deserts of Egypt. At the same time, the flow of economic and military aid for Israel, amounting to billions of dollars, most of which is directly designated for military purposes, has continued unabated. No less substantial is the unconditional moral and political support which Israel enjoys, as in the last few years the United States has on more than one occasion used its power of veto in the Security Council to block the adoption of effective measures against the aggressor.

205. The attempts to impose a defeatist peace, as well as to apply all kinds of palliatives for the settlement of the Middle East crisis, cannot and will not bring peace, security and justice to all the nations in this region of the world. As the Declaration of 15 May 1980 of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty states:

"A lasting peace in the Middle East could have been established long ago. The road to such peace is well known, and the States represented at the meeting have also indicated it on many occasions—an all-embracing Middle Eastern political settlement with the direct participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestinian Arab people as embodied by its representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, on the basis of respect for the legitimate interests of all States and peoples of the Middle East, including Israel." [A/35/237-S/13948, annex II.]

206. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always supported and will continue to support the just struggle of the Palestinian people for the restoration of its lawful rights. We value highly the principled and constructive position of the PLO on the problems of the settlement of the Middle East conflict, as well as

our traditional ties of friendship and co-operation with the Arab people of Palestine.

207. I should like to assure the Assembly of the whole-hearted support of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for any initiative of the United Nations designed to guarantee the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people and to promote the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East on the basis of a comprehensive settlement with the participation of all parties concerned.

208. Mr. TRAORÉ (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): The diplomatic representatives of our countries who took part in the general debate in the current session of the General Assembly were unanimous in recognizing the precarious and alarming nature of the present state of relations between States. Sombre clouds, heavy and ominous, darken the international atmosphere. The situation created for the Palestinian people, which some would wish to reduce to a people without a homeland, that is to say, without a future, is surely to be counted among those frightening clouds.

209. In spite of the relevant recommendations of the General Assembly and of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People in the search for urgent and equitable solutions of the suffering of the Palestinians, obstruction by one of its members prevented the Security Council from assuming the special responsibilities conferred on it by the Charter in the field of the maintenance and safeguarding of international peace and security.

210. The reasons for such a blockage being alien to the obligations assumed by Member States under the Charter, the General Assembly, on the strength of its mandate from the peoples represented in the United Nations, met last July in an emergency special session to draw the attention of mankind once again not to the most serious of injustices committed against a people, namely, the people of Palestine, but rather to the growing risks arising from the continuance of such an injustice.

211. In fact, the just settlement of the question of the recognition and exercise of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination not only conditions the return of peace in the Middle East but is one of the fundamental factors of understanding between peoples and nations; in other words, it is a condition of peace.

212. The Second World War and its aftermath were analysed in terms of the conquest of vital space and of remedies for critical economic situations. We are still suffering from its awesome consequences. The conflict which would explode from the maintenance and aggravation of tensions in Palestine would reflect our incapacity to submit to the fundamental principles which the authors of the Charter viewed as the cornerstones of peace. The selfish interests of a tiny minority of Member States would thus have prevented us from combating the last vestiges of colonialism; we would have been blinded to the point of forgetting the sacred nature of the right of peoples to self-determination and would have justified the inference that we recognized the right of recourse to brute force in the settlement of disputes. In short, we would have shirked our international obligations.

213. All these risks and dangers characterize the prevailing situation in Palestine and carry with them the germs of war. I am referring to non-compliance with General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947 on the decolonization of that territory and the creation of the Government of Palestine. It is well known that, for reasons contrary to history and to the will of the General Assembly, that resolution was implemented only in respect of the creation of the State of Israel. This reflects a naive belief that the Palestinian people, which has distinguished itself throughout history by its great humanitarian and cultural values, would deny and flee from its national responsibilities.

214. It is Utopian, therefore, to believe that humanitarian conferences can cool the patriotic ardours or determine the fate of a people. If this were all that the question we are debating was about, then the Middle East would not have exploded so many times—to the point, on the last occasion, of making the whole world tremble.

215. The question of Palestine then is crystal-clear. It is no more and no less than a question of peace or war, and it is a good thing that more and more the international community so understands it.

216. The report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, which is before us and which was introduced by the Committee's Chairman, the Ambassador of Senegal, and submitted by its Rapporteur, the Ambassador of Malta, rightly emphasizes the many initiatives taken at various levels to help to find solutions of the Palestinian tragedy, solutions that, we repeat, condition the final settlement of the Middle East conflict and help to ward off the threat of a general conflagration.

217. We already had occasion to state in the Assembly that the world is increasingly accepting the Palestinian reality. This trend has been steadily growing. It draws its strength and vigour from the correct analysis of the objectives pursued by a people fighting for its honour and its freedom. It seeks to strengthen peace in the world.

218. The report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People quotes abundant sources concerning this trend. We shall refer to some of them because of their great international importance. In that connection, we cite the resolutions adopted by the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-sixth session;⁹ the declaration of 15 May 1980 of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee; the declaration issued on 13 June 1980 by the meeting in Venice of Heads of State and Government and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the nine member States of the European Community, meeting as the European Council [A/35/299-S/14009]; and the decisions taken at the thirty-fifth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, held at Freetown from 18 to 28 June 1980 [see A/35/463, annex I]. All those recommendations and decisions reflect the Palestinian reality in unequivocal terms. They echo the voices of

⁹ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Supplement No. 3, chap. XVI, sect. A.*

peoples on all continents, voices that demand more and more impatiently and loudly that efforts be made to find a definitive solution that will end the suffering of the Palestinian people which, like any other people, has the right to live in its homeland and to achieve in its own way its national objectives.

219. On the other hand, and as if, alas, the fate of mankind were subject to the Manichean doctrine, the Government of Israel, like, moreover, its whole-hearted ally in Pretoria, offers no other response to the many peace proposals on the question of Palestine than outbursts of extreme arrogance, recourse to shameful practices against defenceless populations and the systematic use of force in its disputes with its neighbours. The Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories and in Palestine are known to the Assembly. It is impossible to assess correctly the political significance of gratuitous acts such as in the dynamiting of houses, the cold-blooded murder of the authentic representatives of the Palestinian people and the bombing of refugee camps peopled mainly by women and children, since the able-bodied Palestinians are in the front line doing their duty and defending their honour.

220. But out of the rubble of each Palestinian building that crumbles, an even more experienced fighter rises up and a thousand hands come forward to raise even higher the torch carried by every Palestinian felled by an Israeli gun.

221. In the face of that reality, which overwhelms it, the Government of Israel has chosen the course which has always been that of those who dream of conquests and domination, the course of assimilation, or rather of depersonalization of the occupied peoples and their conversion to the theory of great empires.

222. It was thus that the Government of Israel decided that the textbooks distributed to Palestinian students should no longer contain any reference to the national and historical nature of their homeland. It was thus that, contrary to General Assembly resolution 181 (II), Tel Aviv has defied the conscience of all monotheistic believers by proclaiming Jerusalem, the common heritage of mankind, its historic an eternal capital.

223. To those insults to the secular beliefs of millions and millions of human beings and to peace must be added the demonstrations of the hunger for conquest of the Israeli Government. In fact, the latter is pursuing no other objective, nourishing no other ambition, than that of territorial expansion when it adopts texts "reaffirming the right of Jews to settle on the West Bank of the Jordan, including Hebron", takes under the protection of its bayonets the new Jewish settlements, particularly in the West Bank and the Golan Heights, and plunders and periodically invades peaceful Lebanon, all in violation of international law and the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

224. At the risk of repeating ourselves, we declare yet again that we must save the Israelis from the adventurist policy of the Government of Tel Aviv. We must—and here we are borrowing the words of a French poet of the resistance—heed the voice that speaks of Israel's future.

225. That voice has already been heard from Israel itself; we heard it from the Jewish demonstrators who, on 19 May 1980, met before the Knesset to extend a fraternal hand to their Palestinian brothers. They are among the true Jewish messengers of Israel's future.

226. We heard that voice also from the Council of Churches of the Middle East, which, in a communiqué issued in Damascus on 21 September 1980, condemned the annexation of Jerusalem by Israel and invited "true Moslems, Christians and Jews to cooperate in order to bring true peace to that city".

227. That voice rang in our ears after the adoption of a resolution on the Middle East question and the Palestinian problem by the 67th Inter-Parliamentary Conference, held at Berlin from 14 to 25 September 1980 [A/35/570, annex]. And, finally, we heard it from the Palestinians, the spokesman of whose only legitimate representative, the PLO, presented in Rome on 9 May 1980 a five-point plan for the settlement of the Palestinian crisis on the basis of: first, the inadmissibility of the appropriation of territories by force; secondly, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territories occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem; thirdly, the handing-over of those territories to the United Nations for a transition period of from six to 12 months, during which time the inhabitants should be enabled to exercise their right to self-determination; fourthly, the creation of a Palestinian State, if that is the outcome of the exercise of the right to self-determination; and fifthly, the convening by the United Nations of an international conference with the participation of the United States, the Soviet Union and the States of Europe in order to solve the other pending problems.

228. Those proposals take into account the major anxieties of the international community with regard to Palestine. They take account of a fundamental reality, namely, the existence of a people determined to recover its ancestral rights. They seek to preserve the international status of the Holy City of Jerusalem.

229. Within a few days this hall will ring with the voices and the music commemorating the thirty-second anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We hope that those ceremonies will also be a tribute to the Palestinian people for its intrepid struggle in defence of its fundamental rights.

230. The Government of the Republic of Mali, for its part, has long recognized the Palestinian reality.

231. In the context of the celebration of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, the Head of State of my country, General Moussa Traoré, on 28 November received the accredited representative of the PLO in the Republic of Mali and reiterated to him the unwavering support of the people and Government of Mali for the just cause of the Palestinian people.

232. Once again the General Assembly has before it the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People regarding the search for just and equitable solutions to the tragic Palestinian problem. Those recommendations are in all their aspects in confor-

mity with the provisions of the Charter. They include the positive elements contributing to the search for a comprehensive solution and the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East. Without such a solution, mankind will be faced with conflicts which will unleash forces which could be fatal for it.

233. Mr. MOUMINI (Comoros): Few items, if any, have been on the agenda of the General Assembly for as long as the question of Palestine. As of this session, it has been 33 years since the problem was first discussed in this world body, and only God knows for how many more years the Assembly will be confronted with it. It is only because of the unacceptable intransigence of Zionist Israel that a just solution to the problem has yet to be found.

234. At this session, during which the United Nations is observing the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], the delegation of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros cannot but express its sadness over the fact that our brothers, the people of Palestine, have not been spared the yoke of occupation and the agony of the denial of their inalienable rights.

235. If the first function of the Organization is the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, addressing the explosive question of Palestine must hence rank at the top of its priorities, since we all agree that the Palestinian problem is the core of the Middle East conflict, a conflict that four times since 1948 has threatened world peace and turned that region into the most dangerous hotbed of tension, ready to explode at any moment if no immediate and just solution is found to satisfy the demands of the Palestinian people.

236. We of the delegation of the Comoros are convinced that a just and permanent solution to this pernicious problem is possible if only the régime of Zionist Israel can be forced to comply with and respect the relevant United Nations resolutions and to recognize that the question of Palestine is at the heart of the Middle East problem and that no solution to that problem can be envisaged without taking into consideration the implementation of the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine. Those rights include the right to return to its land and property; its right to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty—in simple terms, the right to establish its own independent State in Palestine; the rejection of

all Israeli measures which are contrary to international law, the Charter, relevant resolutions of the United Nations and binding international conventions, and in particular those concerning the building of settlements in occupied territories; and last but not least, the recognition by Israel and its allies that the PLO is not a terrorist organization but a legitimate liberation movement, the sole representative and spokesman of that people.

237. It is only the recognition of these elements by Zionist Israel that can bring about the desired solution to the present impasse in the Middle East.

238. In any discussion of Palestine, it is impossible not to include Arab Jerusalem, a matter of deep concern to 2 billion Moslems and Christians. For us, that city has historical and spiritual significance. It is a symbol of peace and harmony, and we therefore cannot agree to its present status, based on hatred, selfishness and usurpation without regard to legality and legitimacy.

239. My Government vehemently condemns the annexation of Jerusalem as its capital by Israel and considers that move as an affront to the world community and a serious infringement of international law. Jerusalem must preserve its universality as a Holy City. Accordingly, we support all the decisions taken on this matter by the Islamic Conference and its Al-Quds Committee as well as all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

240. My delegation hereby calls upon the Begin Government to abide by Security Council resolution 478 (1980), in which the Council states that all measures undertaken by Israel with respect to Jerusalem are null and void.

241. The delegation of Comoros strongly opposes any attempt by the Begin Government to consecrate the seizure of Jerusalem and welcomes the actions of the countries which have decided to transfer their embassies from Jerusalem as a sign of opposition to Israel's policies and in compliance with that resolution. We also appeal to all States to refrain from taking any measures tending to support Israeli practices in Jerusalem or strengthen its claim thereto.

242. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to make it very clear to the delegations of Israel and its allies that Israel cannot forever choose to ignore the resolutions of this body and hope to remain one of its Members forever.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.