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

In the absence of the President, Mr. Oumarou (Niger), 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. ABDALLA (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly is considering the question of Palestine, as it has been doing for 30 years. During this time, the Palestinian people has been subjected to the most odious forms of repression and dispersal at the hands of the Zionist occupation authorities. This tragedy, unprecedented in contemporary history, has spread so that it now extends across the entire Middle East. That area has now become a hotbed of tension and conflict which gravely threatens peace and security throughout the whole world.

2. During all these years the General Assembly has witnessed the ever-growing tragedy of this people, this bitter, cruel tragedy which has excited universal condemnation. In the face of this explosive situation, the General Assembly has adopted various resolutions, the latest of which was the historic resolution adopted with the support of the overwhelming majority of States during the seventh emergency special session held in July this year [*resolution ES-7/2*].

3. In spite of this, my country notes today with regret and fear that the deadline fixed in that resolution for the withdrawal by Israel from all occupied Arab territories has come and gone and that Israel is not only perpetuating its occupation, but is using all the means at its disposal to extend it over new Arab territories and to enshrine what it has achieved, that is, its acquisition of territories by force. The resolution laid the foundations for an over-all just settlement of the problem of Palestine, but the reality is that Israel rejects that solution and obstinately denies the legitimate natural rights of the Palestinian people and continues its permanent policy of expulsion and repres-

sion in the occupied Arab territories. Reality also shows that the Zionist entity is continuing to alter the demographic, geographical and historical features of the occupied Arab territories in flagrant violation of all international conventions and charters. In the historic resolution adopted at the seventh emergency special session, the General Assembly demanded that Israel comply fully with Security Council resolutions 465 (1980) and 476 (1980) in respect of the historical nature of the Holy City of Jerusalem. What has been the response of Israel? The response does not require much effort to ascertain. All Members present here will no doubt recall the information put out by press agencies the day after the closure of the emergency special session on the question of Palestine. That information indicated that the Israeli Knesset had adopted a decision annexing the Holy City of Jerusalem and declaring it to be the eternal capital of the Zionist entity. It is thus that those who boast of freedom and democracy and civilization have chosen to reply to the great majority of the delegations of this Assembly, with their arrogance and customary insolence in international affairs and their scorn for the sacred principles of the Charter. In sum, what Israel did is merely another demonstration of its contempt for the resolutions of the Organization. Israel has tried to forget that it was created in the heart of the Arab region by a resolution of this same Assembly.

4. This is a summary of the facts during the last six months, that is, since the international community decided to convene a special emergency session last July devoted to the question of Palestine. In the light of these dangerous facts, which are historically linked with the establishment of the Organization more than three decades ago, we have to consider what we should do during the present session of the General Assembly.

5. We continue to believe that it is the duty of the Assembly at this session not only to adopt resolutions condemning Israel or affirming the natural legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, but also to find today a joint international solution on the basis of which the United Nations could take a firm stand in order to implement the resolutions it has adopted on the problem of Palestine. It is incumbent on the Organization to put an end to Israel's challenge to these resolutions. Past experience has confirmed that it is impossible to make Israel yield to the will of the international community unless enforcement measures are taken by the Security Council, allowing it truly and effectively to apply Chapter VII of the Charter in the event of Israel's still refusing to comply with those resolutions. At the same time, in order to find a common international position, my delegation calls on States members of the non-aligned movement present here to recognize without reservations the

Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. I am speaking above all to friendly countries which have not yet declared that they recognize the PLO, in spite of the various resolutions adopted at the non-aligned conferences on that subject. We also call on all States in the group of Western European and other States to recognize the PLO and the right of the Palestinian people to return to its homeland and to create an independent State. The Arab peoples look forward to the day when all the members of that group will reaffirm the positive positions that have appeared in their statements recently with regard to the Palestinian problem, all the more because the Western States voted in favour of General Assembly resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III) despite the injustice contained in them. But in these resolutions those countries have already reaffirmed the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and to establish an independent State. If the States of Western Europe were further to develop the positive attitude they have adopted recently, they would be making a valuable contribution, because that would confirm the isolation of the State of Israel and would constitute important pressure for a global and just solution in the entire Middle East region.

6. Since we are now considering the question of Palestine, my delegation wishes to reaffirm its total support for the work done by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and to thank the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Falilou Kane, and the other members of the Committee for their untiring and constructive endeavours to enable the Committee to pursue its activities and above all to reveal to the world public the various aspects of the problem of Palestine.

7. The international community has lately participated in the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. The Sudan naturally took part in that event, reaffirming its unchanged and clear position with regard to the Palestinian problem. We consider that that problem is the core of the Middle East conflict, and therefore any solution to the conflict must take this fact into account and accord it all due importance. Any solution must likewise guarantee the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, independence and the establishment of an independent State on its national soil, as well as the participation in negotiations of the PLO; the only authentic and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. That position was reaffirmed by General Nimeiri, the President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, in a message on the International Day of Solidarity:

“The Sudan, by its historical origin and its Arab civilization and by its steady and confirmed position on the struggle against the Zionist entity, invites the world to apply the necessary pressures to bring about the justice which consists in putting an end to aggression and in attaining the legitimate rights of the heroic Palestinian people. The Sudan invites the international community to face the arrogance and intransigence of the Zionist entity, which shows its scorn for all the resolutions adopted by international organizations in order to attain that objective.

“As we pay a tribute to the courageous Palestinian people, we are certain that it has sufficient will and the firm capacity to resist all attempts and practices designed to interfere with its power and to deny its existence by ignoring its just, legitimate and inalienable rights.

“We also salute the Palestinian people and are convinced that right and justice will prevail and that the victory of the Palestinian revolution will be brilliant.”

8. What I have quoted from the message of the President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and my own statement show a correct and objective course that the international community should take so as to adopt a common position for achieving justice and peace, reaffirming the sacred principles for which the Organization was created. We expect that one day the Palestinian people will achieve its independence, its self-determination and its sovereignty.

9. Mr. SIMBANANIYE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): On 29 November 1947 the General Assembly adopted the plan to partition Palestine. In adopting resolution 181 (II), the Assembly created two States: a Jewish State and an Arab State. The city of Jerusalem constituted a *corpus separatum* under a special international régime, to be administered by the Trusteeship Council for an initial period of 10 years. At the expiration of that period its status was to be reviewed by the Council. Persons living in the city would then have every freedom to indicate, through a referendum, their suggestions with regard to possible modifications of the status of the city.

10. Of the two States contemplated in the partition resolution, only Israel saw the light of day. The abusive and erroneous interpretation that Israel made of that resolution constitutes one of the earliest sources of the upsurge of violence raging in that region. Whether we wish it or not, that decision by the General Assembly is at the basis of the tragedy of the Palestinian people. That resolution in fact gave Israel a pretext for seizing by force the whole of the Palestinian territory. Hence the Palestinian people has been deprived of its country and possessions, and hence there has been a massive exodus of Palestinians to countries willing to give them asylum.

11. Israel has gone even further in its policy of annexation. Today Israel occupies the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the city of Jerusalem, part of Egyptian territory and the Golan Heights, which it proposes to annex definitively.

12. Thus, deliberately or otherwise, the General Assembly, by adopting resolution 181 (II), brought about a situation containing the seeds of the destruction of a people living peacefully in the land of Palestine, its fatherland.

13. Although it is true that the tragedy of the Jewish people deserved special attention and even solidarity from the international community, it was, in our view, inadmissible to correct one injustice by bringing about another injustice. In other words, the rehabilitation of the Jewish people should not have had, and should not have, as its price the martyrdom of the Arab people of Palestine.

14. My delegation admits that Israel is a fact of our time and that its existence is undeniable. The idea of "throwing the Jews into the sea" should, in our opinion, be banished from everyone's mind. However, the Government of Burundi feels that every people has a right to its country and to self-determination and independence.

15. Certain circles like to say that the question of Palestine has no point, for, as they say, it is the problem of a "land without a people and a people without land". Others who present themselves as "humane and pacifist" would reduce the Palestinian people to the status of refugees or apply to it the label of "terrorists", with the unavowed object of continuing to usurp its country and preventing any settlement in the Middle East.

16. The supporters of those arguments would like the world to believe that the Palestinian people has no history or culture. This conspiracy against that people reflects an inadmissible failure to recognize the Palestinian reality. In fact it is this people that made Palestine the cradle of cultures and civilizations and, through its poets, writers and scholars, contributed to world civilization. On the basis of this reality, the General Assembly reacted against the policy of despoliation and conspiracy carried out against the Palestinian people.

17. Thus the General Assembly did not confine itself to adopting resolution 181 (II), containing the plan to partition Palestine. It also adopted a number of resolutions recognizing the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people. In this connexion I should like to mention resolution 194 (III), in which the General Assembly recognized the natural and inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes. We would also mention that that right was unanimously recognized by the Security Council in its resolution 237 (1967).

18. I should like also to stress the importance of resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3375 (XXX), because these clearly define the path to be followed for the solution of this thorny problem.

19. While reaffirming the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to its homes and to regain possession of its goods and to accede to self-determination, sovereignty and national independence, the Assembly in these resolutions regards the PLO, the only representative of the Palestinian people, as the sole authorized spokesman for the Palestinian people in defence of its inalienable rights.

20. On the basis of these resolutions, the participation of the PLO on a footing of equality with the other parties is indispensable in all our efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East, for the question of Palestine is in fact the centre of all this. Thus, the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations do not wish to follow the erroneous line of argument to the effect that the PLO is a terrorist organization.

21. As regards the legitimacy of that organization, allow me to refer to the very pertinent arguments the representative of the PLO presented to the international community from this very rostrum on 1 December 1980.

22. To demonstrate to the world that the PLO has a popular and democratic basis, the spokesman for that organization based his presentation on the following facts:

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

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

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

"...

"Fifthly, the PLO is a full member of the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement. It also has observer status at the United Nations." [75th meeting, paras. 99-101 and 103.]

23. In the light of all this, the international community should reject the slogans hurled at the Palestinian people by the very people who are occupying by force Palestine and Arab Jerusalem, who confiscate and expropriate property in the occupied Arab territories, establish settlements in those same territories, persistently violate United Nations resolutions and consistently show inadmissible contempt for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [resolution 217 A (III)].

24. The tragedy of the Palestinian people could one day befall other peaceful peoples which have no great means of defence. Thus we should be aware of the dire consequences which could result from our position with regard to the struggle of the Palestinian people.

25. The Palestinian people has been forced to abandon its country, its land and its property. It is hunted down in all the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied by Israel illegally and by force. It is continually subjected to bombing in its refugee camps, its schools, its fields and its hospitals. It is the object of widespread misunderstanding, not to mention an international conspiracy, which extends into this Organization and especially into the body which is charged with the maintenance of order and peace in the world. I shall spare the Assembly the details of the other crimes of which the Palestinian people has been the victim.

26. In these conditions, can we then in honesty dictate to that people the means it should use in its struggle for survival and dignity? By what right can we demand of that people that it offer as a means of defence only an olive branch?

27. Experience teaches us that freedom and independence are not handed out on a gold or silver platter. They are the fruit of a long struggle, which is, unfortunately, all too frequently a bloody one. In this connexion it is necessary only to look at the history of our peoples, which fought, weapons in hand, to seize their independence.

28. The Palestinian people has never sought violence as an end in itself. It has been compelled to resort to it during the time required for its liberation. That is why its heroic resistance and its determination to free itself from the colonizer and occupier are worthy of increasing admiration and support from the international community.

29. While respecting the prerogative of every people to determine its future and to choose the means to that end, the Government of my country, Burundi, considers that it is for the Palestinian people alone, represented by the PLO, to choose the means it judges appropriate for the recovery of its inalienable rights. Although it is true that the end does not justify the means, it is just as true that the end has its own means.

30. At this critical stage in the history of the Palestinian people, my delegation would like to launch an urgent appeal to the United Nations to fulfil its historic responsibilities. Indeed, the abdication of those responsibilities would have unfortunate consequences for international peace and security in the Middle East region and throughout the world.

31. It is in this spirit that the delegation of Burundi urgently requests the Security Council to meet the expectations of the nations and peoples of that sorely tried region. The Council should not shrink from the special responsibilities entrusted to it by the Charter. The permanent members of the Council cannot ethically obstruct the smooth functioning of that important body or the implementation of its resolutions by abusing their right of veto.

32. Israel's flagrant contempt for the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council on the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East has its origin in the veto of a permanent member of the Security Council.

33. It is high time for the Security Council to overcome those inconsistencies and fulfil its responsibilities in this matter, in which it already noted the existence of a threat to peace in its resolution 54 (1948), which was adopted following the first hostilities between Israel and the Arab countries.

34. In the context of Security Council action, the delegation of Burundi considers that resolution 465 (1980), adopted unanimously by the Security Council, constitutes an important step in the right direction.

35. We hope that Europe—which since the meeting of Heads of State and Government and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the nine member States of the European Community, in Venice last June, has been making energetic efforts concerning the settlement of this question of vital importance for the international community—will take another important step towards recognition of the fact that peace and security in the Middle East can be achieved only through a just and final settlement of the Palestinian problem. That means

that the Palestinian people must exercise its right to self-determination. To achieve that, United Nations resolutions relating to that question must be applied; the PLO must participate directly in all negotiations on the question in accordance with General Assembly resolution 33/28 A; and, above all, Israel must withdraw totally from all the occupied territories.

36. The continuance of the tragedy of the Palestinian people weighs heavily on the conscience of the General Assembly and on that of the world. Therefore, the Assembly must continue to work unceasingly for the triumph of the Palestinian cause. The method it has chosen to define the dimensions of that problem, and the means it has provided itself with to bring this human tragedy to the attention of the world, bear witness to its determination to forge ahead towards the just and final settlement of this problem.

37. In the context of the decisions of the General Assembly, my delegation would like once again to welcome the creation of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to its Chairman, Mr. Falilou Kane of Senegal, for the remarkable work he has accomplished at the head of the Committee.

38. The recommendations which that Committee has submitted to the General Assembly for its consideration deserve, in the opinion of my delegation, the total support of the United Nations. Indeed, they constitute a realistic basis for the deliberations of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

39. My delegation would also like to congratulate and thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his untiring efforts to bring justice to all the peoples of the region and restore peace to that part of the world.

40. Finally, my delegation fervently hopes that the Palestinian people will triumph and that an independent and sovereign State will be established in Palestine where Arabs and Jews will live together in harmony and symbiosis for the greatest benefit of all the peoples of the region and mankind as a whole.

41. Mr. ABUBAKAR (Nigeria): The treatment of the Palestinian people constitutes one of the most shameful episodes of the twentieth century. No student of international affairs can study the sequence of events by which the Palestinian Arabs have been dispossessed of their homeland without feeling a sense of shame and revulsion.

42. The Palestinian question remains at the core of the continuing crisis in the Middle East. This problem has continued to elude any comprehensive solution by the United Nations, not because of lack of effort but mainly because Israel has persistently refused to comply with the resolutions of this body.

43. Faced with expulsion and exile, the Palestinians have increasingly turned to education that makes them versatile and have equipped themselves with mobile professions. Dispossessed by the Israelis, they have used education as a means of national self-preservation. Contrary to the usual assumption, therefore, the problem is not that the Palestinians are a primitive people mired in misery and encamped on Israel's doorstep; it is that the more the Palestinians wander, the more they dream of returning home. The more

political consciousness they acquire, the more they want some small corner of this earth to call their own.

44. Israel always stakes its claim to the allegiance of the world by appeals to the conscience of humanity. The blood-guilt of the holocaust is the legacy of us all. The Israelis have consistently contended that since that crime cannot be undone the survivors of that holocaust are entitled to our undiluted loyalty and sympathy. I must admit that this is true and incontestable.

45. However, the moral absolutism of this logic has always foundered on one singular factor, and that is that Israel cannot thrive on the blood and anguish of another oppressed people: the Palestinians. There are more than 3 million Palestinians. Can mankind compensate for one crime by committing another? Or, to ask the question in a more political way, can a just and permanent peace for one people be built on permanent injustice to another?

46. This question, on which all hopes of permanent peace now turn, was troubling enough as early as 1948, when the State of Israel was established. The question is no longer Israel's right to self-determination; the question is whether the Palestinians will have the same right too. Today the barrier to a comprehensive peace settlement, as Prime Minister Begin has very clearly defined it, is that Israel "will not permit Palestinian self-determination".

47. The relics of dispossession might be less troubling were it not that so many of the dispossessed remain there too. More than 2 million Palestinians are at present in foreign exile, but under Israeli occupation live an additional 1.5 million Palestinians—one for every two Israelis. The June 1967 war and more than a decade of the occupation of conquered lands have not established a *cordon sanitaire* between the Israelis and their adversaries. Instead, they have enmeshed the destinies of the two peoples more intimately than ever before. Seeking to drive back the Arabs in 1967, Israel achieved defensible borders only at the cost of placing a captive population half the size of its own behind its own front lines. And by denying Palestinians the right to self-determination Israel has not only apparently undermined the *raison d'être* of its own legitimacy; what we see in the end is a society composed of two inherently unequal categories of human beings. As in all societies built on official discrimination concerning the rights of one people as opposed to another, the results are sometimes tragic and sometimes absurd but always degrading, not only to the victims but also to the victors themselves.

48. The brutalization of the victims makes headlines. The brutalization of those who victimize them is scarcely mentioned at all. Here lies the irony. The most ironic legacy of the six-day war is that Israel today is a less free and less attractive society, a nation less sure of itself than it was before all the battles were won.

49. Events in the West Bank this spring and summer have been most disturbing. The expropriation of Arab land for Jewish settlements is going on faster than ever. The brutality of the repressive measures which the Israelis are using is even more open and shameless than before. But the process itself is exactly the same as it has always been, the process by which Palestinian

Arabs are elbowed out of the land which is theirs to make way for Israeli settlers. Collective punishment is inflicted on families, villages, refugee camps and sometimes whole cities in response to individual acts of resistance against occupation or as a simple means of intimidating the Palestinian population and discouraging them from any manifestation of discontent.

50. A favourite technique is the primitive curfew by which the Israelis keep a whole community—it may be the inhabitants of a particular refugee camp or, as in a recent example, the entire population of the city of Hebron—under house arrest for as long as two or three weeks at a stretch, allowing them no opportunity to attend to their land or their business or trade and only an hour a day to supply themselves with food and other necessities. There is no record of the number of Palestinians who have suffered and even died as a result of such restrictions, but that number must be considerable, for during the 17-day curfew at Hebron in May 1980, all the telephones in the city—including those of doctors—were disconnected, with the single exception of the telephones in the fire stations. The effects of such an experience on families with young children and on the elderly and the handicapped are simply devastating and quite unpleasant to contemplate.

51. The techniques are familiar. But there has been a new element in the pattern of repression in recent months, and especially since the beginning of this year: the open participation of the Israeli settlers in that repression. These settlers, and especially the fanatics of Gush Emunim, have been active for some years in harassing and provoking the Palestinian population in the vicinity of their settlements from Kirya Arba and Hebron itself, and also those of the nearby village of Halhoul, where in 1979 the settlers smashed up Arab cars and property and on one occasion killed two of the villagers in the rioting that followed.

52. But since the beginning of this year there has been clear evidence that the settlers, whose presence and behaviour are the cause of most of the violence on the West Bank, are not merely encouraged by the Israeli authorities but enjoy the active collaboration of the military administration and of Israel's security forces. There has been a great deal of discussion about this in the Israeli press, with the opinion freely aired that the Israeli Chief of Staff, General Eytan, has personally authorized that collaboration; and there is no doubt at all that the Minister of Agriculture, General Sharon, provides full support for the settlers from inside the Government or that the Prime Minister himself sympathizes with the aims of the settlers and at least turns a blind eye to their illegal acts.

53. Few foreigners have access to the Israeli press, but many people in Britain will have seen a programme called "The Peace Breakers" screened by Thames Television on 3 July. It showed the Israeli settlers at work and provided a chilling opportunity for them to state their intentions, including their intention to resist with force any Israeli Government which might try to dismantle their settlements.

54. It is indeed the anxiety which these Jewish fanatics arouse in the minds of other Jews, both inside and outside Israel, that provides the most telling condemnation of them. Chaim Bermant, writing

recently in the *Jewish Chronicle*, of London, said that every country had its lunatic fringe but Israel was the only country where the lunatic fringe had the blessing of the Government.

55. General Matityahu Peled, a General in the Israeli army reserve and a leading figure in the Shelli Party, said in an interview with the Paris daily *Le Monde* in June 1980 that he was very pessimistic, "not because of the appearance of the phenomenon of Jewish terrorism, but because this terrorism is unofficially supported by the Government."

56. Two main issues in the Arab-Israeli dispute—the national issue of Palestinian rights and the regional issue of the presence of foreign occupation forces in Arab lands—remain unresolved because of Israeli intransigence and military arrogance. These issues have been discussed over the years even in conferences outside the auspices of the United Nations, but all solutions prescribed have fallen flat because Israel is still unprepared to concede Palestinian rights and still contends that its settlements on the West Bank and Gaza are there as of right. In short, the creeping measures of annexation, which have been stepped up by Israel over the years, particularly since 1967, are designed to ensure that the seized territories are eventually incorporated in the Jewish State if and when a final settlement is hammered out.

57. But that attitude has had the opposite effect. The Palestinians, under the leadership of the PLO, continue to resist the invaders, and at the international level Israeli intransigence continues to push the Jewish State into isolation, transforming it into an outcast in the comity of nations. So long as the Israelis reject the absolute minimum requirements for partial justice for the Palestinians, including the acceptance of the principle of the return of the West Bank and Gaza, then we must admit that there is nothing to be negotiated, at least over the Palestinian problem. But since the Palestinian problem is itself the root cause of conflict in the region, it follows *mutatis mutandis* that Israeli leaders are, in effect, rejecting the principle of peace.

58. In the past year there have occurred new and frightening developments which pose the gravest threats yet to international peace and security. Political acts sometimes send devastating symbolic messages. So it was last year, when the Israeli Cabinet approved a Gush Emunim plan to establish a settlement near Nablus on the West Bank. Nablus is a town intense in its Arab feeling, a centre of Palestinian nationalism. Israel justifies some settlements on security grounds; it argues, for example that those in the Jordan Valley should remain outposts under a final peace agreement. But that agreement does not even apply to this case. A settlement built on confiscated Arab land in an intensely Arab area would never be acceptable to any Arab authority. It could exist only as long as it had Israeli military protection. The political implications are plain. When it approved the Nablus settlement, the Israeli Government was effectively asserting a right to permanent military control of the area. It was also, by that act, sending a message that Israel intended to continue the occupation of the West Bank, in one guise or another, indefinitely.

59. That position cannot be reconciled with the undertakings Mr. Begin gave at Camp David. He accepted there, as the basis for peace, Security Council resolution 242 (1967), in which the Council called on Israel to withdraw from occupied territory. No interpretation on border adjustment, in regard to that resolution, would conceivably allow Israel to continue its occupation of such a populous Arab centre as the Nablus area.

60. The Nablus settlement is not the only issue which has strengthened doubts about Israeli interest in peace in the region. The process of *de facto* annexation of Arab Jerusalem began in the immediate aftermath of Israel's sweeping victory in 1967. Then, last August, the Israeli Knesset took the *de jure* steps to remind the world that Jerusalem is the eternal and united capital of Israel. Ironically it was the Israeli insistence of excluding East Jerusalem from the autonomy scheme which propelled the city from oblivion. Its Arab population is no longer prepared to acquiesce in what it feels is the "Judaization" policy of the Israelis. That has been the subject of an increasing number of protests, and there have been repeated calls for Jerusalem to be the capital of the future independent Palestinian State, under the leadership of the PLO.

61. The Israeli Prime Minister's threat to move his office to East Jerusalem has also had a boomerang effect. In August, the Security Council voted to censure Israel for its defiance of world opinion over Jerusalem and adopted resolution 478 (1980), calling on all States which maintained embassies in Jerusalem to withdraw them as a tangible sign of their disapproval of Israeli policy. The fact that a good number of States immediately started preparations to comply with the Council's injunction should serve notice to Israel that the international community will no longer condone Israeli recalcitrance and defiance of its collective will in this matter.

62. For the record, my delegation would like to recapitulate the fundamental principles of a viable solution of the Palestinian question.

63. The question of Palestine is at the heart of the problem of the Middle East, and no solution to that problem can be envisaged without taking into account the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

64. The recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to return to its homes and property and to exercise its right to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty will contribute to a final solution of the Middle East crisis.

65. The participation of the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with all other parties on the basis of General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3375 (XXX), is indispensable to all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East which take place under the auspices of the United Nations.

66. The inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the consequent obligation of Israel to withdraw completely and quickly from all territories so occupied must also be taken into account.

67. Because Israel has persistently defied this body over the years by refusing to comply with all resolutions adopted on this subject, the General Assembly

now needs to pause and reassess its strategy in dealing with the issue. Mere condemnation of Israeli intransigence is no longer sufficient. The Assembly must spell out to Israel in clear and categorical terms the two options left to it. Israel must halt its current expansionist plans in the occupied territories. It must halt its policies of expulsion, deportation, displacement, torture and other brutalities against Palestinians, as clearly stipulated in the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.¹ Above all, it must withdraw totally from the areas seized in the June 1967 war to facilitate the return of dispossessed Palestinians to their homes in safety, honour and dignity. Should Israel still persist in its defiance, we must be ready to apply the pertinent provisions of the Charter for bringing recalcitrant States to the path of rectitude.

68. In this connexion I should like to recapitulate some excerpts from the statement made by my President, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, when he addressed the General Assembly on 6 October 1980:

“In my view, Israel’s persistent refusal to recognize the fact that it cannot continue to enjoy legitimacy and rights based on the Organization’s original Partition Plan for Palestine [*resolution 181 (II)*] and at the same time deny to the Palestinians the corresponding legitimacy and rights of nationhood based on the same Plan is the greatest obstacle to any lasting peace in the Middle East. The Palestinian Arabs must and should be enabled to have their own independent, sovereign State. Nigeria firmly supports the legitimate right of the Palestinians to their homeland.”

69. I cannot end this statement without saying a word or two on what the United Nations expects of Israel’s Western backers concerning the all-important objective of bringing peace and stability to the Middle East. The Heads of State and Government and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the nine member States of the European Community issued a joint declaration at Venice on 13 June [*A/35/299-S/14009*] in which they acknowledged for the first time that the exercise by Palestinians of their right to self-determination is central to a comprehensive Middle East peace settlement. That will not be enough. They will have to exert more pressure on Israel if we are to get anywhere near an internationally acceptable solution.

70. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the observer from the League of Arab States, and I call on him in conformity with General Assembly resolution 477 (V).

71. Mr. MAKSOUD (League of Arab States) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The discussion of the Palestinian question should be an opportunity for an in-depth analysis. The time has come for us to go beyond what is known, beyond a reaffirmation of what has already been recognized, and to study in detail the causes which prevent the international community from expressing its will and conviction concerning a concrete plan with regard to the rights of the Palestinian people. It is not logical for us to continue to repeat the positions and reiterate the facts concerning this issue, even if that means, among other things, further

development of the provisions contained in the resolutions of the General Assembly. We recognize, however, the diplomatic and political importance of this process in affirming the legitimacy of the Palestinian cause not only in the legal documents of the United Nations but also in the eyes of the world. It is time for us to leave the discussion and go on to the realities.

72. The Palestinian people’s right to self-determination and to establish a State in its homeland is inalienable and not open to discussion. Recognition of this right is an accepted fact of international life today. Moreover, recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people is an accepted fact that is not questioned by the international community.

73. It has also become obvious that the PLO is the framework for the national unity of the Palestinians and the instrument with which their destiny is forged, wherever they may find themselves. For each Palestinian, whether living under Israeli occupation, in a refugee camp or anywhere else temporarily, the PLO is a state of mind which incorporates his national identity, a confirmation of his very being, the centre of his life and his commitments and a tool for his struggle and the fulfilment of his destiny. From this point of view it is clear that the relationship between Palestine, the PLO, and the Palestinian people is a complete relationship, and the interaction between them is basic, essential and permanent.

74. It is for this reason that any attempt to bypass the role of the PLO, to question the legitimacy of its representation or to accuse it of terrorism is an exercise in futility. Any retreat from the position recognizing that the Palestinian problem is at the very heart of the Middle East crisis, with all its complexities, constitutes a serious obstacle to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the region.

75. Furthermore, any attempt to delay the discussion of the Palestinian problem and its solution in accordance with all the relevant United Nations resolutions, in particular General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX), in reality only contributes to instability in the region and more seriously exposes it to the risk of explosion. For stability is not possible in the region without the establishment of Palestinian peace.

76. It is therefore necessary for us to contain the crisis and to work so that the Organization can direct all its diplomatic, political and moral weight towards promoting the elements of a radical solution of the question of Palestine, especially the re-establishment of Palestinian rights, thus reaffirming the credibility of the United Nations and deterring those that continue to disregard these rights and defy with impunity the international will.

77. The thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, which is being led so ably and wisely, must go down in history as the session at which the Assembly not only advanced the provisions of the resolutions on the rights of the Palestinian people, but also as that which marked a stage towards the achievement of those rights.

78. We can no longer be satisfied with the wording of those resolutions and with ensuring the harmony of our positions on the basis of principle. It has become

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

important to develop those resolutions in detail so that they may become effective as regards what they aim to achieve and act as a deterrent to those who would like to block their implementation.

79. In order to create the climate necessary for ensuring the success of this development it is important to review the objective, political and historical factors which have prevented the implementation of the resolutions concerning the rights of the Palestinian people. We must look at what has impeded the application of the measures provided for in the Charter and all the applicable provisions of international law that make the practical implementation of General Assembly resolutions possible.

80. If we concentrate on the difficulties that affect the relationship between the resolutions and the ability to implement them, certain points become obvious and clear.

81. First, the United States position concerning the Palestinian problem has contributed to a great extent to Israel's defiance. With its well-known contempt for international resolutions, Israel behaves in the region as if it had prior approval for its past and future aggression. At best, the United States criticizes the very obvious Israeli transgressions. It does not undertake any practical action to back that criticism. The latest proof of this is the United States criticism of the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories, which it has described as illegal. But at the same time the United States continues to give military and economic support to Israel. Further examples are: opposition of the United States to the Israeli proclamation of the Holy City of Jerusalem as its "capital", but the lack of any deterrent measures; the mild warning of the United States concerning Israeli annexation of the Golan, while continuing its support of Israel's diplomatic, political and military positions; the work of the United States within the United Nations to delay implementation of the resolutions and measures concerning the rights of the Palestinians; its dealing with the PLO in a manner exemplified by its actions during World Bank and IMF sessions; and its attempts to delay application of measures related to population approved by UNFPA.

82. These examples underline the dual stand of the United States on any given problem, thus encouraging Israel to continue not only to defy resolutions of the Organization but also to oppose them. The United States, in effect, condones the strategic policy of Israeli aggression in the region, even if on certain occasions, it takes a critical stand when the transgressions are flagrant and embarrassing.

83. It is thus apparent to us that Israel acts strong in the continued American support and tolerance, even for its most flagrant transgressions, and consequently it is assured of American acceptance of its strategic goals.

84. It is from this point of view that we must understand the nature of the American-Israeli relations, which makes possible continued Israeli occupation of Arab land, disregard of the rights of the Palestinian people and the persistent evasion of the resolutions of this Assembly as if they were resolutions from another world. It is this which enables Israel to cling tightly to the American position, in a

manner that makes it difficult for the United States, as a super-Power, to play its role and fulfil its responsibility as regards international peace.

85. What is the reason for the flagrant impotence of the American position and the loss of American prestige in the face of the arrogant and aggressive Israeli behaviour?

86. There is no easy answer to this question. The American hesitation about linking its practices to its beliefs makes it easier for Israel to get around American convictions and push the United States into adopting positions and practices that are often contrary to the convictions of the American decision-makers. The most recent proof of this was the vote of the American delegation on Security Council resolution 465 (1980) of 1 March and the public retreat from it two days later.

87. This pattern of American dealings with Israel leads the United States to adopt a position which formally condemns Israeli practices but which, in reality, supports Israeli policies. Such action demonstrates the gap between the announced intentions of the United States and its actual policies.

88. This dangerous disparity between the words and actions of the United States is inherent in the so-called Zionist influence in the United States and in election considerations during the presidential and congressional campaigns.

89. However, the importance of election considerations and the direct influence the Zionist movement has on public opinion and the media in the United States ought not to prevent a Power such as the United States, with all its influence and its heavy responsibilities, from carrying out its strategic responsibilities and taking decisions without regard to such short-sighted and self-centred interests, which are incapable of a comprehensive outlook and an awareness of the public interest. It is not for us to extend advice to a super-Power like the United States, but it is our right to ask whether this pattern of dealing with Israel will persist, for this helps to make the action of the United States even less constructive and a source of crisis and instability.

90. We do not desire to return to the past, but rather to foresee the future American position, although we know that the basic American position regarding Israeli aggression and the Palestinian question has little chance of real change. On the contrary, there seem to be elements in the new Administration that would like to use Israel as a tool in the achievement of strategic military objectives and in the cold war in the region. In other words, those elements will work in every way possible to make American decisions more in tune with the Israeli aggressive ambitions in the region and to ensure less questioning of Israeli policies and behaviour. There is an important trend within the new Administration which would give Israel the green light to do what it wants without any control. However, one can affirm that there is a counter-trend in the new Administration which seeks to avoid dependence on the will of Israel and the Zionist pressures aimed at dictating the American decisions concerning the question of Palestinian without giving the decision-makers the right to express opinions, question or oppose.

91. Even though this counter-trend has shown some evidence of active representation in the new Administration, one cannot accurately assess its weight until American policy crystallizes and allows the United States to review its position on the Camp David agreements² and to take a more realistic approach to the Arab nation as a whole and the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in particular. Thus we can expect from the United States not a radical and desirable revamping of its policies, but at least a lessening of the damage its current policy involves for the cause of peace, justice and stability in the area as well as its own real interests therein.

92. We are aware that while we are discussing the question of Palestine the United States is in a period of transition from one Administration to another. If, given the reality of American policy, our expectations are not ambitious, that does not necessarily mean that the United States ought to maintain the *status quo*.

93. What we desire is simply that American policy be more objective, that it examine in a more rational way the *de facto* situation in the area, the elements of the Palestinian problem and the dangers of Israeli aggression, instead of clinging to narrow interests, erroneous emotional considerations and submission to Zionist pressure by Americans who make the decisions and mould public opinion and who view the region only from the Israeli standpoint, thus making the United States incapable of comprehending all the aspects and details of the problem of the Middle East.

94. The United States, then, ought to shed its prejudices against the Arabs in general and the struggle of the Palestinian people in particular. It is no longer justifiable for an open society such as that of America to remain a prisoner of the false data, deliberate distortions, narrow interests and mental and political terrorism of Israel and the Zionist movement.

95. Early indications in statements of the new Administration suggest that its policy vis-à-vis the Palestinian question, if it is not amended, is intended to delay or hinder the desired serious dialogue, not only between Arab nations and the United States but also between the United States and the entire third world.

96. We can therefore conclude from what has just been said that the United States position constitutes one of the main obstacles that prevent the speedy implementation of United Nations resolutions. Unfortunately, the United States position was and still is preventing these resolutions from being taken to their logical conclusions, and such obstructionism has led to a lack of enthusiasm for them. There is no doubt that Israel seeks to deprive these resolutions of their binding force and credibility. As long as Israel is able to influence the United States position and make it obstructionist, Arabs will be left with no policy alternative but to make the United States position costly for America should it persist in depriving

resolutions on the right of the Palestinian people of their usefulness and consistency.

97. We can now understand the causes which led the United States to sponsor the Camp David agreements. As far as the item under discussion is concerned, these agreements are another illustration of the chronic inconsistency in American policy. They also reflect the contradiction between convictions and conduct, between objective reality and the American plan. The Camp David agreements have enabled the United States to find excuses for evading responsibilities and obligations, pretending that these agreements are a substitute for United Nations organs and resolutions dealing with the Palestinian issue. The agreements also bestow a certain legitimacy upon Israel's continued violation of the rights of the Palestinian people, the increasing confiscation of occupied Arab territories and on all its illegal actions, including its racist practices, its aggressive raids against the south of Lebanon, its annexation of Jerusalem and its intention to annex the Golan Heights, its establishment of settlements in occupied Arab lands, and its acts of terrorism against the Arab populations who are forced to live under Israeli occupation.

98. The Camp David agreements have enabled Israel to buy time, to deceive the international community and to disdain anything that falls outside the Camp David trio.

99. In its turn, the United States has also been able to allege that in its attempts to resolve the Middle East conflict, it has been dealing with one of the Arab parties, namely President Sadat, whom it regarded to be the spokesman for the Arabs. The United States, however, was quick to realize that this spokesman would never be able to win over to his side any other Arab parties to the conflict. In a moment of inattention, the United States mistakenly thought that it would win the support of some Arab parties who would prefer their traditional friendship with the United States over their national ties and responsibilities, their firm commitment to the common Arab destiny and to the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and to the PLO.

100. The United States also realized that the Arab resolutions adopted at the Ninth and Tenth Arab Summit Conferences, held at Baghdad in November 1978 and at Tunis in November 1979 respectively, represented a clear and definite response to the Camp David trio and their attempts to penetrate the Arab body politic. These Conferences demonstrated beyond the shadow of doubt that the Arab consensus reached there embodies the real commitments and obligations of the Arab people of Egypt.

101. Today the Camp David trio realize that their framework for settling the Arab-Israeli conflict is crumbling in the face of existing and new realities which prevail in the region. Although the delay in the announcement of the bankruptcy of the Camp David agreements has been dictated by the United States presidential elections, since President Carter thought that failure could be sold as indicating an achievement which did not produce the results expected, the formula of the agreements is now being questioned not only in terms of its value for American

² A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and a Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

domestic policy but also in terms of the over-all United States Middle East policy.

102. And President Sadat, who believed that the Camp David agreements could bestow upon him the status of a "history maker", is now in the position of panting along behind American policy so that it can hold on to agreements that have lost their meaning and what remains of their ability to influence. President Sadat's adherence to these agreements is more of a temperamental inclination than the result of an objective evaluation. That is why we find strong insistence on maintaining these agreements and criticism of them being prevented inside Egypt. This is also illustrated by the measures taken yesterday against the newspapers which oppose the Camp David agreements, while here in the United Nations the agreements are treated as if they were above error and immune from criticism.

103. We have seen how in the past three years the Camp David trio have attempted to convince the world that they hold the keys to the solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It has also become obvious to the world that the illusion of Camp David was only a new approach allowing Israel to continue to disregard its commitments to the international community. We have seen how Israel has used these agreements in order to establish more settlements in the occupied territories, to intensify and diversify its attacks on southern Lebanon, militarily to prevent the legitimate Government in Lebanon from exercising control over all its territories and to paralyse UNIFIL. We have also seen Israel use the agreements to further its expansionist objectives, as seen in its annexation of the Holy City of Jerusalem, its proclamation of that city as its capital and the introduction of a bill for the annexation of the Golan.

104. Whatever attempts the Camp David trio make to sell the idea that the agreements are a curb on Israel become a license for its to take new steps towards achieving its aggressive and expansionist ambitions. And as we noted, the most dangerous feature of the Camp David agreements is that they are presented as a substitute for action by the organs of the United Nations, usurping their role and credibility.

105. In this context, the Arab leaders, in the Final Declaration which they issued at the conclusion of the Eleventh Arab Summit Conference, held at Amman from 25 to 27 November 1980, reaffirmed their rejection of the Camp David agreements and what that rejection entails in terms of the practical measures that must be taken to annul their effects [see A/35/719-S/14289, annex]. It is obvious that the Amman decisions reflect the Arab nation's opinion of the challenge posed by these agreements, of the Arab nation's resolve to work towards the establishment of a just and total peace in the Middle East, and of its awareness that this cannot be done without guaranteeing the Palestinian people's right to its land and its State.

106. The States members of the European Community have undertaken initiatives which testify to an increased understanding of the facts in the Middle East and to a wider recognition of the Palestinian people's national rights and the real position of the PLO. Despite the fact that this evolution in the European position constitutes a positive step which

could contribute to a just and lasting peace in the region, the Western European countries must show more resolve and concerted action.

107. From this it is possible for us to state that the European position is no longer an obstacle in the way of pressuring Israel to acquiesce in the international will. However, the absence of needed resolve encourages Israel to destroy the premises of independence and positiveness in the European position. The attempt by Israel and the Zionist movement to associate support for the rights of the Palestinian people with anti-Semitism is one of the means they use toward that end.

108. It is imperative here to answer this dangerous Zionist attempt which tends to distort the process of understanding the nature of the rights of the Palestinian people on the one hand and to interfere with the growing European realization of the intellectual and political dangers posed by Zionist racism on the other.

109. Israel, by tying isolated anti-Semitic incidents in with the healthy environment which has enabled the Europeans to understand the legitimate demands of the Palestinian people, is attempting to create antagonism between Europe and the Arabs.

110. It is high time to put a stop to this deceitful campaign orchestrated by Israel and its allies, who are attempting by this means to counter European inclinations toward an independent and objective attitude on the Middle East problem. Israel's aim in its campaign of lies and intellectual terrorism is to bring back the guilt complex, as if Israel were the sole guardian of the destiny of Jews throughout the world and the pivot of their loyalty and commitment.

111. Anti-Semitism is based on the same philosophical principle as Zionism. They both propose that the Jews' state of estrangement from man and his society and their belonging to the different nations in which they reside is transitional rather than permanent, and should not last according to Zionist logic. For Zionism, in its efforts to establish the idea of a Jewish nation worthy of a Jewish State, is the other face of anti-Semitism, which behaves as if the Jews did not fully enjoy their inalienable national rights in different countries and homelands where they live. Zionism and anti-Semitism are the expression of racist ideas and practices which we must fight in order to save the moral and humanistic values affirmed by the Charter and recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

112. We have had enough of the blackmailing campaigns undertaken by Israel in order to suppress the rights of the Palestinian people and its continual efforts to deface the noble struggle of the Palestinian people by claiming that its purpose is to spread another form of racism.

113. Our answer to these Israeli calumnies and Zionist attempts is that the struggle against Zionism is inevitably and necessarily a struggle against anti-Semitism and its causes and that the fight to defend the national rights of the Palestinian people is a fight against all dismemberment of the body of humanity by racist or sectarian actions, whether Zionist or anti-Semitic.

114. The struggle to secure the rights of the Palestinian people involves a struggle against any form

a position which is clearly reflected in resolution ES-7/2 adopted by the General Assembly at the seventh emergency special session on 29 July this year.

138. Not one of those decisions has been carried out. Israel, protected by the patronage of the United States of America, audaciously ignores all decisions of the Organization and contemptuously and arrogantly rejects the measures proposed by the United Nations to ensure respect for the just and legitimate rights and interests of the Arab people of Palestine. Blinded by the delirious idea of creating a so-called "Greater Israel", the Zionist leaders of Tel Aviv are not only continuing their occupation of Palestinian and other Arab lands seized in 1967 but are also undertaking further actions in keeping with their desire to perpetuate their colonization of these lands.

139. One of the most provoking and repugnant examples of that was the annexation of the Arab part of the city of Jerusalem and the proclamation of that city as the capital of Israel. This revolting defiance of world public opinion is doubtless the most flagrant violation of Security Council resolutions urging Israel not to undertake any measures tending to affect the status of Jerusalem.

140. In the process of legitimizing its colonization of Arab lands, Israel has developed and is carrying out a special programme of establishing military settlements in the occupied territories. It is not difficult to understand what deprivations and hardships the presence of Israeli settlements is inflicting on the Palestinians, in particular the Arab population of the West Bank, where the military Administration of Tel Aviv has now already expropriated 32 per cent of the whole territory for the needs of its occupation personnel.

141. Those and many other measures are aimed at annexing the Arab lands that have been seized, and they are accompanied by the most flagrant arbitrary actions, bloody terror and intensification of the repression of the indigenous Palestinian population by the Israeli military authorities, all camouflaged by Pharisaical statements on the establishment of so-called administrative autonomy for the Palestinians.

142. As one of the members of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, the Ukrainian SSR is well aware of the urgent and energetic efforts this important body has undertaken in 1980 in order to implement the recommendations of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine.

143. However, the Committee's efforts have not, unfortunately, led to any notable practical results in resolving the fate of the long-suffering Palestinian people. No one in this hall doubts that the main responsibility for this is borne by Israel and its patron, the United States of America.

144. Circumventing the United Nations and ignoring the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the PLO, Israel and the United States aim, within the framework of the Camp David agreements, to legalize the seizure of Arab lands, thereby depriving the Palestinians living on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip of the possibility of exercising their inalien-

able right to self-determination and the creation of their own independent State.

145. That is the true essence of the schemes of the United States and Israel with respect to Palestine. Evidence of this is to be found in the enormous financial assistance continually made available by the United States to Israel. According to the *Jerusalem Post*, in the last 10 years Israel has acquired from abroad weapons and military equipment worth more than \$14 billion, the United States supplying more than \$13 billion of that amount. The scale of such financial grants is increasing, and in recent times the Israeli expansionists have been acquiring from abroad more than \$2 billion every year in the form of military and economic assistance.

146. Evidence of this is seen in the negative position of the United States on the question of Palestine in the Security Council and at the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly. It is well known that the United States has frequently blocked the adoption of decisions in the Security Council aimed at breaking the deadlock with regard to a settlement of the Middle East question, thus putting an end to the suffering of the 4 million Arab people of Palestine.

147. All that of course leads to further destabilization of the situation in the Middle East and once again underlines the fact that the Palestinian question cannot be resolved through separate deals between the United States, Israel and Egypt. It can and must be resolved only through the joint efforts of all the parties concerned, including, of course, the PLO, within the framework of a comprehensive political settlement in the Middle East.

148. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is convinced that the only basis for such a Middle East settlement is the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem; the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination, including its right to establish its own independent State; and the ensuring of the right of all States in the region to a secure and independent existence.

149. In its struggle for the achievement of those objectives, the Arab people of Palestine has always had and will continue to have the very broad support of all the progressive forces in the world, including the people of the Ukrainian SSR.

150. The General Assembly must adopt decisions that will demonstrate the determination of the States Members of the United Nations to ensure the immediate implementation of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, by, among other things, applying against Israel the compulsory measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

151. Mr. OTUNNU (Uganda): This year we celebrated with pride the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Our pride derived from the fact that over the last 35 years the United Nations has contributed in no small way to the solution of many world problems. Unfortunately, there are two areas of concern that are conspicuously missing from the list. I refer to the twin problems of southern Africa and Palestine. It is therefore with great pain

and a sense of embarrassment that we return once again to the question of Palestine.

152. In spite of many efforts by the United Nations over the years, the situation in the Middle East remains explosive and a solution continues to elude us.

153. One of the main factors in this failure has been the inability of some and the reluctance of others to recognize the true character of the problem in the Middle East. There are those who have tried to convince us over the years that the Middle East problem is basically a problem of refugees, requiring humanitarian attention from the international community. But they have been reluctant to discuss why the refugees left their homes in the first place. They have been reluctant to tell us of the massacres in Palestinian villages and towns, of homes razed to the ground, of Palestinian land seized and occupied by the Zionists. In short, they have been shy about discussing the systematic terror that drove these unfortunate men and women from their homes and property.

154. Then there are those who persist in portraying the situation as essentially a conflict between Israel on the one hand and the neighbouring Arab States on the other. But the genesis of this conflict lies in the terror by which a Zionist settler colony was established in Palestine as well as the ruthless pursuit of expansionist policies by the Zionist leaders.

155. The refugee question and the conflict with Arab States are important, but they lie on the periphery of the central concern in this problem. The question of Palestine is primarily the question of freedom and self-determination for a people long oppressed and dispossessed. For any formula to succeed, it must combine both the goal of peace and the goal of justice. Without the restoration of justice, peace cannot be re-established in the Middle East. Therefore a solution to the Middle East problem must begin, of necessity, with the recognition and full restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people. The Palestinians must be allowed to exercise freely their right to self-determination, their right to establish a sovereign and independent Palestinian State in their homeland, and their right to return to the land and property from which they were brutally uprooted.

156. Since the restoration of Palestinian rights must constitute the centrepiece of any genuine formula for peace in the Middle East, it follows that any negotiations about a settlement must involve the active participation of the Palestinian people. And the Palestinian people, both those in exile and those in the occupied areas, have unquestionably demonstrated that their sole and legitimate representative is the PLO. There is no other. Those who still believe that it is somehow possible to work out a peace formula for the Middle East without the direct and full participation of the PLO are burying their heads in deep sand and are clearly out of touch with reality.

157. The process of restoring Palestinian rights can begin only with the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied areas. It is for that reason that the Security Council, in resolution 465 (1980), and the General Assembly, in numerous resolutions, have demanded Israel's unconditional withdrawal from all territories occupied since 1967, including the city of Jerusalem. Only in July this year, during the seventh emergency

special session, on the question of Palestine, the General Assembly set 15 November 1980 as the deadline for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied areas.

158. Israel continues to defy the United Nations with impunity. Moreover, the Zionists have continued to pursue ever more ruthlessly their policies of terror, aggression and expansion.

159. State terrorism is being unleashed systematically to suppress civic and religious leaders, students and ordinary people throughout the towns and villages of Palestine. The recent closure of Bir Zeit University and the earlier closure of Abu Dees Arab Science College, and the vicious persecution of students from those two institutions; the attempts to assassinate the Mayors of Nablus, Ramallah and Al Bireh; the expulsion of the mayors of Al-Khalil (Hebron) and Halhoul and the Islamic Judge of Al-Khalil: all point to an escalation of repression.

160. Meanwhile, the Zionists are working frantically to change the physical and demographic character of the occupied territories. Through a series of illegal and high-handed methods, more and more Arab land is being swallowed up every day by the Zionists and more illegal settlements are being established.

161. The Israeli hand of terror extends well beyond the confines of the occupied territories; it reaches into all the neighbouring countries of the area. Throughout this past year, Israeli tanks and planes have continued to pour forth death and inflict suffering on Palestinian refugee camps and villages in Lebanon. Only last night, Israeli messengers of death returned from yet another gruesome mission in Lebanon, leaving in their trail more people dead and maimed.

162. Israel is bold in committing acts of terror against the Palestinian people and aggression against its neighbours because it is protected by a mountain much higher and more powerful than itself. Israel is first and foremost an imperialist outpost in the Middle East. As it serves the interests of imperialism in that region, the imperialist Powers continue to support it by generous provision of financial assistance and military hardware. From this derives the arrogance and beligerence of the Zionist State.

163. The continued pursuit of aggressive and expansionist policies by Israel surely constitutes one of the gravest threats to international peace and security in our time. Since Israel has refused to withdraw from the occupied territories and continues to terrorize Palestinians within and outside the occupied area, it is now time for the United Nations to adopt more concrete measures. Uganda calls upon the Security Council to consider taking decisive action against Israel in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

164. Meanwhile, it is clear that neither the systematic terror of the Zionists nor the machinations of the imperialist Powers have affected the indomitable will of the Palestinian people. On the contrary, the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, have organized determined and heroic resistance against Zionist oppression. The Palestinian resistance has grown from strength to strength and has spread to all sectors of the oppressed community. This

development is causing great concern in Zionist circles.

165. There is another development that is causing panic among the Zionist leaders. For decades the international community was held hostage by the strength and intensity of Zionist propaganda. Through an elaborate and powerful propaganda network the terrorist was portrayed as the victim of terror, the warmonger posed as the peacemaker, the aggressor appeared as the victim of aggression, and expansionist designs were sold as security needs.

166. But today the international community has exploded the myths that were nursed and propagated for years by the Zionists. Now what lies so clearly before us for all to see is a very unpleasant and ugly truth about the reality of Zionist designs and practice.

167. The report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [A/35/35] that is before us is an important contribution to the process of freeing the world from the grip of Zionist propaganda. I wish to pay a particular tribute to Mr. Falilou Kane, Chairman of the Committee, and to all members of the Committee for their tireless efforts to build a new international consciousness of the Palestinian question.

168. For their part, the people of Uganda will continue to support unequivocally the just struggle of the Palestinian people. The justice of their cause commands our support and the magnitude of their suffering inspires our total solidarity.

Mr. Mashingaidze (Zimbabwe), Vice-President, took the Chair.

169. Mr. MAPP (Barbados): Once again the international community is discussing, as it has been doing for more than 30 years, a question which continues to appear to defy solution and to threaten world peace. Barbados has made consistently and abundantly clear where it stands and has reaffirmed time and time again its support for recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national sovereignty.

170. My Government has also openly voiced its support for the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This being so, my delegation fully recognizes and supports the right of the PLO to participate in all deliberations and conferences on the Middle East that might be held under the auspices of this body.

171. Although my delegation believes that a lasting solution of the grave and increasingly critical problem in the Middle East should be sought around the negotiating table by way of a comprehensive settlement that includes all parties, it nevertheless has welcomed any efforts, however limited, which lessen the possibility of armed conflict between neighbouring States in that area.

172. My delegation welcomed the Camp David agreements in that context even while recognizing their severe limitations and the lack of sufficiently widespread support in the area to make them the stabilizing and effective instrument that is needed to bring about a lasting settlement.

173. However, the tragic fact must be faced that, while that effort has produced a cessation of war and some degree of peace in the area, it is at best a fragile peace. The cornerstone of a more durable peace and ordered progress towards a solution of the crisis will be laid in the Middle East, as in other disturbed and crisis-ridden areas, only when the countries concerned cease to flout or ignore the resolutions and decisions of such bodies as the Security Council and the General Assembly. In this connexion, my delegation has particularly in mind Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 465 (1980).

174. On too many occasions the decisions and moral authority of this community have been treated with deliberate contempt by the most powerful, the powerful and the would-be powerful among its members. Its credibility suffers as a result.

175. The seeds of this complex and explosive situation were sown in the past by limited action, as dictated by a few powerful colonial States. No limited action, whether or not it is backed by any one super-Power, can put right the wrongs of the past and make for a just and lasting peace. The longer the harsh lines and positions taken remain tightly and intractably drawn and the longer uncompromisingly hostile forces fan the flames of war—and oil does not quench fire—the more difficult it will be for tolerance, moderation and goodwill to prevail and to find a lasting solution of the problem.

176. My delegation reiterates its position, which has been categorically stated since 1977: first, the right of Israel to exist as a sovereign and independent State within secure and recognized boundaries should be recognized; secondly, the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national sovereignty within a homeland of its own should be recognized and granted; thirdly, the continued annexation of territory by the use of force and continued occupation of territory by Israel in the face of, and in contemptuous, cynical and continuous disregard of, United Nations decisions has exacerbated the situation and poisoned the atmosphere in the Middle East. My delegation joins those that have condemned those expansionist actions and the flouting of the international community, which is now becoming fair game for so many; fourthly, my delegation supports the reconvening of the Peace Conference on the Middle East, at Geneva, with full participation by the PLO. Only thus, my delegation feels, can the Palestinian problem be resolved and a meaningful and lasting peace be achieved in the Middle East.

177. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey): The Middle East has always been a very important strategic area where different interests have been in conflict. That being the general setting, it is not difficult to understand the added intricacies always surrounding the problems in the region. Some recent developments have aggravated the tension and instability already existing in the area, thus causing the attention of the whole world to be focused still more intensely on the Middle East. It has become more urgent now for the United Nations—either the General Assembly or the Security Council, or, indeed, both, since they are responsible under the Charter for preserving world peace and stability—to be more vigilant and to take concrete action and adopt effective measures to eliminate those

elements of tension which threaten not only peace in the region but also peace in the world at large.

178. The question of Palestine, which is the core of the Middle East conflict, has gained a new urgency as a result of those developments and tensions in the region. The fact that the Security Council has almost constantly been seized of various aspects of the Middle East conflict over the year under review and the convening of the emergency special session in July 1980 are evidence of the need for increased efforts to bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict.

179. General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and ES-7/2, like the relevant Security Council resolutions, in particular resolutions 465 (1980), 476 (1980) and 478 (1980), remain unimplemented. The report of the Secretary-General [A/35/618-S/14250] in this regard fully reflects how adamant Israel continues to be in its refusal to recognize the fundamental elements of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

180. We believe that it is high time for the international community to shoulder its responsibility in this most important and delicate question, which involves the fate of millions of people and on which the attention of the United Nations has been focused for over 30 years. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has recommended a programme to ensure the achievement of those rights which was endorsed by the General Assembly in 1976, during its last four consecutive sessions and at its seventh emergency special session. In spite of that, the implementation of those recommendations has to this day encountered numerous difficulties in the Security Council, first in 1976, later in June, July and August 1979 and most recently in April 1980. My delegation feels that the resolution of the question of Palestine, which is one of the highest priorities on the agenda of the General Assembly—a question which is at the heart of the Middle East conflict, a question which involves the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to have a State of its own—should not have been permitted to take this long.

181. The question of Palestine, in spite of the many important developments achieved towards international recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, still remains an incessant source of suffering and wrongs. The reason that this question has not been resolved so far is that it has never really been taken up within its true context. For a long while the Palestinian people has been talked of as a non-entity and a non-issue. Later, for some time, the question of Palestine was considered exclusively within the context of refugee problems. The Security Council in resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) refers to the Palestinians as refugees rather than as a political entity. However, after many years, the basic political dimension of the question of Palestine has finally been admitted and defined in various resolutions of the General Assembly.

182. General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) is of historic importance in this regard. In that resolution the Assembly, while confirming the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people and its right to return,

emphasized at the same time that the Palestinian people is one of the main parties directly concerned in the establishment of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

183. The General Assembly later elaborated further on that question and in resolution 3375 (XXX) decided to invite the PLO, as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, to participate in all international efforts relating to the Middle East on an equal footing with the other parties concerned. An overwhelming majority of the international community supports those resolutions. Turkey is among those countries that support them and firmly believe that there can be no meaningful solution, no meaningful negotiations, on the question of Palestine without the participation of the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

184. With a view to translating into action the provisions of these resolutions and in order to draw up a programme for the achievement of the Palestinian rights enumerated in its resolution 3236 (XXIX), the General Assembly established the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [*resolution 3376 (XXX)*] of which, as I mentioned before, Turkey is pleased to be a founding member and to whose efforts concerning the attainment of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people we are proud to contribute. In spite of the difficulties encountered in the implementation of the recommendations of the Committee, we believe that those recommendations have produced a significant impact in focusing attention on the wider recognition of the Palestinian entity and of the PLO as its representative, as well as on the necessity for a just solution of the question of Palestine in the international arena. It has been a source of great satisfaction to my delegation to witness, especially over the last two years, an increased awareness and wider recognition in Western circles of the just cause of the Palestinian people and of its objectives.

185. In this connexion I should like to note with satisfaction the declaration on the Middle East conflict issued by the Heads of State and Government and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the nine member States of the European Community at their meeting at Venice last June, as well as the contacts that are being made within the framework of the efforts of the Community as a follow-up to that declaration. The declaration is certainly a step in the right direction. We should like to point out in this connexion that when Israel also realizes the true dimensions of the Palestinian issue and associates itself with the international consensus that is already emerging on the question of the achievement of Palestinian national rights, we shall come closer to the solution of the whole question than we have so far.

186. Having dealt in detail with my Government's views on the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, I should like to dwell briefly on the other prerequisites for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We believe that Israel must withdraw from the Arab territories, including Jerusalem, that have been occupied since 1967. In this connexion, we condemn, as we did in the Security Council on 26 June 1980 during the discussion of the Jerusalem

question,³ the measures persistently and arbitrarily carried out by Israel in the occupied territories in building new settlements, expanding existing ones, expropriating land, demolishing houses and expelling inhabitants, including elected Palestinian officials. During the year under review, unfortunately, the Israeli Knesset has passed a bill to annex East Jerusalem and to declare Jerusalem its eternal capital. According to reports, some Knesset members are even considering a bill to annex the Golan Heights. The mayors of Hebron and Halhoul in the occupied Arab territories and the Sharia Judge of Hebron were expelled last May, and those two mayors are now being detained by the Israeli authorities. These measures carried out by Israel have aggravated the tension already existing in the area and have aroused considerable reaction by the international public. We consider such moves on the part of Israel to be not only a major obstacle to the efforts for the establishment of a durable and just peace in the area and totally incompatible with the peace process in which Israel seems to be involved, but also a flagrant violation of all the relevant United Nations resolutions and the principles of the Charter. In fact, as the Turkish Government declared before the creation of the *fait accompli* regarding the status of Jerusalem, we refuse to accord any recognition to the Israeli "basic law" which modifies the status of the Holy City of Jerusalem. We consider all legislative and administrative measures taken by Israel in this regard as null and void and we believe that those measures must be rescinded. In the face of the persistent refusal of Israel to comply with Security Council resolution 476 (1980), we have closed our Consulate General in Jerusalem and considerably reduced the level of our diplomatic representation. Furthermore, we welcomed the decision of those countries which moved their diplomatic representation from Jerusalem in compliance with the provisions of that resolution.

187. Last, but not least, we believe that the independence, the sovereignty and the security of the recognized frontiers of all the countries in the region must be safeguarded. Turkey welcomes and will continue to welcome and support any peace initiative which conforms to the aforementioned principles.

188. It is with this understanding that I should like to associate my delegation once again with the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and to reiterate the sincere hope and wish we have voiced so many times from this rostrum: that the conditions necessary for a new atmosphere of mutual understanding, tolerance, trust, a broader perspective and a more pragmatic approach to the establishment of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be created.

189. Before concluding, I find it a pleasant duty to express the deep appreciation of my delegation to Mr. Kane of Senegal, the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, Mr. Gauci of Malta, the Rapporteur of that Committee, and the members of the Secretariat for the excellent work they have done in discharging their responsibilities.

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, 2236th meeting.*

190. Mr. ALAINI (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The problem of the Middle East is in fact the problem of Palestine or the question of the Palestinian people. It emerged in this form, as everybody knows, immediately after the Second World War when the great Powers decided to grant international Zionism a homeland, in which the Zionists created their aggressive, racist, expansionist State. While countries that were under a mandate or trusteeship or under occupation recovered their independence and their citizens took charge of their own affairs and managed them as they saw fit, with the participation of the entire population, something completely different happened in Palestine. Great Britain, the occupying Power, decided to hand over government buildings, army barracks, police posts and everything else to the Zionist forces. Under pressure from the United States, General Assembly resolution 181 (II) was adopted, partitioning Palestine between the Arabs and the Jews. Although that resolution was inequitable and unjust, the Arabs were unable to do anything about it. They were exposed in Palestine to barbarous massacres carried out by organized forces inspired by hatred and supplied with weapons, money and men from various sources. There were many that had no choice but to leave, particularly the women, the children and the aged, and they pitched their tents around Palestine, waiting for that day, which they believed to be near, when they could return. But the Arabs themselves could do nothing for Palestine. They were still under foreign occupation. Although some of them had just regained their independence, they were without an organized and equipped army, and even the commanders of some of their armies were foreigners.

191. Thus Israel was created, and the tragedy of this era was created in its turn, that of the Palestinian people. The Middle East is familiar with a painful situation and the whole world is suffering from that situation now and will continue to suffer for as long as the United Nations remains unable to find an equitable and acceptable solution to this problem.

192. The world has changed completely since the war, but the Zionists and their supporters in some countries have not yet acknowledged or admitted these changes.

193. For its part, the United Nations, which at that time had only 56 Member States, now has about 100 more, States which were earlier under the yoke of oppression, occupation and pillage. At that time the United Nations adopted the unjust partition resolution, and it has since adopted hundreds of resolutions designed to ensure justice for the Palestinians. Israel has become completely isolated because it defies and ignores United Nations resolutions.

194. The United States is no longer master of the world situation, and it will certainly be compelled to free itself from the tight grip of the Zionist forces on its foreign policy, especially as far as the question of the Middle East is concerned. And Western Europe, which had accepted Zionist policies, has begun to revise its position.

195. The Soviet Union and the socialist bloc of States, which today have become an important force in the world, support the rights of the Palestinian people and oppose Zionist stubbornness and defiance.

196. The non-aligned States and the those of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, as well as world public opinion as a whole, oppose Zionist arrogance and are on the side of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people.

197. The Arab States have all regained their independence. Their systems of government have developed, their armies have been equipped and their financial situation has improved, and they will know how to overcome all their difficulties. But more important than all this is the fact that the Arab people of Palestine is no longer a group of powerless refugees; it has become an organized force, aware of its rights and led by the PLO, which has been recognized by the United Nations and other international organizations, as well as by the majority of the States in the world, and which the Arab nation considers as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

198. Can anybody deny that everything has changed and that all the changes have been in favour of justice, the right of the Palestinian people to recover its own territory, to return to its homeland, to establish an independent State and to maintain its eternal capital, the Holy City of Jerusalem? Can anyone deny that Zionist forces live in a strange world, remote from the contemporary world, and can one ignore that their disregard of United Nations resolutions, their settlements policy, their annexation of the Holy City of Jerusalem, their occupation of some Arabs territories, and their attacks against southern Lebanon are in defiance of all the practices and resolutions of international organizations? No one can deny that all those acts of insanity are bound to end, as the Nazi and fascist arrogance ended, and that the Zionist empire will disappear as the empires of the past, built on force and pillage, succumbed in decadence—even those on which it was thought that the sun never set.

199. There is no need to mention again the Camp David agreements, which the Yemen Arab Republic rejects, as do all the Arab nations, because we trust that the new American Administration will thoroughly review the United States position concerning the problem of the Middle East for the sake of the stability of the region and the peace and security of the whole world.

200. The Yemen Arab Republic fully supports the PLO and the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine. We are confident that that people will return to its homeland. We are confident that before very long there will be a Palestinian State on Palestinian soil.

201. Mr. DROUSHIOTIS (Cyprus): At the outset I should like to express my sincere appreciation and gratitude to Mr. Kane, the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, and Mr. Gauci, the Rapporteur of the Committee, for their excellent work and contribution to the just cause of the Palestinian people. The dedication of the Committee, of which Cyprus is proud to be a member, is encouraging and is an example to all people who strive for freedom, the dignity of man and the fundamental rights of the oppressed, whether in Palestine or elsewhere.

202. The history of the Palestinian problem is well known to all and it is not my intention here to dwell on it. What should be emphasized time and again

is that it is the history of the just struggle of a people to return to its homeland and preserve its national identity and its existence as a nation.

203. In addition to their geographical proximity, the Middle East and Cyprus are facing problems that have many points in common. The Government and people of Cyprus have always been whole-heartedly on the side of the Palestinian people and have consistently supported and defended their just struggle. The position of my Government on the question of Palestine is well known and has been time and again stated before the Assembly and in other international forums. Our position is based on the following principles, which in great measure reflect the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People first endorsed by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session and endorsed again at the subsequent sessions.

204. First, it is our firm belief that the question of Palestine constitutes the crux of the whole Middle East problem. There can be no comprehensive and just solution or peace in the Middle East without taking into account the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people.

205. Secondly, no solution to the crisis can be viable and lasting without recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinians to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty and of the right of all refugees and displaced Palestinians to return to their homes and properties. The right and the longing of the refugee to return to his ancestral home has a deep meaning for us, and we consider that no passage of time can affect or alienate it.

206. Thirdly, we recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The active participation on an equal footing of the PLO, on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX), is indispensable in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East. The future and destiny of a nation cannot be discussed in its absence.

207. Fourthly, belligerency must come to an end, and the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area must be recognized and respected, as should be the right of all States to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

208. The fifth principle to which Cyprus strongly adheres, and which is enshrined in the Charter, is the fundamental principle that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible and can never be legitimized whether in Palestine or elsewhere. We cannot, therefore, condone the continuing creation of faits accomplis, prominent among them being the purported change of the status of Jerusalem. In addition, the policy of annexation continues unabated, as indeed does the sustained policy of colonization through new settlements with the aim of altering the legal status of the occupied territories or changing their demographic characteristics. This policy of Israel is a direct challenge to the Organization and its Charter. It seriously violates international law, contravenes and gravely breaches the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949 and further ignores the numerous relevant United Nations resolutions. The Israeli authorities must cease these practices and withdraw speedily and uncondi-

tionally from all Arab territories occupied during the 1967 war.

209. Furthermore, and lastly, Israel must recognize the right of the Palestinian people to their own State. It is impossible to have a just and viable solution without the establishment of an independent and sovereign Palestinian State.

210. My delegation was among those which concurred in the convening of the emergency special session requested by the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. My delegation was also a sponsor of draft resolution A/ES-7/L.1/Rev.1, which was adopted as resolution ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980 by an overwhelming majority during the seventh emergency special session. That resolution contains all the elements and provisions which, if implemented, could lead to a lasting solution of the problem. Numerous United Nations resolutions had previously determined that the attainment of their inalienable rights by the Palestinian people remains the only just solution of the question of Palestine. The vast majority of States Members of the United Nations has by now accepted the proper perspective of this problem and has repeatedly supported and endorsed in United Nations resolutions the comprehensive recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

211. It is indeed regrettable that, despite all General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, no progress whatsoever has been achieved so far; the deadline set by resolution ES-7/2 for the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories passed without results a few days ago. It is high time—indeed, more than time—for the United Nations to fulfil its primary responsibility, the maintenance of international peace and security, and, by implementing its resolutions, become effective. The Security Council, in the event of non-compliance by Israel, should convene in order to consider the situation and the adoption of effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

212. The international community has been patient enough. The occupying Power should realize that the area under occupation is a foreign land, illegally acquired by force, and inevitably it will have to comply with international law and the Charter and restore that land to its rightful owners.

213. Furthermore, the case before us is a serious breach of intrinsic justice and the fundamental principles enshrined in the Charter, which should at all times govern the conduct of nations. The Palestinian question constitutes one of the more serious international problems that threaten peace and security in the entire world. The United Nations has the primary and grave responsibility to strive for its just and lasting solution.

214. Mr. SUWONDO (Indonesia): As is well known, the question of Palestine has been considered in the United Nations since 1947. In that year the General Assembly adopted resolution 181 (II), by which it partitioned Palestine into two States, Arab and Jewish, with the city of Jerusalem placed under international jurisdiction. However, that resolution remains to this day only partially implemented: Israel was established,

while the Arab Palestinian State has never come into existence, and the city of Jerusalem has fallen under Israeli occupation as a result of three successive wars waged in the region in 1948, 1956 and 1967.

215. It should be recalled that during that time the question of Palestine as a basic element of the Middle East conflict was eclipsed by the more general question of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Middle East crisis was viewed basically as a conflict between Israel and the Arab States, with its origins in the refusal of the latter group of States to recognize the existence of Israel. It has thus almost come to a denial of the very existence of the Palestinian people as a national entity.

216. Fortunately, however, the situation took a positive turn with the appearance on the international scene of formerly colonized nations which had suffered the same injustices as the Palestinian people and were in consequence more receptive to its plight. Thus, from the beginning of the 1970's, the United Nations began to pay more sustained attention to the problem of Palestine, playing it in its human and political dimensions and more clearly defining the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination and national sovereignty and the right to return to the homes from which it had been displaced and uprooted.

217. In the intervening years several important resolutions have been adopted in which the General Assembly and the Security Council have broadened the political dimension of the question of Palestine. In those resolutions they recognized that the Palestinian question is the crux of the problem of the Middle East and that no peace can be established in the region unless it is based on total and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and the recovery by the Palestinian people of all its inalienable national rights, including the right to self-determination and to establish an independent State. Further, the PLO was recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and its participation was deemed essential in any negotiations to resolve the conflict.

218. The implementation of those resolutions, as is well known, could solve the problem that has confronted us for more than three decades. Unfortunately, not only have the resolutions remained unimplemented, but Israel, by its gross violation of all relevant United Nations resolutions, has created obstacles to the establishment of a just and durable peace in the region. Recent events have provided ample proof of Israel's intransigence and expansionism, namely, the continued denial of the national rights of the Palestinian people by the establishment of new settlements, by a policy of repression intended to perpetuate the occupation, by the implementation of economic, legislative and financial measures to bring about the forced departure of the Arab inhabitants from their homeland and by refusing to withdraw from territories illegally occupied since 1967. Furthermore, the continued harassment of the inhabitants of the occupied territories, the expulsion of elected officials and the recent shooting of students simply because they demonstrated against the closing of their university for its observance of Palestine Week have not gone unnoticed by the international community. Finally, Israel's annexation of Jerusalem as its eternal

and undivided capital serves only to aggravate tensions and further complicate the already dangerous situation.

219. The international community's response to those challenges has, however, provided some grounds for confidence. It is significant that the Security Council, although stymied by the veto, has been preoccupied with this issue for the greater part of this year, as witnessed by its censure of Israel for its declaration of Jerusalem as its capital, its adoption of resolution 465 (1980) endorsing the report of the Commission established under Security Council resolution 446 (1979), which recommended *inter alia* that the Council adopt effective measures to end the occupation, its demand that the elected Mayors of Halhoul and Hebron be permitted to return to their cities to exercise their functions and its request to those countries which had their embassies in Jerusalem to withdraw them and the positive response of those countries. My delegation considers those developments to be encouraging.

220. Moreover, a further demonstration of the Organization's determination was the convening of the seventh emergency special session of the Assembly. The participation in that session of a number of foreign ministers and the fact that the great majority of those who participated in the debate expressed their unequivocal support for the Palestinian cause are indicative of the urgent need to resolve the conflict. Of special significance was the fact that some Members which in the past had voted against any resolutions reaffirming the rights of the Palestinians modified their position on that occasion, even though in the resolution in question the Assembly went further than it had in previous ones in that it requested the Security Council to consider the adoption of measures under Chapter VII of the Charter. Such a change, particularly by the European Community in recognizing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to a homeland, indicates an acceptance of the facts concerning the question of Palestine and of the inevitable outcome of that question.

221. It is regrettable, however, that in spite of these significant developments it has not proved possible to ensure the attainment by the Palestinian people of its rights. It is evident that Israel alone continues to deny the legitimacy of the Palestinian people's rights, and the seventh emergency special session confirmed that country's isolation from the mainstream of world public opinion. The report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has clearly underlined the hardening of Israel's attitude regarding international opinion and the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Our conclusion is therefore inescapable: that Israel has shown no intention of helping progress towards a peaceful settlement and that its claim to be a peace-loving nation dedicated to finding a comprehensive solution to the Middle East conflict cannot be sustained.

222. None the less, my delegation wishes to reiterate its deep-seated conviction that the United Nations has an indispensable role to play in the settlement of the question of Palestine. It must continue its vigorous support for the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinians. Thirty years of violence and tension have shown that the solution of the Palestinian

problem can be reached only through negotiations, with the participation of the legitimate representatives of the Palestinians, the PLO. As my delegation has emphasized in the past, we are duty bound to take necessary and effective measures in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter to resolve the question of Palestine.

223. Mr. SAMARANAYAKE (Sri Lanka): The Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, in introducing the report of that Committee, referred to the Committee's programme of information to inform the world public regarding the real nature of the Palestine question. As part of that programme, the Committee has organized a number of seminars, lectures and discussions relating to the problem of Palestinian rights. My delegation is pleased to note that one of the seminars planned for next year will be held in Sri Lanka. That will indeed be a useful opportunity for the people of the Asian region, and in particular the people of Sri Lanka, to get a better understanding of the Palestine question, and I am confident that it will result in further strengthening the solidarity of the people of Asia in their support for the Palestinian cause.

224. On 7 November the delegation of Sri Lanka had the honour to introduce the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories at the 25th meeting of the Special Political Committee. That report is a compendium of the gross violations of human rights and the infringements of obligations under international law by the Israeli authorities. Among the conclusions of the report are that: first, the situation prevailing in the occupied territories is a serious threat to peace; secondly, the military occupation is the principal cause of the violations of human rights in the occupied territories; and, thirdly, a systematic effort to change the status of the occupied territories is being made in pursuance of the "homeland" policy of the Israeli Government.

225. Year in and year out the reports of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People have been endorsed by the General Assembly, but the occupying Power continues to defy world public opinion and to pursue the same old policies. The international community cannot afford to be indifferent to this state of affairs, for the question of Palestine lies at the core of the Middle East problem, on which the future of world peace depends. In a message on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, the President of Sri Lanka said:

"The international community must vigorously pursue its efforts to effect a just and lasting settlement of this issue in all its aspects. Failure to do so would have grave repercussions not only on regional peace and stability, but on the peace and stability of the entire world."

226. In conclusion, I should like to take this opportunity to stress that it is the urgent and imperative duty of the international community to take immediate measures to restore the inalienable national right of the Palestinian people to return to its homeland, and its right to self-determination. If the international

community fails in its duty, the inevitable consequence will be increasing tension leading to instability and danger to world peace.

227. Mr. SHEMIRANI (Iran): The General Assembly is once again deliberating on the question of Palestine. In fact, the United Nations has been dealing with this question since its inception while, at the same time, the question of Palestine has grown in intensity and complexity. Israel has chosen to ignore the natural and inalienable right of Palestinians to have a dignified, secure and sovereign life in their homeland, and the Palestinian question drags on with no comprehensive solution in sight.

228. Israel is encouraged to persist in its aggressive and expansionist policies against the Palestinians mainly by the attempts of the West to justify the behaviour of Israel on the grounds that all is well on the moral front in Israel simply because the country is governed "democratically".

229. The irony is that there is no conflict between the practice of so-called democratic procedures among the citizens of a national entity and the commission of crimes by that entity against the non-citizens who happen to live within its boundaries or under its military occupation. Therefore, even if we accept the idea that Israel is a democratic State for its Jewish inhabitants, the fact remains that the Zionist entity is engaged in committing various crimes against the Palestinian Arabs in the occupied territories.

230. The exiled Palestinians want to return to their homes; those inside Israel or under military occupation want freedom, self-determination and independence. All those Palestinians have unanimously chosen the PLO to represent their legitimate cause and to fight for their rightful aspirations to establish an independent State. It is absurd that certain non-Palestinians should insist on representing the aspirations and interests of the Palestinian people and should permit themselves to bargain on behalf of that people and behind its back. The status of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people has been recognized by the overwhelming majority of the nations of the world, and it is high time for the few others that have not yet recognized the reality of Palestine to do so.

231. The rhetoric about Middle East peace used today by the United States is coterminous with the desire to suppress the question of Palestine. It is this inhuman solution—planned or otherwise—that the Palestinian people now resist. There ought to be no surprise, then, that "peace" as it is thus defined has found no willing Palestinian participants.

232. Under the provisions of the Camp David agreements, Israel has the right to fight political "subversiveness" the purpose of which is anything that might advance the likelihood of a Palestinian State coming into being. Nothing in Israeli or American attitudes allows Palestinians any hope that "autonomy" would be anything more than continued military domination. As one distinguished Palestinian has described it:

"A fraction of the Palestinian people is promised a fraction of its rights in a fraction of its homeland, and this promise is to be fulfilled several years from

now, through a step-by-step process in which Israel is to exercise a decisive veto power over any agreement."

233. It is obvious that the United States is not yet interested in peace in the Middle East. What the American policy-makers seek to create in the region is an absence of war, which is not peace at all. Getting oil and fighting popular and nationalist currents form the principal imperatives of United States policy in the Middle East.

234. The dehumanized propaganda apparatus of Zionism and United States imperialism will deter neither the courageous struggle of Palestinians nor the efforts of those who support them throughout the world, simply because they are right in their claims against Israel.

235. The adoption of resolutions in the Assembly will not solve any problem; it will not even make the Israeli officials express shame or regret for their policies of aggression, expansion and annexation. It will only show men and women of goodwill throughout the world that the international community continues to be outraged about the crimes committed against 4 million human beings simply because they are not Jews.

236. The Islamic Republic of Iran is convinced that the historical and moral sufficiency of the Palestinian cause will finally defeat all attempts to isolate and misrepresent it. We shall continue our firm support of the just struggle of the PLO in promoting the Palestine cause, in the same way that the PLO helped the Iranian people to achieve its revolution against tyranny and subordination.

237. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): The Assembly is once again considering the important question of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in the light of the hostile and defiant attitude of Israel towards the United Nations and world public opinion, an attitude that is contrary to all the rules of international conduct and morality. Numerous resolutions adopted on this question which reflect the support and the verdict of the international community concerning the legitimacy of the struggle of the Palestinian people and the authenticity of its just cause remain totally unimplemented because of the aggressive and expansionist policy of a Member State, Israel, and the all-round support and enormous military and financial assistance being extended to it by United States imperialism and other warmongering and reactionary circles and forces.

238. Despite the conclusion by the international community, without any reservations, that the question of Palestine is the crux of the problem of the Middle East and that no solution to that problem can be envisaged unless the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are fully realized, separate deals have been made and understandings reached, through collusion, which totally disregard the rights and the interests of the Palestinian people.

239. Those attempts, which are manifested in the Camp David agreements and the separate Egyptian-Israeli deal sponsored by the United States, have not only complicated the prospects for a just settlement of the Middle East problem, based on the restoration

of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, but also have caused a further deterioration in the situation in the Middle East, which is already fraught with danger to international peace and security.

240. The attempts of the sponsors of the Camp David agreements and the Egyptian-Israeli separate deal to reduce the internationally recognized just cause of the Palestinian people and its inalienable rights to the level of "administrative autonomy" for the Palestinians reflect an ominous design to liquidate the liberation movement of the Palestinian people.

241. These arrangements are doomed to failure and will not lead to a comprehensive, just settlement of the Middle East problem, as they run counter particularly to the interest of the Arab and Palestinian people.

242. The continuation of the aggressive and expansionist policy of Israel in the Middle East and its brutal and repressive measures in the occupied territories remain a matter of serious concern to the international community. The continued violations of human rights, as well as other inhuman Israeli practices in the occupied territories in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, aimed at brutally suppressing the ever-increasing resistance movement in the occupied territories by guns and bullets have time and again been condemned by the international community.

243. The convening this year of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, on Palestine, to review the implementation of the relevant resolutions adopted on this question, reflected the importance the international community attaches to the early realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as well as the significance of that people's just cause.

244. While the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People outline in clear and realistic terms the necessary conditions for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, based on the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the Security Council has so far failed to take appropriate action on the recommendations of the Committee.

245. As the General Assembly at its seventh emergency special session endorsed the Committee's recommendations by a vote of 112 in favour, it is imperative once again to request the Security Council, with some greater degree of vigour and seriousness, not to delay further in taking the specific actions against Israel under Chapter VII of the Charter for its continued intransigence and particularly for not heeding the deadline of 15 November 1980 for its withdrawal from the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories.

246. Among many other reasons, the following may be mentioned to justify the urgency of such specific actions by the Security Council: first, Israel has set a disturbing and dangerous example of defying the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the Organization; secondly, the continued denial by Israel of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the aggressive policies of Israel in the Middle East have increased the danger of the outbreak of a new war in the Middle East; thirdly, Israel has intensified its

brutal and repressive policies in the occupied territories, and it continues systematically to violate the human rights of the inhabitants of the occupied territories; fourthly, Israel has proceeded to annex Jerusalem to its territory and has declared the Holy City to be its eternal and united capital, totally disregarding the special historical character of the city as most sacred to the followers of all faiths, including more than 800 million Moslems throughout the world; fifthly, Israel has continued its policy of settlement in the occupied territories, forcibly expelling the indigenous population and replacing it by Israelis; sixthly, Israel by its repeated aggressions against the southern part of Lebanon not only has violated that country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, but also has by such unwarranted actions added a new and dangerous dimension to the Middle East problem.

247. We believe that the Security Council, still dealing with the problem of Palestine and the Middle East, should act on the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and take the necessary specific actions under Chapter VII of the Charter. By doing so, the Council would be discharging its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security.

248. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan maintains the position that a just and lasting peace can be achieved in the Middle East only after the total and unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli forces from the occupied territories and the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to establish its own national independent State, under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

249. In conclusion, I reiterate the firm support of the Government and people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for the fraternal Palestinian people in its just struggle against Zionist occupation, and our revolutionary solidarity with that people. We remain convinced that the struggle of the Palestinian people will eventually succeed.

250. Mr. OULD HAMODY (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first to congratulate most sincerely the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People on the excellent report it has once again submitted to the General Assembly on a subject that directly involves the full and undivided responsibility of the United Nations. To the Chairman of the Committee, our brother and friend Mr. Falilou Kane, I should like to express, on behalf of the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, our deep admiration and our sincere gratitude for the zeal, intelligence, experience and objectivity with which he has devoted himself to the fulfilment of this noble and difficult task. Our admiration and gratitude are addressed also to Mr. Victor Gauci, the Rapporteur of the Committee, and to its other members.

251. Thirty-three years ago, almost to the day—on 29 November 1947—there were sown on the sacred soil of Arab Palestine the seeds of a tragedy, and

humanity, in its long and rich history, has rarely seen a more plentiful harvest.

252. No one can deny that the arbitrary fate imposed that day on Palestine has not only lastingly affected the course of events in the Arab *Machregh*, but also influenced the whole international community.

253. To be sure, the seed was fertile and the harvest abundant, abundant first of all in a unique series of tragedies. What can be said about the holocaust of an entire people and the systematic undertaking of its extermination?

254. In its frenzied determination to disperse the Palestinian people in order the better to eliminate it and to uproot its civilization and history, which is deeply implanted in its soil, international zionism has stopped at nothing. No method seems too immoral, no humanitarian principle too sacred, no international law too respected, to achieve that end. Proof of this are blind terrorism, aggression, annexation of the lands of independent States, the confiscation of land and property for the establishment of settlements, the destruction of historical sites and cultural institutions, the profanation of Islamic and Christian Holy Places, and so on.

255. I do not intend to dwell further on the long list of evil deeds; the permanent aggression of Israel in the Middle East forbids an exhaustive enumeration. If the harvest has been abundant in tragedies, it has also, as everyone well knows, been abundant in magnificent victories for the Palestinian people. It is beyond question that the first of these victories was the mere survival of that people, confronted with the implacable undertaking of extermination, replete with hatred and duplicity.

256. Thus, the desperate attempts to deny the physical existence of the Palestinian people, to deny its cultural heritage and to deny its long history and its aspiration to freedom, or simply to life, have failed. Through a remarkable sense of cultural identity, national conscience and tradition of struggle, the Palestinian people has impressed itself for all time on the international scene as the central element of any settlement in the Middle East.

257. Those who were asking during the 1950's "Where is the Palestinian people" can no longer be unaware of its passionate willingness to die for life and freedom. Its sole and legitimate representative, the PLO, gives evidence every day in every international forum of its seriousness and maturity.

258. It is against this background that the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, 29 November, is from year to year becoming the occasion for a meeting for all those who refuse to allow a fait accompli to take precedence over law and justice. The International Day of Solidarity has become the symbol of refusal to endorse the usurpation of the land of others and the denial of their national identity.

259. Recognition of the justice of the cause of the Arab people of Palestine and the need to reach a definitive solution of its suffering is now universal. The latest manifestation of this reality has been the positive transformation that took place just before and particularly after the announcement of the Venice

principles in the position of the nine members of the European Community. Their statement issued on 2 December in Luxembourg [A/35/712-S/14285] indicates a further stage in the same process. We are very pleased by this, and we hope that the clarification and definition of the Venice principles mentioned in the document on the political co-operation of the European countries will make it possible for those countries to recognize all the facts regarding Palestine, and in particular to recognize its representative, the PLO.

260. This awareness, a historic and symbolic factor in which was the authoritative statement before the General Assembly in 1974 of Chairman Yasser Arafat⁴, has been expressed for many years in the resolutions of the Organization by an increasingly objective approach to the terrible reality of the Palestinian tragedy.

261. The convening this year of the seventh emergency special session constituted another historic factor in this awakening of awareness. On that occasion, the General Assembly, conscious of the fact that the question of Palestine is at the heart of the Middle East problem, most solemnly enunciated the guiding principles which must direct the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Those principles, which our Minister for Foreign Affairs stressed on 10 October during the general debate, may be summarized as follows: first, the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied as a result of the aggression of 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem; secondly, the complete restoration to the Arab people of Palestine of its inalienable rights, including its undeniable right to establish an independent State on the land of its ancestors; thirdly, the urgent necessity to associate fully and completely the PLO, the sole representative of the Arab people of Palestine, with any settlement in the Middle East; fourthly, rejection of any attempts to make demographic, institutional or other modifications in the Arab, Moslem and Christian character of the Palestinian lands and other occupied Arab territories, in particular the Holy City of Al Quds [33rd meeting, paras. 128-131].

262. Any attempted settlement not based on these guiding principles is doomed to failure and can serve only to play into the hands of the enemies of the Palestinian people and other peoples of the region. This is particularly true of the so-called Camp David agreements, which have sown confusion in the Arab ranks and reinforced the Israeli occupier in his aggressive arrogance.

263. The implementation of the principles I have mentioned and which the international community recognizes as the only acceptable bases for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem is, however, made impossible by Israel's attitude of systematic defiance. This attitude of defiance is inconceivable without the lavish encouragement and support of a great Power, not only at the economic and military level but also by blocking action in the Security Council.

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2282nd meeting, paras. 3-83.

264. How long can the United Nations tolerate this obvious violation of its relevant resolutions by a State which, paradoxically, was created by a resolution of the Organization? How long can the United Nations tolerate the blocking of the action of its principal organ for the maintenance of peace and security by the abuse of the right of veto in the service of those who daily violate United Nations resolutions and endanger peace and security not only in the Middle East but in the world as a whole?

265. The Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples cannot compromise as regards the restoration of all their national rights, whatever may be the cost. As the Head of State of Mauritania said in his message addressed to the Chairman of the Committee on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, celebrated on 29 November:

“Neither the desperate attempts of the Zionists to defy history by trying to change the Islamic-Christian character of the occupied land, nor its suicidal policy of faits accomplis which it wishes to be ‘eternal’, nor its racist contempt for the values of Arab civilization in Palestine, nor its terrorism set up as a State system and directed particularly against Arab elected officials and adolescents, nor the astonishing complicity with the Israeli aggressor in consolidating its heinous crimes, can for ever thwart the popular will and the national conscience of Arab Palestine.”

266. Mr. A. G. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): I should like at the outset to place on record our sincere gratitude and appreciation to Mr. Falilou Kane of Senegal, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, for the outstanding qualities and devotion to duty he has shown in his efforts to secure justice for the Palestinian people.

267. Once again the General Assembly is considering the question of Palestine, a seemingly intractable problem that the Organization has had to grapple with since its inception. The Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, in a perceptive statement here [75th meeting], recalled the fact that since the founding of the United Nations many serious problems relating to the maintenance of international peace and security had come before the Organization and that solutions had been found for them. But the Palestinian problem, which the world body has had before it over the past three decades, has yet to be resolved.

268. This problem was created in part by the Organization, which has a moral obligation to find a lasting and just solution to it if it is to live up to its principles as enshrined in the Charter.

269. What is the problem and what is the solution? Indeed, on the question of Palestine the problem and the solution are intertwined. General Assembly resolution 181 (II) provided for the partition of Palestine into a Jewish State, a Palestinian Arab State and a *corpus separatum* for the city of Jerusalem. The problem is that that resolution has only been partially implemented, with the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, whereas the establishment of a Palestinian Arab State, as provided for in that resolution, is yet to be

realized. Meanwhile, the Palestinian people has remained dispossessed, without a home and without a territory. The problem has been exacerbated by Israel's deliberate policy of occupying all the territory that was the Mandate of Palestine. It is that policy that has led to four wars and a generation of suffering people in that region, in particular the Palestinians.

270. The solution to the problem, in the view of my delegation, lies in the faithful and complete implementation of resolution 181 (II) in all its various facets, including the establishment of a Palestinian State. The General Assembly, in numerous other resolutions—the validity of which my delegation supports—has reaffirmed that position. The latest of those resolutions is resolution ES-7/2, adopted during the seventh emergency special session. That resolution reaffirmed the fact that no just and lasting peace could be achieved in the Middle East without the complete withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and without the achievement of a just solution to the problem of Palestine on the basis of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including its right to self-determination, national independence, sovereignty and the right to establish its own sovereign State. Thus, the General Assembly has repeated the “prescription” which it wrote more than 30 years ago for the solution of the problem of Palestine. Indeed, it is the only viable solution. Almost the entire international community has recognized this, and it is more than time for Israel and its allies also to take cognizance of that fact.

271. At its seventeenth ordinary session the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Freetown from 1 to 4 July of this year, reaffirmed that a just, lasting peace in the Middle East can be achieved only through the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights, especially its right to return to its motherland and to recover its national sovereignty and establish an independent State on its territory.

272. The Head of the Political Department of the PLO, Mr. Kaddoumi, in his statement here the other day [75th meeting], which was constructive, pointed the way to a solution of the Palestinian problem. Mr. Kaddoumi stated that without any pre-conditions the solution to the question of Palestine lies first in the right of the Palestinians to return to their land and property. The second point is their right to self-determination without foreign interference. The third is the Palestinian right to sovereignty and national independence and the establishment of an independent Palestinian State in Palestine. Those are reasonable demands and reasonable expectations to which any fair-minded observer would subscribe. Those fundamental demands in no way pose a mortal threat to Israel, and, in any case, it is inadmissible in this day to prevent a people from exercising its right to self-determination on the pretext that such exercise would pose a mortal threat to an adjacent State. That position is untenable today and indeed it never had a place, even in the past.

273. The claim of mortal danger as a pretext for preventing the exercise of the right to self-determination by the Palestinians is also untenable under the Charter of the United Nations. The Palestinian's case

is grounded in the Charter. The right to self-determination can no longer be subjected to limitations by a foreign State.

274. Also untenable under the principles of the Charter and under contemporary international law is the acquisition of territory by force. In that regard, my Government finds incomprehensible and unsupported—in law, in logic and in morality, and given the paramount interests of peace—the claimed annexation of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights by Israel, and worse, the proclamation of Jerusalem by the present Government of Israel as the capital of the State of Israel.

275. It is the responsibility of the United Nations to put into practice the principles enshrined in its Charter. For its part, the Government of Sierra Leone reaffirms its support for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its imprescriptible right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty. My Government also reaffirms its recognition of the Palestinian people as a principal party in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, and of the PLO, with its mass base everywhere in the Palestinian community and having forced recognition of the Palestine problem on the world, as the genuine representative of the Palestinian people.

276. The PRESIDENT: One representative has requested to be allowed to exercise the right of reply. May I remind members that in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in the exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats. I now call on the representative of Iraq.

277. Mr. BAFI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The statement made by the representative of the Zionist entity this year was unique of its kind, falsifying the truth and listing a series of groundless allegations and distortions. The representative of that entity surpassed himself this year, entirely forgetting the basic problem that the General Assembly is discussing at present. The illegitimate occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories, the expulsion of the Palestinian people, and the repressive measures, the tortures, the assassinations and the imprisonment practised by that entity have led its representative to forget the truth and to discuss matters that are completely alien to the subject. He said that the Middle East was a region beset by difficulties and that Israel was not alone responsible for the deterioration of the situation in that region and that he was there-

fore astonished that the occupation by Israel of territories belonging to other countries was not forgotten or accepted as a fait accompli by the international community.

278. That is only one example of the distortions and the fallacious assertions that peppered the statement of the representative of the Zionist entity. This year he said nothing of the basic issues that have been and will always be at the centre of attention in the international community. He made no mention whatever of the hundreds of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and by the Security Council condemning Israel. I will go further: in his statement, he said nothing of the establishment by force of settlements in Palestine and other Arab territories.

279. These acts, which have been condemned by the General Assembly and the Security Council, have been carried to such a point that a representative of one of the Western countries stressed this year in the Security Council the international isolation of Israel when he stated that in the international community Israel stands alone and represents a "minority of one".

280. As usual, the representative of the Zionist entity, in order to explain away the present situation, bowed to the decisions of his masters in Tel Aviv, those extremists who have come from all parts of the world to occupy the lands of a people already there and to evict that people from those lands. He tried to explain events in his fashion, but he omitted all mention of Jerusalem. He completely ignored resolution 478 (1980) of the Security Council, a resolution which condemned the Zionist entity for its actions regarding Jerusalem.

281. In fact, the statement made by the representative of the Zionist entity was meaningless, since it contained nothing but distortions. Basically, it is not a statement that deserves comment, because the inaccuracies and lies that it contained were obvious to all and quite clear. Let us recall for example what he said to the effect that the Palestinian people already have a State in Jordan, that the territory under British Mandate was very large and therefore that the Palestinian people could have gone to establish their rights in Jordan and that the Jews should remain in Palestine. That type of logic proves that the representative of the Zionist entity does not know the basic tenets of international law. All representatives here showed that they rejected that distortion of the truth.

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.