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President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Örn (Sweden), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Organization of work

1. The PRESIDENT: Before taking up the agenda item for this afternoon I should like to refer briefly to the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 79th plenary meeting, on 1 December, to extend to Thursday, 3 December, the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions with financial implications in connection with the First Committee's consideration of agenda item 42. I have now been informed by the Chairman of the First Committee that, because of the need for extensive negotiations, a further extension of that deadline to Saturday, 5 December, is requested. I take it that the Assembly agrees to that request.

It was so decided.

2. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly also decided to extend until today the deadline in connection with the Special Political Committee's consideration of agenda item 60. The Chairman of the Special Political Committee now requests a further 24-hour extension. I take it that the Assembly agrees to that request.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 31

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

3. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Consideration at plenary meetings of the question of Palestine as a separate item on the agenda is important, useful and, I would say, necessary. The present discussion, as well as the debate on this question in other bodies of the Organization, including the Security Council, clearly demonstrates the constantly growing support for the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine on the part of the overwhelming majority of the members of the international community and is eloquent confirmation of the unquestionable fact that the solution of the Palestine problem is pivotal in the mat-

ter of the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

4. Today it is quite clear to all that if justice is not restored to the 4 million Arab people of Palestine, in other words if their inalienable national rights are not fully assured, the Arab-Israeli conflict will assume even more acute forms, with consequences that are difficult to forecast. All this confirms the need for a speedy solution of the Palestine problem, which would be of extreme significance both for the fate of the Palestinian people itself and for the efforts to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

5. The Palestinian people has been the first victim of the aggressive expansionist policy of the ruling circles of Israel and of the imperialist forces supporting them. A large proportion of the Palestinian population has been expelled from its ancestral lands and has found asylum in various Arab countries. The rest are compelled to languish under the heel of Israeli occupation.

6. However, the Palestinians have not reconciled themselves to being a people deprived of its State. Together with the Arab countries that support them and the patriotic and nationalist forces of the Arab world, the Palestinians have risen up for a decisive struggle for the exercise of their inalienable rights and for the attainment of their authentic right to self-determination, including the establishment of their own independent State. As is emphasized in the telegram from the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, to the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yasser Arafat, which was dispatched a few days ago in connection with the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People:

"The Palestinian people is fighting steadfastly and courageously against Israeli aggression and the attempts of imperialism and firmly rebuffing the policy of separate deals and the dangerous military plans of the United States and Israel and is consistently pressing for the achievement of a comprehensive and just settlement in the Middle East."

7. Experience has shown that any attempt to avoid a definitive solution of the Palestine problem and confine the process to half-measures or to resolve this question behind the back of the Palestinian people will only lead to a further exacerbation of the situation in the Middle East and will further intensify the Arab-Israeli conflict. Clear evidence of this is provided by the Camp David accords and the deadlocked negotiations concerning so-called administrative autonomy for Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It is also significant that the plan for such "autonomy" was correctly appraised both by the Palestinians themselves and by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations as an attempt to avoid a just solution of the Palestine question and prevent

the full exercise of all the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

8. Similar unworthy ends are being served by the attempts of the Israeli authorities to represent the matter as though the military administration of the occupied Palestine lands was being relaxed and gradually being replaced by a civil administration. The Palestinian population of the occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip has shown unmistakably its opinion of this decision of the Israeli authorities by mass demonstrations, strikes and other forms of protest against these unlawful and pharasaic measures.

9. If one carefully reads what is said today by the official personalities in Tel Aviv and the response that is made to those statements in Washington, it becomes perfectly clear that the purpose of these participants in the Camp David deal is to dispose completely of the Palestinian problem as such. It is no accident, after all, that the Government of Begin, whose hands were untied by the Camp David accords, has started speeding up the building of new settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories and the expulsion of the indigenous inhabitants from their ancestral lands. It was precisely after Camp David that the terror carried out against the Palestinians and their leaders acquired an unprecedented scale and magnitude and that the aggressive assaults by Israel against Lebanon, its violation of the national rights of the Palestinian people, confirmed by the United Nations, and its attempts to repress the Palestine resistance movement by force became a daily, cruel practice.

10. This policy of terror on the part of the ruling circles of Israel is possible only because of unlimited and all-round support and assistance from the United States. That assistance and support are demonstrated not only in billion-dollar investments in the Israeli economy and supplying the Israeli army with the most-sophisticated and destructive types of weapons, which subsequently bring death to thousands of totally innocent and peaceful inhabitants of Lebanon and the Palestinian camps, but also in the stubborn blocking here, within the walls of the United Nations, of Security Council resolutions which would confirm the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and the creation of its own independent state.

11. All those circumstances inevitably lead one to ask: does the United States, as its leaders like to state, really wish to have a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, or is it striving, under various pretexts, to maintain tension and an explosive situation in that region in order to assure itself of opportunities for further military and political penetration in the countries situated there, for establishing control over their natural resources and for dragging those countries into the orbit of its policies?

12. It is characteristic that this country, which is trying so hard to cloak itself in the toga of "peacemaker", invariably places the interests of the aggressor above the national aspirations of a whole people. And here Washington is not at all disturbed by the fact that 4 million Palestinians are not only still being deprived of the right to have their own state, but that many of them have been expelled from their country and have been deprived of their lands and homes. Nor is Washington disturbed by the fact that as a result of the unlimited use by Israel of American weapons in the Middle East, blood continues to flow and thousands die.

13. Like any other people, the Palestinians have a right to self-determination and to the creation of their own state. For the sake of this noble cause, under the leadership of their politically tested vanguard, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], they have already for many years been waging a valorous, just struggle for the attainment of their lawful national rights. That struggle is meeting with ever-increasing understanding and support. "Comprehensive support for these just demands and recognition of the PLO as the sole lawful representative of the Palestinian Arab people"—so reads the telegram of Leonid Brezhnev to Yasser Arafat—"have become the indicator of the genuine intentions of those who speak of their attachment to the cause of peace in the Middle East".

14. In spite of the fact that since 1974 the General Assembly has adopted a number of important resolutions in support of the just cause of the Palestinian people and has expressed itself in favour of the equal participation of the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people in all efforts, discussion and conferences on the Middle East, neither the Palestinian problem nor the problem of a settlement in the Middle East as a whole has been successfully solved. The cause of this is the aggressive expansionist policy of Israel and the open pandering to it by the United States.

15. As for the Soviet Union, it has always supported and will continue to support the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people for its inalienable, lawful rights. Our support and sympathies are unswervingly for the just cause of the Palestinians. It is within the framework of that all-round support that the Soviet Government decided, in October of this year, to accord official diplomatic status to the PLO mission in Moscow.

16. The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that a genuine solution of the Palestine question can be achieved within the framework of a comprehensive Middle East settlement and must be based on the well-known decisions of the United Nations. As was pointed out in the course of the October visit to the USSR by the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yasser Arafat, a real and constructive way towards such a settlement is opened up by the proposal put forward by the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to convene an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all interested parties, including, of course, the PLO.

17. In that respect, the delegation of the USSR is ready, in a constructive spirit and from a position of good will, to co-operate with all those who advocate a speedy and just solution of the Palestinian problem and the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East.

18. In conclusion, the Soviet delegation would also like to mention the useful and important work that is being done by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, under the guidance of Mr. Massamba Sarré, in implementing the responsibilities placed upon it by the General Assembly.

19. Mr. ABDULHASSAN (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, I should like to express our thanks and appreciation to the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, Mr. Massamba Sarré, as well as to the members of the Committee for the efforts they have exerted to prepare the report submitted to us for discussion [A/36/35]. In our

opinion, that report is a scientific document that should be used in order to adopt the draft resolutions and the recommendations it contains. My delegation would like to pay a tribute to the Rapporteur of the Committee, Mr. Gauci, for his efforts and his presentation of the report [80th meeting].

20. It is a matter of grave concern and distress that day after day we see for ourselves the transformation of one of the simplest and most clear-cut cases of flagrant international injustice into one of the most complicated issues of our time: namely, the question of Palestine, which is the subject of our discussion today.

21. The basic issue as we originally confronted it was one of a people evicted from its homeland, only to be replaced by an alien people through unprecedented and extraordinary international machinations in a way which violates all the norms of international law and conduct.

22. Apparently, the clarity of the fundamental issue was one of the main reasons why the Jewish State, which was created at the expense of the Palestinian people in the land of its forefathers, has been doing its utmost to cover up the issue, aided and abetted by those Powers which contributed to the creation of Israel in the beginning and those which later espoused its cause.

23. It seems that the motive behind this cover-up is twofold: to ease the sense of guilt and to seek to confer legality upon the greatest act of international theft in history, that of an entire homeland. As we all know, the method followed here is to create as many side issues and offshoots as possible and concentrate on them so relentlessly that the international community is left no opportunity to consider the fundamental issue.

24. I do not feel it necessary to recapitulate the history of the conspiracy against the peaceful people of Palestine since the inception of the Zionist movement, which manipulated the persecution of the Jews in Europe in such a way as to establish a Jewish homeland in the Arab land of Palestine. Nor do I feel it necessary to elaborate on the Balfour Declaration, by which Great Britain arrogated to itself the right to hand out land belonging to others. I need not review the conspiracy to divide the loot between Great Britain and France in the period following the First World War through the Sykes-Picot Agreement, which provided that Palestine was to be placed under British Mandate in order to fulfil the sinister promise of establishing a Jewish homeland there. Everyone knows all this, either through personally keeping up to date on the development of this question or because this item has been on the agenda of the United Nations since its creation. However, I should like to reiterate that one of the important points which should be stressed here is that Israel's admission to the United Nations, unlike that of other nations, was made conditional on its acceptance of United Nations resolutions on Palestinian rights. This might have been an act of atonement for a conspiracy whose purpose was to confer legal status upon that entity through the dismemberment of Palestine without the legitimate consent of its people and without the application of the right of self-determination, a right which constitutes one of the basic foundations of the world political order established, in our time, by the Charter of the United Nations.

25. A few days ago the world celebrated the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. Kuwait took part in that celebration. His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al Ahmad Al Sabah, Emir of Kuwait, expressed

Kuwait's position in the message he sent to one of the special meetings held in the United Nations on that occasion, from which I quote:

“One can only wonder how much longer these legitimate rights will be trampled upon with impunity, how much longer the United Nations resolutions will be ignored and unimplemented, how much longer this ill-fated people will remain deprived of its homeland, its freedom and its right to self-determination and to realize its national aspirations.

“Indeed, the time has come to let right prevail over might, to put an end to arbitrary extortion and various forms of coercion, misery and misfortune.”

26. The tragedy of the people of Palestine is reflected in the documents of the United Nations and other international organizations and in the reports of numerous international commissions which list in detail all kinds of inhuman practices by the Israeli authorities in Palestine and other occupied territories. These practices are planned not only to consolidate the Israeli occupation but also to modify the traditional cultural structures of the occupied territories. Israel's unilateral decision to annex the Holy City of Jerusalem and declare it to be its unified and eternal capital is only one more indication that the acts and policies of the Israeli authorities are based on the logic of expansionism, domination and usurpation. Those policies also reflect an outmoded racist philosophy which is an insult to man and his spiritual values and is detrimental to the spirit of brotherhood and religious tolerance.

27. If the Western countries in general helped to create Israel at the outset, the United States has encouraged and is still encouraging Israel to continue its expansionist policies by constantly providing it with every kind of assistance. While my delegation believes that the United States has the right to establish any kind of relations with any country whatsoever, including Israel, it cannot remain silent with regard to the kind of assistance which has turned Israel into an instrument of coercion and dispersion, endangering the safety of all countries of the Middle East.

28. By continuing to be the source of Israel's political, military and economic power—to the extent that the total military and economic assistance given to Israel in one year equals the total of such assistance given to all countries of the world in the same period—the United States allows Israel to believe that it can do whatever it wants with impunity, in the knowledge that it will in any case continue to receive American support. This undoubtedly gives Israel a frightening immunity, which will only increase its arrogance and defiance of the international community year after year.

29. Only two days ago the United States crowned its special relationship with Israel by signing the agreement on strategic co-operation. Only God knows what secret clauses it contains, although it will not be difficult for us to understand its sinister aims in the Middle East. Those mutual strategic arrangements, though their present and future scope is not yet clear, give the special relationship between the United States and Israel a bigger dimension and a wider conception which may develop later into an open alliance against the Arab nation.

30. The speculation in the aftermath of this dangerous development, even in some American circles, is whether the United States, by increasing its organic ties with one

party to the dispute, has lost its qualification to act as a mediator in the Middle East crisis.

31. By approaching a solution to the Middle East crisis exclusively through negotiation with Egypt and Israel within the framework of the Camp David accords, now universally acknowledged as a failure, the United States is only moving in a vicious circle, a course of action which is not conducive to a comprehensive political settlement that will establish a permanent and just peace in the Middle East.

32. By antagonizing the Palestinian people, the main victim in the Middle East crisis, and by refusing to cooperate with its legitimate representatives, in spite of having admitted that the Palestine question is the core of the problem, the United States raises suspicion about its ultimate intentions. It seems strange that the United States, which is no party to the Middle East dispute, should demand that the PLO, in its capacity as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, recognize the right of Israel to exist before even beginning a dialogue with it—all this when the United States did not lay down any conditions for negotiating with the Vietnamese liberation front, although it was a major party to the dispute.

33. Last but not least, the United States, by insisting on characterizing as international terrorism the struggle of the Palestinians to recover their legitimate rights and their usurped land, to the extent that such an accusation is beginning to sound like an awkward refrain at a time when it is fully aware that the two principal members of the Israeli Government—Prime Minister Begin and Foreign Minister Shamir—were among the first international terrorists who introduced the concept and methods of terror to the Middle East through their involvement with the two terrorist gangs, Irgun and Stern, in the 1940s, only confirms its lack of fair play and its policy of double standards.

34. The United States could serve the cause of peace if it separated its support of Israel from its support of the Israeli expansionist policies; if it made its aid to Israel dependent on the latter's showing a sense of international responsibility, whether in respect of its brutal actions inside the occupied territories or its continued defiance of the United Nations resolutions; if it abandoned the narrow-mindedness it displays in looking at the issue in general from the narrow angle of "Israeli security considerations" or the East-West conflict.

35. Everybody knows that it is the Arab, and not the Israeli, security which is jeopardized. Everybody knows that Israel, whose vanity and arrogance are reinforced by American support, is the undisputed enemy of peace in the Middle East. Any assessment of Middle East problems, particularly the Palestine question, based on a narrow concept of Israeli security considerations will only serve interests of the Israeli expansionist policies. This recurring reference to security considerations is a pretext to adopt those policies and brings to mind the expression *lebensraum*, used by the Nazis to justify their expansionist policies.

36. The pivotal issue is the Palestine question. The people of Palestine should be the principal party in any effort to determine its future. The PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Any negotiations which are not based on those considerations are doomed to failure.

37. It is time to return to what is right and to what is a true vision of the Palestine question by putting it back in its proper perspective, because for too long now contentious parties have tried to set it in artificial perspectives. Any solution of the Palestine problem should be based on the following dimensions of the problem. First, it is the case of a people evicted from its homeland by brute force and which therefore has the right, confirmed by United Nations resolutions every year, to return to its homeland, or to receive compensation for those who do not wish to return. Secondly, the people of Palestine, like other peoples of the world, has the inherent right of self-determination and the establishment of its own State, a right which has also been confirmed by United Nations resolutions as well as by the Charter of the United Nations, which guarantees the right of self-determination to all nations. Thirdly, those Palestinians who remain in the occupied territories have the right to enjoy the international guarantees which should protect them from the oppression of occupation. Fourthly, Israel should withdraw from all the occupied territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem. Fifthly, the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and there will be no solution to the problem without the participation of that organization.

38. At this time, when the international community is celebrating the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, my country's delegation hopes that every member of the international community will use this opportunity to recall the series of painful events and conspiracies which led to the eviction of the Palestinian people—events of which I had time to mention but a few—for there is no way one can fully understand the Palestinian question unless all the side issues, which are deliberately tied to this cause, are laid aside and unless it is returned to its true perspective, since this is the first step towards a just and permanent solution.

39. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like to begin by expressing, on behalf of my delegation, our appreciation to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and, in particular, to its Chairman, Mr. Massamba Sarré, for the great efforts they have made in carrying out the Committee's mandate. We also appreciate all the measures taken since the previous session, which are described in the Committee's comprehensive report. Needless to say, this deep appreciation we feel for the work done by that Committee is only natural, for it springs from the interest which Qatar and its Government have in this very delicate question, one of justice, which is of great importance to our region and to the whole world.

40. At this stage of the present session, seven years have elapsed since the adoption by the General Assembly of its historic and decisive resolutions on the question of Palestine. The Assembly recognized the right of the militant and resisting Palestinian people to independence and sovereignty and that the PLO is its sole legitimate representative. In its resolution 3236 (XXIX), the Assembly affirmed that the Palestinian people was a principal party in the question of Palestine. The implementation of the consensus which has emerged on the question of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people is now only a question of time, for this historic process has indeed already begun, and we are confident that the current session will contribute to the promotion of that process.

41. Ever since the General Assembly supported the recommendations of the Committee and the basic principles for a settlement of this question on an equitable and a

lasting basis, the international community has increasingly made these principles its own and reaffirmed them on many occasions. They are: first, the right of the Palestinians to return to the homes from which they have been evicted and to recover their property; secondly, the right to self-determination without external interference and to national independence and sovereignty; thirdly, the right to establish an independent State in Palestine; fourthly, recognition of the fact that the problem of Palestine is at the very heart of the Middle East conflict and its solution cannot be envisaged without taking into account the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people; fifthly, acknowledgement that realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people would contribute to the search for a definitive solution to the Middle East crisis; and, sixthly, the need for the participation of the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with all the parties, in keeping with General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3375 (XXX), in all efforts, deliberations and conferences relating to the Middle East which may be held under the auspices of the United Nations.

42. In reaffirming these principles, my delegation wishes to recall, for the benefit of those who are not yet convinced—and they are in the minority—that any steps taken towards a settlement of the question without using these principles as a basis are doomed to failure, those yet to come as much as those in the past.

43. The attempts by Israel and those who support it to alter the course of history and to prevent the Palestinian people from achieving its freedom and independence and establishing its own sovereign State on Palestinian soil run the risk of causing more bloodshed and increasing threats to international peace and security.

44. However, in the last analysis, these attempts will fail, for the accession to independence of peoples struggling against injustice and for the attainment of their legitimate rights is historically inevitable. That is a reality of which all peace-loving peoples are fully aware but which the Israeli and South African racists alone choose to ignore.

45. Although the balance of forces from a moral and diplomatic standpoint is now tipped in favour of the Palestinian people, the efforts being made in the search for a just solution to this problem are meeting with obstacles arising from Israel's racist, arrogant and presumptuous position based on occupation and expansion, thanks to the political and military support Israel is receiving, especially from the United States of America. While this support has given Israel the encouragement it needs to further its expansionist aims and to defy the international community, it has recently, as we all know, taken another form in the specific strategic relationship called "American-Israeli strategic co-operation". If such agreements are generally interpreted directly on the basis of limited objectives and on the basis of secret objectives which can be implicitly deduced in the light of the realities as seen by each of the two signatories, I do not believe that a political analysis of this co-operation would require much effort to discover what it really consists of and to uncover the truth. In that area we merely need to reply to this logical question: if the United States is really serious about removing all sources of tension and turmoil from the Middle East and preventing all danger of foreign aggression, would it not be more plausible, before preparing a joint emergency plan with Israel for meeting any possible threat, to begin by dealing with the human tragedy

that exists there, namely the Zionist Israeli occupation of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and other Arab territories and the attempt to annex Arab Jerusalem, while continuing to attack Lebanon?

46. Nevertheless, when this agreement was made public, a study was published in Washington, prepared by a group of American experts specializing in Middle Eastern affairs and which had studied the development of the situation in the region. While that study by the Seven Springs Center warns against abandoning the hope of peace between Israel and the Arabs, it has encouraged the Reagan Administration to start talks with the PLO because the situation requires it. It is truly regrettable that Israel receives unlimited political, military and financial assistance, while it continues to trample under foot the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, in defiance of United Nations resolutions and in flagrant violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That support enables us to see the Zionist doctrine in its true light. It is a racist doctrine in practice and in theory.

47. What takes place in the occupied territories is of grave concern to us, and while the General Assembly is considering the question of Palestine the Israeli authorities continue to demolish the homes of Palestinians so as to keep the children from expressing their national feelings against occupation. The occupation authorities have just closed down a university and have imposed a curfew. They arrested students and imposed a curfew throughout the West Bank. At the same time they are continuing to establish settlements.

48. My country strongly condemns these criminal and arbitrary acts which continue to be perpetrated in the occupied territories by the most disgraceful and barbarous methods with a view to carrying out Zionism's racist aims. We strongly denounce the continuous excavations carried out by the occupationist authorities in Jerusalem, which threaten the Al-Haram Al-Sharif building and defile one of Islam's holy places, in complete disregard of the feelings of hundreds of thousands of Arabs and Moslems.

49. The Holy City, which has always been a symbol of co-existence and religious tolerance and has a very special place in the hearts of Moslems all over the world, is now exposed to rancorous Zionist racist arrogance which shows no respect for human values and pays no heed to the destructive consequences of such a racist policy.

50. The Zionist authorities have once again given proof of their criminal intentions, through their aggression against nuclear installations in Iraq, near Baghdad, last June, through their barbarous and cruel attacks against Lebanon last July, through the barbaric practices at present carried out in Jerusalem and in other parts of the occupied territories and through the continual threats by the Israeli authorities against countries in the region. Thus the Zionist authorities have again shown that the Israeli leaders are hostile not only to the Palestinians but to all the peoples of the region and that their policy constitutes a danger not only for the Middle East region but also for international peace and security.

51. The Zionist authorities have also shown that they are the enemies of peace, that they are not prepared to give peace a chance and that Israel's interest is in placing obstacles in the way of all serious attempts to establish a just and lasting peace in the region. This attitude is rooted

in the very principles of Zionist doctrine. Theodor Herzl, the founder of Zionism, wrote "let us guard against peace"; in his first work in Hebrew he states that peace and stability threaten the solidarity of the Jews and that only the hostility of others guarantees that solidarity. That Zionist ideology is contrary to current trends of thought which try to eliminate disparities among human communities and which try to bring down the barriers which restrict man's march towards a future of peace and prosperity.

52. While Zionism finds in anti-Semitism a fundamental motivation to mobilize the feelings of hostility which constitute the driving force behind such aggressive tendencies, it is only natural for those authorities to see peace as their chief enemy. However, the Palestinian people and the Arab nation are capable of continuing their struggle and of accepting every sacrifice to fight Zionism, but the international community cannot remain satisfied with verbal and purely rhetorical support for the Palestinian people or for any other people which claims its rights, or with verbal condemnations of the inhuman practices of Israeli Zionism. The international community is capable of establishing a just and lasting peace in that delicate and sensitive area of the world. That is why the delegation of Qatar asks the General Assembly on the basis of its authority under the Charter, to invite the Security Council to shoulder its full responsibility with regard to the Palestinian problem and to oblige Israel to abide by United Nations resolutions.

53. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The question of Palestine and the closely related problem of the Middle East have been on the agenda of the General Assembly for a long time. The Middle Eastern region again and again attracts the attention of the world community because the events taking place there are causing justified alarm and great concern in the international community.

54. The year 1981 has been marked by Israel's further escalation of its aggressive policy. Evidence of that is the piratical attack by the Israeli air force upon the Baghdad nuclear research centre, the barbarous bombing of Beirut and of southern Lebanon and the continuing aggressive incursions by Israel into neighbouring Arab States. As a result, an already explosive situation in the Middle East is intensified and now constitutes a serious threat over international peace and security.

55. The further exacerbation of the situation in the Middle East as a result of the expansionist policy of Israel's ruling circles once again confirms that a just and lasting peace cannot be achieved without a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict.

56. As has been proclaimed on a number of occasions by the United Nations, the principal aspect of the problem in the Middle East is the question of Palestine, specifically the safeguarding of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, freedom and independence, including the right to establish its own State.

57. However, unfortunately we must observe that Israel is continuing flagrantly to violate the lawful rights of the Palestinians. The situation of the Arab people of Palestine remains difficult. The Palestinians, who have been expelled from the land of their birth by the Israeli aggressors, are languishing on foreign soil, and those who remain in the Arab territories occupied by Israel have to

endure humiliation and repression. In carrying out a policy of terror and oppression against the indigenous Arab population in the occupied territories, the Israeli leaders are establishing there new militarized settlements, carrying out mass deportation of the Arab inhabitants and exploiting the natural resources which belong to the Arabs. Moreover, Israel has embarked on a course of physical liquidation of the Palestinians, especially those in the Palestinian resistance movement. These are the actual deeds of the Israeli leaders; this is Zionism in action.

58. Israel is paying lip-service to the provision of so-called administrative autonomy for the Palestinians, and for the sake of appearances is even conducting negotiations on that question. But the negotiations, which are being conducted in accordance with the notorious Camp David deal, do not include the representatives of the Palestinian people, because Israel's purpose is to achieve a solution behind the backs of the Palestinian people, which will be to the detriment of their national interests. In the light of the escalation of Israel's expansionist policy against the occupied Arab lands it becomes increasingly evident that negotiations concerning so-called administrative autonomy for the Palestinians who live in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are nothing more than an attempt to maintain the occupation of the Arab territories in a new form.

59. There is no doubt that Israeli ruling circles continue with impunity to conduct a policy of expansion and aggression only because of the assistance and protection of the United States. Only a few days ago the United States and Israel gave official status to their arrangements concerning the strengthening of military and strategic co-operation between the two countries. The conclusion of the American-Israeli agreement on strategic co-operation is a *de facto* establishment between them of a military alliance for the purpose of oppressing the national liberation movement of the peoples and constitutes interference in the domestic affairs of the sovereign States of the region. It is also dangerous because it will lead to an intensification of the arms race in the Middle East and to a further heightening of tensions in that part of the world.

60. Recently the United States has been increasing its military presence in the Middle East, establishing military bases there, increasing the supply of weapons and military equipment to the countries of the region, and it is preparing to transfer the notorious rapid-deployment force there for the purpose, as it says, of protecting its vital interests—in other words, for the purpose of strengthening its political, military, strategic and economic position.

61. This is evidence of the fact that the so-called peace process started by the Camp David plot is in fact deadlocked. But the United States has not abandoned its intention to split the Arab ranks and is making new attempts to draw other Arab countries into the orbit of its military policies.

62. The recent efforts by the United States to establish a "multinational peace-keeping force" in the Sinai peninsula is in fact nothing more than an attempt to replace one type of occupation with another.

63. A just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be established only on the basis of a comprehensive settlement of the conflict there with the participation of all parties concerned, including the PLO. This means, as has been frequently pointed out in General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, the total withdrawal of Israeli

forces from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the eastern part of Jerusalem; a guarantee of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to establish its own State; and the guarantee of an independent and secure existence to all States of this region.

64. Those are precisely the prerequisites advocated by the Mongolian People's Republic for the solution of the Middle East problem. It has supported from the very outset the proposals put forward by the Soviet Union regarding the convening of a special international conference on the Middle East, with the participation of the PLO on an equal footing, as a realistic basis for a just and peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict.

65. Our delegation considers that the solution of the Palestinian question would be aided by the convening of an international conference on the question of Palestine under the auspices of the United Nations. That is why we fully support draft resolution A/36/L.33, and we shall vote in favour of it.

66. In the view of our delegation, the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights to return to their homes, to self-determination, to independence and national sovereignty at the earliest date would contribute to a solution of the whole range of Middle East problems. We also consider that the PLO, the sole lawful representative of the Arab people of Palestine, must be allowed to participate on an equal footing in all international efforts to achieve a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis.

67. The Mongolian People's Republic has always been and continues to be on the side of the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine, in support of their just struggle under the leadership of the PLO. The total support of the Mongolian people for the courageous struggle of the Palestinian people for their inalienable rights has once again been reaffirmed in the message of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and President of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural, Y. Tsendenbal, on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People.

68. The observance only a few days ago of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People was an important political measure in support of the PLO and of the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine. In this connection, I should like to refer, with great satisfaction, to the steady growth in the international prestige of the PLO, the tried and true vanguard of the Arab people of Palestine, and to the growing support for its just cause among the broad masses of the world community at large. All this is evidence of the fact that, in spite of the intrigues of imperialism, zionism and reaction, the forces of peace, national liberation and social progress are steadily growing in strength and are winning new victories.

69. The exacerbation of the situation in the Middle East calls as never before for a strengthening of unity among the Arab countries and the merging of all peace-loving forces so as to make a firm rebuttal to the policy of separate deals and militarist plots of the United States and Israel, and so as to direct the international community towards a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East problem. This is all the more necessary now when the hotbed of tension in the Middle East is flaring up to dangerous levels, thus constituting a serious threat

not only to the peoples of that region, but to the world at large and to international security.

70. Our delegation supports the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People regarding the importance of the further mobilization of international support for the just cause of the Palestinians and of an increase in assistance to the PLO and to the Arab people of Palestine.

71. For its part, the Mongolian People's Republic is ready to make its contribution to international efforts aimed at the realization of the lawful rights of the Palestinian people and at a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem as a whole.

72. Mr. KAPLLANI (Albania): The question of Palestine has continued to engage the attention of the United Nations since the Organization's very inception. But despite its efforts, and despite the great desire of many democratic countries and peoples honestly to contribute to a solution, very little has been accomplished thus far by the United Nations, and the tragedy of the Palestinian people continues unchanged, or even worse than before, and remains the core of the Middle East problem.

73. The Albanian people and Government have always followed with the greatest attention and concern the tragedy through which the fraternal Palestinian people have been forced to live for many years now. They have firmly condemned the aggressive and annexationist policies of Israel in the Middle East and have voiced their strong protest against the acts of genocide committed by the Israeli Zionists against the Palestinian people.

74. The Israeli Zionists—those sworn enemies of the Arab peoples and butchers of the martyred Palestinian people—have not abandoned and do not intend to abandon their policy of aggression and annexation in the Middle East. With the full support of their masters in Washington, they have prolonged the suffering of the Palestinian people, breaching or threatening in this manner peace and security not only in the Middle East, but also in the world at large.

75. Nothing can make the peoples of the world forget the barbarous acts of the Israeli Zionists against the Palestinian and Arab population in southern Lebanon, nor can the Israelis wipe from their memories the sanguinary massacres committed against the civilian population of Beirut in July of this year.

76. In total defiance of the right of the Palestinian people to live in their homeland, Israel continues obstinately to pursue its illegal occupation of the Palestinian and other Arab territories and is proceeding with its measures of changing the physical character and demographic composition of the Palestinian and other occupied territories, including the ancient city of Jerusalem.

77. In the face of the intensified struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their plundered homeland, the Israeli Zionists have escalated their terror and repression against the Palestinian people. In spite of growing pressure from world public opinion, which strongly condemns and denounces daily its ruthless reprisals against the Palestinians, the Zionist State of Israel, in contemptuous defiance of this sound opinion, has intensified its policies of aggression, expansion, annexation and terrorism.

78. The Palestinian people are engaged in an unequal but heroic struggle against a number of savage and cunning enemies. They are fighting against Zionist Israel—that tool of United States imperialism in the Middle East—which robbed them of their motherland by driving them out of it by force of arms. They are fighting against United States imperialism, which renders all-round aid and support to the Zionist State of Israel by pouring into it billions of dollars worth of military and economic aid, which has, as a matter of fact, turned Israel into the faithful guardian of United States interests in the oil-rich and strategically important region of the Middle East.

79. They are fighting against the tricky but essentially anti-Arab position of the Soviet social-imperialists, who are engaged in a fierce competition with the other super-Power, the United States, each trying to elbow the other out and implant itself in the region, all to the detriment of the Arab peoples.

80. For a long time they have been facing numerous plots, including those hatched by Arab reactionary forces who have on more than one occasion stabbed them in the back and have speculated with the sentiments of the Arab world on the Palestinian question with a view to attaining their hostile aims and ambitions.

81. It is this grave and explosive situation brought about in the Middle East by the hegemonistic policies and fierce rivalry of the two super-Powers—namely, the United States and the Soviet Union—which has created favourable ground for the growth of Israeli expansionist ambitions and has given Israel a free hand in the unabated pursuit of its anti-Arab policies of aggression and annexation.

82. The Middle East has been stuffed with huge quantities of arms and weaponry, as well as with many military bases. The region is encircled by the aggressive fleets and warships of the super-Powers, which threaten it either with open aggression or with local conflicts.

83. Thus, while the Soviet Union attacked and occupied Afghanistan, the struggle of whose people it is now striving to stamp out by fire and sword, and while United States imperialism was doing all it could through plots and intrigues to undermine the Iranian revolution, both super-Powers mapped out and incited the fratricidal war in the Gulf area between Iraq and Iran, a war which unfortunately has gone on for more than a year now, bringing death and destruction to those two peoples and creating a grave and dangerous situation for the peoples of the Middle East in general and to the just cause of the Palestinian people in particular.

84. But we are confident that, in spite of the many varied plots hatched against them, the Palestinian people will continue to sharpen their vigilance and reinforce their determination in their heroic struggle, for they know that the road of struggle is the correct and secure road that will lead to final victory. From their long and bitter experience, they have been able to see that no “peaceful solution” manufactured in either the United States or the Soviet workshops will contribute in any way to the realization of their lawful rights and national aspirations.

85. Any attempt to drag the settlement of the Palestinian question into an impasse—as do the Camp David accords, which totally disregard and ignore the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people—or to impose on

the Palestinians decisions taken without their express will, are doomed to meet with failure.

86. The Israeli Zionists should also know that they have made up their account without reckoning on the host. They will never succeed in subjugating and stifling the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people, who are determined to defend and achieve their national rights at any cost. They know that in order to achieve their noble goals they will have to continue fighting and to shed blood, as in this way they will guarantee their existence as a nation and the re-establishment of their national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

87. With their heroic and unprecedented struggle, the Palestinian people are making an invaluable contribution to the great cause of the people's struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction. With this struggle they are demonstrating once again the incontestable historical truth that a people, even though small in number, when fighting for a just and righteous cause such as that of national liberation and independence, is invincible.

88. It is for this reason that the liquidation of the Palestinian people's just struggle and of the whole Palestinian question has been and remains one of the main objectives of Israel, of United States imperialism and other enemies of the Palestinian people. It was with this view in mind that the imperialist and Zionist enemies of the Palestinian people are striving to make use of the Camp David agreements and to speculate on a peaceful settlement and other machinations, like that of a Palestinian autonomy, for the purpose of reaching their objectives and liquidating the Palestinian question.

89. But it has been our belief, and now it is our conviction, that the Palestinian people shall win over all enemies and their plots, for they have pinned their hopes on the struggle of their own people, on the whole-hearted and sincere support of the brotherly Arab peoples and of the other freedom-loving peoples throughout the world. Theirs is a just, heroic and glorious struggle, which enjoys the full support and backing of all freedom-loving forces the world over.

90. Addressing the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which was held only a month ago, the leader of the Albanian party and people, Enver Hoxha, said:

“A sincere and ancient friendship links the Albanian people with the fraternal Arab peoples. We have energetically supported and will continue to support to the end the just struggle of the Arab peoples for the liberation of the Arab territories occupied by the Israeli Zionist aggressors and for the re-establishment of all the legitimate rights of the martyred Palestinian people. In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and in the Albanian people, the heroic Palestinian people and their lawful representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, have had and will always have sincere friends and resolute defenders of their just national cause.”

91. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*translation from Chinese*): For many years, the core of the Middle East question—the question of Palestine—has been a prominent issue of great international importance. The United Nations has been working actively all these years for a just and reasonable solution to this problem. Since the convening of the seventh emergency special session in July 1980, the Arab countries and the Palestinian people, as well as world opinion in general, have been earnestly calling

upon all parties concerned and the United Nations to adopt further practical and effective measures in order to facilitate an early solution to the Palestinian question. Over the past year, under the guidance of Mr. Massamba Sarré, the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has made great efforts in this regard for which the Chinese delegation would like to express its appreciation. At the same time, we should like to pay our sincere tribute to the Palestinian people and the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, who are engaged in persistent struggle to regain their national rights.

92. In their statements over the past two days, the representatives of the PLO and many Arab countries recalled the genesis and the evolution of the Palestinian question over the past three decades, during which time four major wars broke out in the Middle East region. Israel has occupied vast tracts of Palestinian and Arab lands by force of armed aggression, compelling 4 million Palestinians to leave their homes and lead a destitute life in foreign lands or to languish in humiliation under Israeli military occupation. In order to be able to return to their homeland and to regain their national rights, the Palestinians are waging an undaunted struggle, a struggle which has won the sympathy and support of more and more Governments and peoples of the world.

93. Over a long period of time, while leading the people's armed struggle, the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, has also actively engaged in political and diplomatic struggles in order to unify the various Arab countries and to win the sympathy of the third world and all justice-upholding countries of the world. They have scored considerable success in this regard. The PLO has become an important political force active in the Middle East and on the international scene.

94. In recent years, the United Nations has accorded the PLO its due status and has adopted a series of resolutions favourable to the just solution of the Middle East question. In the relevant resolution adopted at the seventh emergency special session [*resolution ES-7/2*], the General Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including the right to establish its own independent sovereign State and that the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people, has the right to participate on an equal footing in all efforts, discussions and conferences related to the question of Palestine within the framework of the United Nations. The United Nations has, through the aforementioned efforts, contributed usefully to the solution of this issue and has won the support of the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world.

95. Regrettably, the other side to the conflict, the Israeli authorities, obstinately persist in their aggressive position. They disregard the relevant United Nations resolutions, refuse to withdraw from Arab lands occupied since 1967, continue to establish and expand Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, suppress the Palestinian and Arab people there, expropriate their properties and subject them to arbitrary expulsion, detention, torture and even slaughter. The Israeli authorities restrict, imprison, expel and even murder municipal leaders of the Palestinian people. Up till recently, the Israeli authorities still claimed publicly that Israel "will never withdraw from the West Bank" and that they planned to double the number of Jews in the West Bank settlements.

96. Moreover, Israel declared unilaterally that Jerusalem will be the "eternal and indivisible capital" of Israel; it

decided blatantly to build a canal through the Gaza Strip linking the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea, and it resorted to the trick of "civilian rule" in order to perpetuate its occupation of these territories. The Israeli authorities have flouted the minimum rules of international law and brutally bombarded Iraqi nuclear reactor installations and flagrantly attacked southern Lebanon. All these perverse acts on the part of the Israeli authorities compounded the turbulence and tensions in the Middle East situation, and brought untold sufferings to the people of the region, including the people of Israel. Politically, Israel is becoming more isolated by the day; economically, its situation is fraught with difficulties: inflation, increased unemployment and a sharp decline in the people's standard of living. These are the inevitable adverse consequences of the Israeli authorities' protracted militarist policy of aggression and expansion.

97. It is no coincidence that Israel can be so self-willed and complacent. One super-Power insists on siding with Israel, refuses to face the realities in the Middle East situation or to recognize the PLO and continues to render massive economic and military assistance to Israel. Such a short-sighted policy only increases the opportunities for the other super-Power to infiltrate further the Middle East. The other super-Power, under the guise of being the "natural ally" of the Arab peoples, is fishing in the muddied waters of the Middle East, trying by hook and by crook to infiltrate the Middle East region, attempting to establish strategic bases there to serve its strategic goal of controlling the Middle East and ultimately outflanking Western Europe. At present, the Palestinian and Arab peoples are closing their ranks and are seeking the solidarity of all justice-upholding and peace-loving countries and peoples of the world to eliminate super-Power interference and to work towards the fulfilment of their noble national goals.

98. In order to facilitate a just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East question, the international community and the countries concerned have put forward quite a number of proposals and initiatives in this regard. We have noted that the new initiative recently submitted by an Arab country has aroused the general attention of the international community. The Chinese Government will always give its positive assessment to all initiatives and actions aiming at facilitating a just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East question and at the recovery of the rights of the Palestinian people.

99. I would like to take this opportunity to reiterate that in order to reach a just solution of the Middle East question, the Chinese Government subscribes to the following: Israel must withdraw from all Arab lands occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; the national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to their homeland, the right to national self-determination and the right to build their own State must be restored; all countries in the Middle East region enjoy the right to independence and existence.

100. In our opinion, the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, should participate in all efforts to achieve a just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East question. The Chinese Government and people will as always support the just struggle of the Palestinian and Arab peoples for the restoration of their national rights and the recovery of their lost lands. Finally, we hope that with the common efforts of all the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world, the present session of the General Assembly will make further contri-

butions to the just and reasonable solution of the question of Palestine.

101. Mr. ELSHEIKH (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The question of Palestine and the tragedy of the Arab Palestinian people are under consideration by the United Nations because they are related to the violation of the principle of respect for the rights of people to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty as well as to the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force. That violation is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It represents a serious danger for international peace and security.

102. Earlier this week, we commemorated the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. That provided an occasion to recognize once again the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, to strengthen the ever-increasing support given to the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and to stress the unanimity of international public opinion on the fact that the question of Palestine is at the very core of the Middle East problem.

103. One could not envisage a settlement of the Middle East question which did not take due account of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people. During commemoration of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, it became evident that the just solution to the Palestinian problem must always be among the foremost concerns of the international community.

104. With the General Assembly today considering the problem of Palestine, we should like to draw its attention to the fact that all attempts to delay the search for a just solution to this problem, based on the series of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, particularly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and ES-7/2, will no doubt lead the Middle East region to an explosion and will endanger international peace and security.

105. On this occasion, we should like to recall the enormous sacrifices made by the Palestinian Arab people as well as its heroic resistance to the acts of repression, injustice and tyranny which have been ceaselessly carried out by the Zionist entity since Israel established itself in that region and which have led the international community to consider the Palestinian problem from a political standpoint. Thus resolution 3236 (XXIX) constitutes a positive turning point in the development of the Palestinian question. As a natural result of that historic turning point, the General Assembly, in resolution 31/20, endorsed the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People as a basis for a solution to the Palestinian problem.

106. The delegation of Sudan wishes to take this opportunity to convey its deep appreciation and pay a tribute to the members of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, and in particular to its Chairman, Mr. Massamba Sarré of Senegal, and to its Rapporteur, Mr. Victor Gauci of Malta, for their intensive efforts and activities, which can be clearly seen in the Report which the Committee submitted to this session. The principles which have guided the Committee in its mission have been in keeping with the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly. The Committee's recommendations, which are the end result of its work,

are in accordance with the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations. That is why it is quite natural for those recommendations to find support among the great majority of States Members of the Organization.

107. Those recommendations had been adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session. The matter of the rights of the Palestinians should not simply provoke feelings of pity on the part of the international community but rather impel it to undertake constructive efforts to find the means to implement those recommendations and to re-examine the obstacles to the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights.

108. A quick glance at the events of the past year and at the terrorist practices of the Zionist entity reaffirms once again what has been stated many times at this rostrum and at other international forums: that Israel is a source of tension and explosion in the Middle East and a threat to international peace and security. In the course of this year we have seen Israeli terrorism strike even beyond the occupied Palestinian/Arab territories. Israel attacked the nuclear power station in Iraq and engaged in genocide against the Lebanese people and the Palestinian people living in the refugee camps. Israel is pursuing its settlements policy. It continues to endanger the Holy Places and to carry out excavations under the holy Al-Haram Al-Sharif and to dig a canal between the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea, in violation of the norms of international law.

109. Israel, with the help and protection of the Zionist movement, continues to defy international law and to flout the principles of the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations. Israel continues with impunity to usurp Palestine, to annex the occupied Arab territories including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and to refuse to withdraw completely and unconditionally from that area of the Middle East. It shamelessly ignores the legitimate natural rights of the Palestinian people. Israel's challenge to the Organization and its systematic violation of the Charter are sources of tension, disorders and deterioration of the situation in the Middle East.

110. We hardly need recall that Israel would not have been able to play the outlaw, act in contravention of the principles of the Charter, appear to find it amusing to shed the blood of the innocent or to continue its policy of occupation, expansion and annexation by force if it did not think that it had a special right to do so and that it occupied a privileged position far above the law and the Organization and its Charter and resolutions.

111. It is regrettable that the Security Council has not succeeded in implementing the measures which must follow from the recommendations of the Special Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. The Security Council is directly responsible for the Israeli practices and the Israeli aggression against the Arab peoples of the region. The Council's inability to assume its responsibilities is what allows the Zionist leaders of Israel to pursue their policies of depriving the Palestinian people of its legitimate natural rights, guaranteed by the Charter and approved by the international community and by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session and reaffirmed at subsequent sessions.

112. The roots and the dimensions of the question of Palestine will not be made to disappear through fraud, the distortion of historical facts or treachery, because the Palestinian problem is at the very heart of the Middle East

conflict. The United Nations must apply serious and constructive measures to guarantee a just settlement of the question and to enable the Palestinian people to exercise its legitimate natural rights. While we remain convinced that the United Nations is the best framework and provides the best forum for affirming this objective, we should nevertheless like to see sanctions imposed under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations in order to put an end to Israel's intransigence, to make it comply with the will of the international community and to crown with victory the principles on which the Organization is founded, that is, to lay the foundations of law, justice and peace.

113. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): For more than 30 years the tragedy of the Arab people of Palestine, unprecedented in its centuries-long history, has continued.

114. The United Nations and numerous other international organizations have for several decades now devoted great attention to the question of Palestine in all its aspects. However, these just and noble international efforts to ensure a just solution to the urgent question of Palestine have constantly encountered the stubbornness of the ruling circles of Israel, which reject the decisions of the United Nations on ways to put an end to the tragedy of the Palestinian people. Israel openly challenges all the peoples of the world by flouting those solutions.

115. In the resolution entitled "Violations by Israel of the resolutions of the United Nations and the Inter-Parliamentary Union through its behaviour in the occupied Arab territories and its attacks against Lebanon", adopted by the 68th Inter-Parliamentary Conference, held at Havana from 15 to 23 September 1981 [A/36/584, annex], it is noted with great concern that the number of such resolutions—starting with General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948, which called upon Israel to facilitate the return of the Palestinian refugees—now totals 150 and that the Israeli Government constantly declares its refusal to fulfil them.

116. Moreover, Israel is intensifying its acts of aggression and terror against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, as may be seen from an examination of the events in the Middle East between the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth sessions of the General Assembly.

117. In occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories Israel is systematically and single-mindedly carrying out measures to perpetuate its occupation. On this score, the Security Council adopted resolutions 446 (1979) and 465 (1980), which state that all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure or status of Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, or any part thereof, have no legal validity and that Israel's policy and practices of settling parts of its population and new immigrants in those territories constitute a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.¹

118. Israel's stubborn efforts to carry out a policy of colonization of occupied Arab territories merely creates further obstacles to a just and lasting solution of the whole Middle East problem and threatens international peace and security.

119. Israel is not only guilty of lawless behaviour towards the Palestinian Arabs in the occupied territories but is carrying out its policy of terror against the Palestinian refugees living in other countries and against the people of the countries which have given asylum to those expelled from their homeland. An outrageous example is Israel's aggression in southern Lebanon in July of this year. One shudders to read about the great destruction and mass murder of peaceful citizens committed by the Israeli military machine during the 15-day round-the-clock bombings and shellings in that part of the sovereign State of Lebanon, especially in what is called "the infernal triangle" between the cities of Saida, Tyre and Nabatiyeh. These descriptions are given in the report of the mission of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries on its visit to Lebanon in August this year, which notes that "the mission on its visit to Lebanon was shocked by the brutal nature of the Israeli attacks." [See A/36/547, para. 64.] The attacks were in particular directed against all the Palestinian refugee camps located between Beirut and the border. All types of lethal weapons were used against the Palestinian refugees. The total losses were 2,567 persons. Hundreds of residential buildings, hospitals, schools, bridges, roads, industrial plants and other civilian targets were destroyed.

120. After the bloody events of those 15 days southern Lebanon was visited by another authoritative international mission, a delegation of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. In its report the delegation in particular drew the following conclusion: "All damage caused by the attack in July was, as far as could be seen, entirely confined to civilian targets and appeared to be aimed at terrorizing the civilian population and destroying its morale." [A/36/521, annex, para. 13.]

121. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic pays tribute to the courageous steadfastness and sense of organization of the Palestinian people and its representative, the PLO, which have enabled it to withstand these and other acts of aggression by Israel in its legitimate struggle to ensure its inalienable rights.

122. Israel undertook a gangster-like operation against Iraq when it bombed the research centre for the peaceful use of nuclear energy near Baghdad on 7 June 1981.

123. That and numerous other aggressive actions by Israel against the people of Palestine and of other Arab countries would not have been possible without the full support of Washington for its adventurist course. Tel Aviv is openly carrying out, at the State level, an aggressive terrorist policy against other countries and peoples. The United States is supplying it with weapons and is providing it with political cover, even here at the United Nations. The American-Israeli agreement on strategic co-operation is a new plot against the Arab people of Palestine and all the peoples of the Middle East. All this is being done so that through Israel, as its trusted policeman, it may be possible to establish and perpetuate the domination of American imperialism in the Middle East for its own selfish political and economic interests, which are primarily connected with oil. However, such a situation must not and cannot last.

124. The question of Palestine is the pivotal issue in the whole Middle East problem. That problem is closely related in turn to the guaranteeing of peace and international security not only in that region but on a larger scale. That is why when the question of the future of the

Palestinian people is resolved on a just basis it may be possible to unravel the whole knot of Middle East matters, thereby cooling off one of the hottest points on our planet.

125. In resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the United Nations has in essence formulated a plan for the solution of the question of Palestine and the problem of the Middle East. Together with the overwhelming majority of other delegations, our delegation has actively supported the adoption of those measures and speaks out in favour of their implementation. In this connection, we approve the fundamental principles in the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People relating to the solution of the question of Palestine within the framework of the situation in the Middle East.

126. As in the past, we view the separate Camp David deal as being in conflict with the interests of the Palestinian people and as a tool used by the American and Israeli politicians for the achievement of their own purposes, at the expense of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine. However, the Arab national liberation movement has largely succeeded in paralysing those designs. In the course of the struggle against the giveaway deal, the Steadfastness and Confrontation National Front has been created. It consists of the Syrian Arab Republic, Algeria, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Democratic Yemen and the PLO.

127. The world community has recently witnessed an intensification of attempts to put forward various new proposals to resolve the problems of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East as a whole. All these provide new evidence of the further breakdown of the Camp David deal, which was condemned by the majority of States even before now.

128. The Palestinian people and the progressive forces in the Arab world have enough experience in their struggle and enough political maturity to thwart any plans to solve the problem of Palestine that are not in keeping with the legitimate rights and interests of the Palestinian and other peoples of the region.

129. The most recent facts indicate that no behind-the-scenes machinations involving separate negotiations on "autonomy" for the Palestinians or any other unilateral initiatives which do not take full account of the total range of interests in the Middle East can ensure a just and comprehensive solution of the closely interrelated problems of Palestine and the Middle East. A collective, honest solution is urgently needed to resolve these problems upon a just and realistic basis. This course requires the co-operation of all who cherish the ideals of justice and who wish to bring about a lasting peace in the Middle East. This idea has found practical expression in the proposal to convene an international conference on the Middle East which was put forward at the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held from 23 February to 3 March 1981.

130. Through the efforts of all parties concerned, it might be possible at such a conference to achieve a peaceful settlement of the problem, arrived at not at the expense of some and for the benefit of others, but which would be useful to all and in everyone's interest. Such a conference could involve the participation of the Arab countries that have a common border with Israel, Israel itself, necessarily the PLO, and, together with the Soviet

Union and the United States, other States which would represent the regions contiguous with the Middle East, for example, western Europe, northern Africa and southern Asia.

131. Such a conference could at last set in motion the search for a just solution of the cause of the Palestinian people within the framework of a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. The idea for convening such a conference is receiving increasing support.

132. In this connection I should like to quote from the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People:

"The Committee also noted with satisfaction the declaration by L. I. Brezhnev, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which contained a proposal to go back to an honest collective search for an all-embracing just and realistic settlement in the Middle East. This could be done in the framework of a specially convened international conference with the participation of all interested parties, naturally including the Palestine Liberation Organization." [A/36/35, para. 32.]

133. In conclusion, I should like to wish the Palestinian people further successes in its struggle for a just peace in the Middle East, for the achievement of national independence and for the establishment of its own State. We shall always be on the side of the just cause of the Palestinians.

134. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first of all to convey warmest fraternal congratulations to Mr. Farouk Kaddoumi, the head of the Political Department of the Palestine Liberation Organization—an eminent personality in the heroic struggle of his people for independence and freedom, a struggle deserving of all our respect and admiration, of whose ultimate victory we remain confident—for his very important statement yesterday morning [80th meeting.]

135. My congratulations also go to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for its praiseworthy and persevering efforts in carrying out its mandate, which are evident in the very thorough report submitted to this session.

Mrs. Martínez (Mexico), Vice-President, took the Chair.

136. The General Assembly is taking up today a question which for many long years has been one of primary importance on the United Nations agenda. The question of the achievement of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people has for several decades now continued to be a problem of conscience for all progressive mankind. It is not only a question of the restoration of the fundamental rights of a people forced by Zionist expansionism to abandon its homeland but, moreover, the problem of eliminating factors which have continuously made that region one of the most sensitive areas in the international situation since the end of the Second World War. In a period of only three decades, four wars have broken out in the region, the consequences of which are to the present day far from being resolved. The solution to the Middle East problem, the core of which is the question of Palestine, is not only germane to the fate of the people of the region, but it also has direct implications for international peace and security.

137. In the course of the past decades, in difficult and complex conditions such as few peoples have known in history, the people of Palestine has struggled unceasingly to win its fundamental national rights. Through its heroic struggle and with the force of solidarity of the Arab peoples and the support of the forces of peace and progress throughout the world, the Palestinian people has itself asserted its existence as a nation and asserted its right to return to its homeland to establish its own sovereign and independent State, like any other people. As a result of this struggle, which has won the admiration of all mankind, the people of Palestine and the PLO have become the avant-garde forces of the front of the Arab peoples' indomitable struggle for the great cause of the liberation of Palestine and of all Arab territories illegally occupied by Israel, just as they have also become an important factor which cannot be ignored, much less excluded, in the search for and consolidation of peace and security in this strategic area of the globe. It is recognized today that a firm and lasting peace in the Middle East can be established only if a just solution is found to the question of Palestine on the basis of the achievement of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

138. The developments of this problem in recent decades have clearly shown the deep and increasingly obvious opposition between two attitudes, two policies. On the other hand, there is the policy of the Arab countries, the non-aligned countries, the socialist countries and all countries that love peace and justice throughout the world, which advocates the immediate cessation of all manoeuvres, acts of aggression, intervention, encroachment and illegal occupation on the part of the Israeli aggressors, the realization and the preservation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Arab States. On the other hand, there are the militarist Governments of Israel and the United States, with the acquiescence of certain of their Western allies, which wish to wipe out the Arab nation of Palestine, to divide and weaken the Arab countries and to pursue to the utmost their expansionist and colonialist goals in the region.

139. As is known, in the course of these long years the United Nations has adopted many resolutions underscoring the need and the urgency for a just and equitable solution to the question of Palestine, supporting the just struggle of the Palestinian people, affirming and enshrining the fundamental national rights of that people, and recognizing the authority of the PLO and its capacity as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, whose participation on an equal footing with the other parties is essential in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East that may be undertaken under United Nations auspices.

140. Many resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council have vigorously condemned Israel's continued acts of aggression against the peoples of Palestine and of other Arab countries. What we wish to stress is that in recent years acts by Tel Aviv such as the annexation of Jerusalem—an integral part of the sacred territory of the Arab nation—the implantation of new settlements and the expansion of existing ones, the plan for a canal from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea and the archaeological excavations and work threatening Islamic buildings are clearly proceeding with a deliberate will to provoke and to encroach through *faits accomplis*. On the other hand, the acts of repression against the Palestinian people, and the repeated attacks against peaceful targets in Iraq, Syria and especially Lebanon, for the professed

purpose of terrorizing the civilian population and sapping its morale, clearly demonstrate a State policy of international terrorism.

141. Defying all those United Nations resolutions and the unanimous condemnation of world public opinion, Israeli Government circles have not stopped, but have further stepped up their warlike and aggressive activities against the people of Palestine and other Arab countries.

142. It is clear to everyone that Israel could not be so obstinate in its arrogant behaviour were it not assured of the support and all sorts of encouragement from the leaders in Washington. Successive United States Governments, Democrat and Republican, in their statements and in their acts inside and outside the United Nations, have continually shown themselves to be the only ones to support at all costs the expansionist and aggressive policy of the Israeli Zionists. That policy is being pushed even further, with an arrogance never before known, under the new American Administration.

143. After having proclaimed a strategic alliance between Washington and Tel Aviv, the United States is increasing all kinds of aid to Israel, with a view to using Israel as an essential instrument to establish its political, economic and military domination over all the peoples and countries of the Middle East. The latest developments since the recent event in Egypt show that Washington is determined not to renounce the Camp David approach, which is an obvious failure. Benefitting from the encouragement of the United States, Israel continues to carry forward its plans for the definitive annexation of Palestine and of the occupied Arab lands; it tries to revive negotiations on so-called autonomy for the occupied territories, when in fact they are nothing of the sort because only the Arab population residing there is dealt with. At the same time it engages in strengthening repressive terrorism against the Palestinian people and in waging a war of attrition against Lebanon with combined land, air and naval forces.

144. This recrudescence of Israeli aggressiveness is taking place at the same time as the United States declares that it will place its Mediterranean fleet and its rapid deployment forces in a state of readiness for imminent action, sends its AWACS planes to the Middle East for so-called manoeuvres, engages in continual acts of provocation and cynical threats against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, and in the use of intimidation and various kinds of pressure against other Arab States.

145. It is obvious that the United States and Israel are carrying out a new and most harmful plan to liquidate the Palestinian resistance movement and to divide and weaken the Arab countries' solidarity front, with a view to achieving their ambitions of expansion and hegemony in that region, thus seriously threatening international peace and security.

146. To open the way to a just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem, the focal point of which is the question of Palestine, it is essential first of all for the United States to renounce its policy of intervention and aggression against the peoples and countries of the region and for it to stop its support and assistance for the expansionist régime of the Israeli Zionists.

147. As we have indicated many times, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam believes that a just, equitable solution of the question of Palestine in the con-

text of the situation in the Middle East can be attained only on the basis of the following principles: the fundamental national rights of the Palestinian people must be respected and realized, that is, the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and to recover their property, the right to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty, including the right to create their own independent and sovereign State; Israel must completely and unconditionally withdraw from all occupied Arab territories; and the PLO, the sole legitimate and legal representative of the Palestinian people, must participate on an equal footing with the other parties in the preparation, adoption and implementation of any solution to the problem of Palestine and of the Middle East.

148. We support the idea of an international conference organized especially to that end, with the participation of the PLO, an idea which was initially put forward by President Leonid Brezhnev and which was noted with satisfaction by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People in its report.

149. With full awareness of its responsibility and its ability to judge, the United Nations must make a realistic and effective contribution to the achievement of the sacred rights of the Palestinian people.

150. The people of Viet Nam has always given its support to the brother people of Palestine in its great and just cause of national liberation. The visit to Viet Nam last October by Chairman Yasser Arafat is a new, living expression of the ever-increasing friendship and solidarity between both peoples. The joint Viet Nam-Palestine communiqué which was issued on the occasion of that visit reaffirms:

“The people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam firmly and steadily support the people of Palestine, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the PLO, in its struggle against the Israeli Zionist aggressors, an instrument of American imperialism, with a view to regaining its fundamental national rights, including the right to return to its homeland and the right to self-determination and to create on its land an independent and sovereign Palestinian State with Jerusalem as its capital; and they support the Arab peoples in their struggle to recover all of the occupied Arab and Palestinian lands.

“The Vietnamese side vigorously condemns the Camp David accords and the separate treaty between Egypt and Israel which it considers to be a policy of capitulation and betrayal with regard to the cause of the people of Palestine and of the whole Arab people. That policy will end in certain defeat. The Vietnamese side expresses its great appreciation for the positive role played by the Arab steadfastness front, of which the PLO is an important member, in strengthening the solidarity of the Palestinian and Arab peoples and in bringing about the failure of all manoeuvres and sabotage by the American imperialists and the Israeli Zionists.”

151. The time has come for the General Assembly to adopt resolutions which express in strong terms the support of practically all the States Members of the United Nations for the just cause of the people of Palestine and once again to ask the Security Council urgently to adopt effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter in order to oblige Israel to implement the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Palestine.

152. Mr. LADGHAM (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): The debate in the General Assembly on the question of Palestine expresses once again the constant preoccupation of the international community with the development of this problem which determines the future of peace and security in the Middle East, that very sensitive region of the world. It is a universally recognized fact today that the Palestinian question constitutes the very core of the problem of the Middle East. Only Israel still refuses to recognize this irrefutable fact, and this has thrust the whole region into a state of permanent crisis.

153. Since the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly a new strategy of tension aimed at liquidating the Palestinians and intimidating the Lebanese people has been put into operation by Israel. Considerable military means, involving air, sea and land forces, have been used by the Israeli General Staff against the refugee camps and the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon. The savage bombing of certain residential areas of Beirut, the deployment of Syrian defensive ground-to-air missiles in order to guard against Israeli air raids, the destruction of the nuclear centre at Tamuz in Iraq by the Israeli air force came close to provoking a confrontation with incalculable consequences.

154. Those that believed that the Camp David accords would have a contagious effect on the dynamic for peace in the Middle East have had to reconcile themselves to the facts. That process, which raised some hope in certain countries, has been reduced by Israel to a separate peace, which was the declared purpose of Tel Aviv. Indeed, as soon as the accords with Egypt were signed the Israeli Government gave free reign to its expansionist policy in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan. All this has happened as if those territories, which have been Arab for more than a thousand years, were a kind of *res nullius* of modern times, given for the occasion religious names and doomed to settlement and colonization by the Israelis.

155. In defiance of the rules of international law and of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,¹ Israel persists in this policy, which Chancellor Kreisky recently qualified as arrogant expansionism because, according to a recent statement by the Israeli Minister of Defence, a plan for the establishment of new settlements is to be put into operation within the next five years.

156. As a matter of fact, Mr. Begin himself in one of his statements has made it clear that Israel has no intention of evacuating even an inch of the Arab territories occupied since 1967. In the case of Al Quds, the sacred cradle of revealed religions, the Israeli authorities have made numerous changes in the historic and demographic structures of the Arab sectors of the city, which is a prelude to its annexation, pure and simple.

157. The decision of Israel to change the status of Al Quds in order to convert it into its “eternal capital” constitutes a flagrant violation of United Nations resolutions, defiance of the opinion of millions of believers throughout the world and an inadmissible attack on the inalienable right of the inhabitants of that sector to self-determination.

158. The obstinate refusal of Israel to recognize the existence of the Palestinian people and their inalienable right to self-determination has led the Palestinian problem, and therefore that of the Middle East, into an impasse. Expansionism, aggressiveness, arrogance, these are the three

characteristics of Israel's attitude in the face of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinians to a homeland and a State.

159. Every people has the right to a homeland. Should the Palestinian people be the only people on earth not to enjoy this universally recognized right?

160. In 1965, it will be recalled, President Bourguiba was the first Arab head of State to advocate a political solution to the Palestinian question on the basis of the partition resolution of 1947. Accordingly, Tunisia, which supports without reservation the just cause of the Palestinian people, reaffirms its conviction that there can be no lasting peace in the Middle East without a comprehensive settlement which takes into account in the first place the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State under the aegis of their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, and without the complete withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories, including Al Quds.

161. Peace is a requirement for all the peoples of the region, but it cannot be a sort of *diktat* imposed by Israel upon the whole of the region. Genuine peace must be based first upon consensus, which in turn would be based on respect for the legitimate rights of the parties concerned and would reject expansionism, exclusiveness and domination.

162. Under the pretext of security Israel is pursuing a policy the purpose of which is unmistakable. By increasing the numbers of settlements, by annexing from time to time large tracts of Arab territory, Israel wishes to create an irreversible situation which would be an insurmountable obstacle to the exercise by the Palestinian people of their right to self-determination. This is inadmissible. Security is the constant concern of all the peoples of the region. Moreover, it is a requirement of their stability and development. Accordingly, it cannot be conceived of as the supremacy of one State over all the others, which would push the latter to intense rearmament and various alliances in order to oppose the hegemony of the former.

163. The policy of all-out repression conducted by the military authorities in the occupied territories since 1967, the action of all kinds against the inhabitants and their property, the expulsion of municipal officers and others—these will never bring an end to the struggle of the heroic Palestinian people to recover their international rights.

164. Today the international community is unreservedly supporting the cause of the Palestinian people. The celebration of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People by the General Assembly on 30 November 1981 was an indication of the support for this just cause.

165. I should like to quote a paragraph of President Bourguiba's message on that occasion:

“Tunisia feels that it is time for the United Nations to put pressure upon Israel to end its intransigence and its defiance and comply with the provisions of the Charter and the principles of international law to which it has subscribed and without which it would not exist. Such action would open the way towards a genuine initiative based on international legality for the purpose of achieving a just and comprehensive solution which would put an end to the injustice of the twentieth cen-

ture to the Palestinian people. This would make it possible for them to regain their legitimate rights, return to their homeland and establish an independent State.”

166. Any strategy for peace in the Middle East which does not give highest priority to this objective is doomed to failure. Therefore it is urgent to undertake without delay the exploration of new ways to unblock the situation and to begin a genuine peace process able to meet the profound aspirations of the peoples of the region, and specifically those of the Palestinian people. If it is not to fail, this process must first of all involve the PLO in all stages of the negotiations. In that way only will peace in the Middle East be achieved.

167. Mrs. YONG FATIMAH (Malaysia): The question of Palestine has been the subject of intense deliberation by the United Nations for over three decades, yet today we are no closer to the solution for which we all hope. In spite of the efforts by the United Nations to find a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the problem, it remains one of the most sensitive and dangerous issues facing the Organization, threatening to plunge the West Asian region into a further round of hostilities. If the grave consequences of the impasse are alarming, they are hardly surprising, especially when Israel, the party directly responsible for bringing about the crisis, continues to act in contravention of the basic principles of international law and to defy the will of the international community.

168. At issue in the question before us is the fate of the entire Palestinian people, who have been deprived of their homeland, property, self-determination and national independence by Israeli aggression and oppression. The international community has categorically declared such actions to be illegal and impermissible. The General Assembly reaffirmed at its seventh emergency special session [*resolution ES-7/2*], and again at its thirty-fifth session [*resolution 35/169 A*], the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and property, to self-determination and independence and to national sovereignty. It also called on Israel to withdraw from all occupied Arab territories and to desist from building new settlements in those territories. All these calls were ignored by the Israeli authorities. On the contrary, they have embarked even more vigorously on the annexation of occupied territories in blatant violation of the established principles of international law. The demographic makeup and Islamic character of the Holy City of Jerusalem have continued to be altered in their bid to strengthen their hold on the city and to transform it into an undivided capital of Israel. Israel does not care if those actions offend the feelings of billions of people who attach deep spiritual and cultural values to the city. Not a single soldier has been withdrawn from the Palestinian occupied territories. If anything, more repressive measures have been mounted by the Israeli authorities against students and civilians intent on expressing their opposition to Israel's illegal policy in those territories.

169. It is not the intention of my delegation to dwell at length on the various atrocities and illegal actions committed by the Israeli authorities. These have already been adequately described in the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories [*A/36/579*] and recently considered in the Special Political Committee. Suffice it for me to say that Israel could not have acted the way it has done through all these years if every Member State, especially the major Powers, had shown greater will and sincerity in searching for a just

and lasting solution to the Palestinian question. As we have said in the past, some of the major Powers have appeared to be more interested in preserving and perpetuating their strategic and political advantages in West Asia than in the search for a solution that would serve the interests of the peoples of the region themselves. We have seen how, in their attempt to secure their respective areas of influence, the major Powers concerned adopted policies which led to serious divisions among the peoples of the region and which at the same time enabled Israel to defy international demands to withdraw from territories occupied by force. Such an attitude on the part of the big Powers can never produce an acceptable and durable solution to the West Asian conflict.

170. My delegation is encouraged at the growing international recognition of the centrality of the Palestine question in the West Asian conflict, which in the lifetime of the United Nations has exploded into four major wars. We firmly believe that no just and lasting solution can be found without taking into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The representatives of the Palestinian people, the PLO, must therefore be involved on an equal footing in all deliberations and conferences held for the purpose of finding a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict. Any attempt to exclude the participation of the PLO will only jeopardize the prospects for a settlement.

171. It is appropriate that, on this occasion, my delegation should once again reaffirm its solidarity with the people of Palestine in their just struggle to redeem the rights that have been forcibly taken from them. It is most urgent that States Members of the United Nations renew their efforts and act together to remove the grave injustice that has been perpetrated against the people of Palestine, so that they may exercise their inalienable rights to return to their homeland and property, to self-determination, to independence and to national sovereignty.

172. My delegation is convinced that the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People endorsed by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session [*resolution 31/20*] still provide the most reasonable basis for a solution of the question of Palestine. The proposal for the phased return of the Palestinian people to their homes, land and property, the withdrawal under United Nations supervision of Israeli forces from territories occupied in 1967 and the establishment of an independent Palestinian entity represent the best hope for a return to the peace and stability that have long eluded the West Asian region. We urge every member of the international community to take appropriate steps to ensure the implementation of that proposal.

173. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): While the long and consistent struggle of the heroic people of Palestine for the attainment of their legitimate and inalienable rights and for the establishment of an independent Palestinian State continues vigorously, the warmongers of Washington, in collusion with the Zionist entity and Arab reactionary circles, try to ignore the national democratic revolution for the liberation of Palestine and to deny self-determination to the Palestinian people.

174. The question of Palestine is at the core of the Middle East problem and therefore there can be no just and lasting peace in the Middle East unless the problem of Palestine is solved.

175. The international community has since 1948 witnessed with indignation the sufferings of the Palestinian people. The people of Palestine have steadfastly stood the test of time for the fulfilment of their legitimate aspirations.

176. The legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty and the right to return to their homes are the sacrosanct rights of each Palestinian to acquire national identity and character.

177. The General Assembly, by its resolution 3376 (XXX) of 10 November 1975, established the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian people. By its resolution 31/20 of 24 November 1976 the Assembly endorsed the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People as a basis for the solution of the question of Palestine. The recommendations were designed to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights as recognized and defined by the General Assembly. Those recommendations of the Committee remained unchanged and were adopted by the General Assembly at its subsequent sessions. Regrettably, they have not yet been approved by the Security Council, owing to the intransigent policy of the United States, which, by supporting the Israeli aggressor, stands against the will of the international community.

178. The seventh emergency special session, held from 22 to 29 July 1980, dealt with the question of taking necessary measures for the implementation of the recommendations as a basis for the solution of the question of Palestine.

179. Despite numerous resolutions of the United Nations, Israel continues its policy of occupation of Palestine and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

180. It may be asked how Israel can defy with such impunity the numerous resolutions of the Organization. The answer is quite simple. The support of some Members of the Organization, particularly the United States of America, encourages Israel not only to ignore the repeated calls of the Member States for the observance of the principles of the Charter and those of international law, but to aggravate further the already tense situation in the region through further acts of aggression and continued occupation.

181. Fourteen years have elapsed since the illegal occupation of the Arab territories by Israel. In that period Israel has been practising policies of absorption of the occupied territories, subjugation of the Palestinians and expulsion of their leaders.

182. The actions of the Israeli authorities in the occupied territories range from illegally changing the status of Jerusalem and the demographic character of the area to the exploitation of the natural wealth of the occupied territories, in clear and gross violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.¹ Israeli actions are not only major obstacles to a peaceful settlement but constitute a most serious threat to international peace and security.

183. Has not Israel's arrogant defiance of United Nations resolutions, international law and world public opinion reached intolerable proportions? Rhetorical support of

the Palestinian cause is no longer sufficient. It is high time to take concrete measures to put an end once and for all to the misery of a people that is struggling courageously for the exercise of its inalienable right to self-determination and national independence.

184. The people of Palestine, under the leadership of the PLO, the heroic representative of the Palestinian people, have shown great perseverance and statesmanship.

185. The world-wide recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people is indicative of the great political victory of the Palestinian people in the international arena.

186. No effort to bring about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East will bear fruit if it is made outside the framework of the United Nations or an international conference, if it is not based on General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3375 (XXX), and if the PLO does not participate fully in those efforts on an equal footing with other parties. Thus, any partial agreements or collusive accords which do not take into account those requirements will be doomed to failure.

187. As a Vice-Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, Afghanistan has been actively following the work of the Committee, including its work on its report.

188. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate my colleague, Mr. Gauci, Rapporteur of the Committee, for his lucid introduction of the report at the 80th meeting.

189. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has attained considerable success under the leadership of its Chairman, Mr. Sarré of Senegal, and his predecessors.

190. My delegation would also like to commend the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights, headed by Mr. Yogasundram, aided by his staff, including the Secretary of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, Mrs. Kracht, for their dedication to the advancement of the Palestinian cause.

191. We support the recommendation of the Committee in its entirety.

192. While taking note of the work of the Department of Public Information, my delegation is of the view that attention should be given to the wider dissemination of information, bearing in mind all the facts pertaining to the question of Palestine as a major consideration in revealing the true picture of the situation.

193. In conclusion, I should like to quote part of the message sent by Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, on the occasion of the celebration on 30 November of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. He said:

"The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan supports the continued efforts of the United Nations towards finding a just and comprehensive solution of the Middle East problem based on the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from

all the occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, truly represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization, including the establishment of an independent national State of their own."

194. Mr. IBRAHIM (Indonesia): Ever since Israel occupied the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Holy City of Jerusalem, in 1967, the international community has closely followed the policies pursued by Israel. These policies include, among others: first, the denial of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and sovereignty; secondly, the implementation of all kinds of economic, legislative and financial measures to bring about the forced departure of Arab inhabitants from their homeland; thirdly, the establishment and expansion of settlements; fourthly, the annexation and expropriation of Arab lands; and fifthly, the repression of and the imposition of severe hardships on, the Palestinian inhabitants in order to uproot them from their own land. It is clear that these policies and practices have only one aim: that is, to colonize and eventually annex the occupied territories, in defiance of the decisions of the United Nations.

195. For a number of years our attention was focused on the humanitarian aspects of the question, such as the refugee problem, while the political aspects of the Palestinian question were relegated to the background. It was only during the 1970s that the General Assembly became more and more keenly aware of the need to settle the political aspects, when in 1974 it adopted resolution 3236 (XXIX), in which it reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination without external interference and their right to national independence and sovereignty. This was followed in 1975 by resolution 3375 (XXX), which invited the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate in all peace efforts under the auspices of the United Nations on an equal footing with other parties. Those resolutions marked a turning-point in United Nations efforts to ensure the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people within the framework of a comprehensive political settlement.

196. However, year after year, as we convene to grapple with this issue and to deal with it forthrightly and justly, Israel presents new situations. It has authorized the establishment of new settlements, with the aim of perpetuating its occupation through demographic, cultural, social and religious changes. It has expropriated a substantial amount of land in the occupied territories despite Arab protests, and stringent controls over water and other necessities render the remaining land vulnerable to Israel's will. Further, substantial parts of the West Bank's total area have already been incorporated in the annexed Jerusalem district, in addition to the so-called State lands, absentee properties and "security" zones. Israel unilaterally proclaims that an undivided and occupied Jerusalem is its eternal capital and it desecrates many Holy Places in the occupied territories.

197. It should be recognized that Israel's claim to sovereignty over the occupied territories and its settlements in them strike at the roots of Arab communal life. Israel has gone so far, has built so many settlements and has made the occupied territories so much a part of its grandiose design. How long can Israel ignore the fact that the Palestinian issue is the key problem of the Middle East question as a whole?

198. It is therefore clear that we can no longer tolerate Israel's arrogant scorn and its systematic violations of United Nations resolutions and decisions. Three decades of violence, bitterness, frustration and tension have shown that the problem can be solved only by the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people. The fact remains that there in no way, ever, for Israel to have an assured and permanent peace without resolving the Palestinian issue.

199. The PLO has demonstrated to the world time and again that it sincerely yearns for an end to oppression. What the Palestinian people are struggling for—the recognition and restoration of their inalienable rights—is what many nations in the world, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, fought for and achieved.

200. My delegation would therefore like to reiterate its firm conviction that a just settlement of the Palestinian question is an absolutely essential pre-condition for solving the problem of the Middle East as a whole. We also believe that the situation in the Middle East has a profound effect on peace and security not only in the region but in the entire world as well. It has, moreover, become clear that the United Nations must continue to seek a just, peaceful and honourable settlement of the problem facing the Palestinian people.

201. As Israel has long repudiated the overwhelming desire of the international community to ensure the attainment by the Palestinian people of their rights, it has become imperative to take appropriate measures. It is in this light that Indonesia for its part has participated actively in the efforts of the international community to solve the Palestinian issue in various forums especially in the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. My delegation commends the Committee for its activities during the past year, under the outstanding chairmanship of Mr. Massambe Sarré of Senegal. In this connection, it must be recalled that the Security Council has not responded positively to the General Assembly's request in resolution 35/169 A that it consider the adoption of effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter. In these circumstances, and in view of the gravity of the situation in the region, we must renew our request to the Security Council that it take positive and urgent action, as recommended by the Committee in its report [A/36/35, para. 50].

202. In the final analysis, Israel must be made to realize that its policies are dangerous, not only to itself but to the world as well. Its need for security requires today more than ever a political solution to the problem of the Palestinians. It must withdraw from all occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and recognize the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and sovereignty.

203. Mr. SUJA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The wide-ranging consideration of the question of Palestine in this forum and in the meetings of other bodies of the United Nations, including the Security Council, shows that the Middle East is still one of the most dangerous hotbeds of international tension, constituting a threat to international peace and security. We believe that underlying the continuing Middle East problem is the unresolved issue of the exercise of the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination and the establishment of its own independent State. Israel's systematic denial of these fundamental principles—which are of key significance to peace and security in this nerve-centre of the planet,

which derive from the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law and which have been confirmed by a number of important United Nations decisions—is with every day that passes exacerbating the already explosive situation in this region and is complicating still more the tragic fate of several generations of the Arab people of Palestine. In the light of the deteriorating situation in the Middle East, which has become the subject of the strategic interests of American imperialism, the groundless nature of the attempts to present the Camp David agreements falsely as a “peace settlement” is becoming increasingly clear. These anti-Arab deals, concluded without the participation and against the will of the Arab people of Palestine and its sole legitimate representative, the PLO, are simply designed to maintain the results of the aggressive expansionist actions of Israel and to strengthen United States military presence in the Middle East. And the Arab people of Palestine is removed still further from the attainment of its main objective, namely, the restoration of its homeland. Enmity, hatred and bloodshed are erupting with new force—this is what the Camp David agreements and the events subsequent to it have led to. Proof of this is the current policy of Israel, which is continuing to pursue its expansionist and annexationist designs.

204. It is no accident that Israel has intensified its aggressive acts against Lebanon, which have now reached the level of undeclared warfare, following close on Washington's proclamation of the so-called concept of struggle against international terrorism, which, counter to history, they identify with national liberation struggle. Israel is doing everything within its power to crush the opposition of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and is exerting systematic political, economic, moral and physical pressure on that population. The annexation of East Jérusalem and the attempt to change the legal status of that city have elicited condemnation from the overwhelming majority of the international community. The establishment and expansion of militarized settlements in Palestinian territory should also be condemned, since in essence this is nothing but the establishment of new bridgeheads for aggression.

205. The Government of my country supports the well-founded and legitimate demands of the Arab people of Palestine. Our position of principle on a solution to this problem and the establishment of a just and lasting peace in that region was once again confirmed during the official visit of friendship of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Gustáv Husák, to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, which took place on the invitation of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council, Prime Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Ali Nasser Mohammed in September this year. The joint communiqué stated:

“Having considered the situation in the Middle East, the parties expressed their deep concern over developments in that region, a source of a serious threat to the cause of security, peace and stability throughout the world, and they called for the immediate and complete withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. They expressed their support for full participation by the Palestine Liberation Organization on an equal footing in all negotiations. The parties were united in the view that a just and comprehensive settlement cannot be attained without

the exercise of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to establish its own independent State. They also expressed their deep concern over the escalation and expansion of Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.”

206. A real basis for the settlement of the Palestinian question and the situation in the Middle East as a whole exists. It is to be found in the proposal made by the Soviet Union relating to convening an international conference on the Middle East, a proposal put forward at the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and one which we fully support. We are convinced that the proposal to convene such a conference with the participation of all interested parties offers a constructive approach to the attainment of a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East problem, including its pivotal issue, the Palestinian question.

207. It is encouraging that the international and political prestige of the PLO is constantly growing. In this connection we welcome as an important international political event the fact that the Soviet Union was the first to grant official diplomatic status to the PLO.

208. In conclusion, I should like once again to assure the representatives of the PLO that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will continue in the future to strengthen and deepen in every way its friendly relations with the Palestinian people and its sole legitimate representative, the PLO. Together with other progressive forces of the world, we will continue in the future actively to support their just struggle for the exercise of their inalienable rights.

209. Mr. SIKAULU (Zambia): No one genuinely committed to the search for a just and durable solution to the conflict in the Middle East can doubt the importance of the item which the General Assembly is at present considering. For many years, and particularly since the adoption of resolution 31/20, the General Assembly has repeatedly made it clear that the problem of Palestine is at the core of the Middle East conflict. In resolution 31/20 and subsequent resolutions on Palestine, the Assembly has underscored the importance of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and urged the Security Council to take positive action on a set of well-considered and realistic recommendations of the Special Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

210. The recommendations of the Special Committee, if adopted by the Security Council, would constitute a major step on the part of the United Nations in the search for a just and durable solution to the conflict in the Middle East. Such a solution has so far eluded the international community precisely because the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people have not been seriously addressed and recognized. It is generally recognized that a major flaw of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) is in this regard.

211. A comprehensive, just and durable solution to the Middle East conflict is urgently required. The importance of the Middle East to international peace and security cannot be over-emphasized. The volatile nature of the region is well known. Three major wars have been fought in the Middle East, resulting in incalculable loss of life and property. Tensions in the area remain acute, and the bitterness characterizing relations between Israel and its Arab neighbours so often gives rise to serious incidents,

resulting in further loss of life and destruction of property.

212. The Middle East conflict is not insoluble. It can, and indeed must, be settled. That the Middle East conflict has so far defied solution is unquestionably due to the refusal by some to address the problem of Palestine and recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian question must no longer be perceived in the narrow context of one that is constituted by nothing more than the plight of refugees.

213. The Palestinians, like any other people, are entitled to self-determination. Like any other people, they are entitled to a national homeland. Perpetually to deny them these rights is to say “never” to the solution of the Middle East conflict. It is to embrace perpetual conflict in the Middle East and to reject the prospect of peace and tranquillity in the region.

214. Zambia therefore believes that Israel and its supporters should adopt a more realistic attitude. They should have the magnanimity and courage to change their present policies, which are responsible for the *status quo* in the Middle East. They must demonstrate willingness to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to a national homeland in Palestine.

215. In any effort to seek a just and durable solution to the Middle East conflict, nothing could be more unrealistic than the pretension that the PLO does not exist. Not only does the PLO exist; it enjoys the overwhelming support of the Palestinian people, wherever they may be. It is therefore not out of mere enthusiasm that the General Assembly, the non-aligned movement and the Organization of African Unity among others, recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Only the PLO can represent the Palestinian people in any negotiations designed to bring about a settlement of the conflict in the Middle East and of the problem of Palestine.

216. Israeli belligerence, arrogance and intransigence cannot and will not lead to any solution of the conflict in the Middle East or guarantee its peace and security. Israel's repeated acts of aggression against Lebanon, its attack on the Iraqi nuclear installation and its establishment of Jewish settlements in occupied Arab territories clearly violate the norms of international law and civilized behaviour. It is only fitting that the international community considers them senseless and has condemned them. Not even the recently concluded strategic alliance between the United States and Israel can buy the Tel Aviv régime peace and security as long as it is not prepared to respect the rule of law in regard to its attitude towards its Arab neighbours.

217. Israel simply must recognize the fundamental causes of the Middle East conflict, namely, its denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and its continued occupation of Arab territories. The more honourable attitude of the friends of Israel would be to put pressure on it to recognize reality. It is about time that Israel and its supporters paid heed to the overwhelming verdict of the international community in regard to the problem of Palestine in particular and the Middle East conflict in general.

218. I wish, in conclusion, to commend the Chairman and the members of the Special Committee on the Exer-

cise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for their dedication to the just cause of the Palestinian people.

219. Mr. AL-QUTAISH (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): We should like to express our gratitude and appreciation to Mr. Massamba Sarré, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, to Mr. Victor Gauci, Rapporteur of the Committee, and to all the other members of the Committee for their efforts to fulfil their difficult mission. We also wish to thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his efforts to ensure observance of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

220. Once again the General Assembly is considering the problem of Palestine, one of the most complex problems of this century, to the creation of which the United Nations contributed by the partition of Palestine on 29 November 1947 and the creation of the State of Israel, thus giving legitimacy to Zionist spoliation of part of Palestine and making a reality of one of the dreams of zionism and its ally, imperialism, by means of the great colonialist settlement scheme in the land of Palestine, at the expense of the Arab people of Palestine.

221. The Zionist project for the creation of a national home for the Jews of the world began under the Mandate. The collusion of the Mandate authorities with the Zionist movement opened the door to caravans of immigrant Jews from all parts of the world. Those authorities armed the Zionist terrorist organizations and helped them to seize the lands, to establish settlements and to suppress the Palestinian nationalist movement.

222. The circumstances that existed during the Mandate and at the time of the partition of Palestine were favourable to the forces of imperialism and zionism, which were able to pass resolutions which served their interests even though at the expense of other peoples. They got what they wanted when the General Assembly adopted resolution 181 (II) on the partition of Palestine, and since then imperialism has aided Israel by all possible means—military, economic and political.

223. In the period following partition most of the peoples of the continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America rid themselves of the yoke of colonialism, thus changing the political map in favour of the peoples of the world and their right to self-determination, freedom and sovereignty.

224. The United Nations has recognized the monstrous mistake that it made at the expense of the Arab people of Palestine, and it has tried to correct matters by the adoption of a series of resolutions. Never in history has any international organization adopted so many resolutions on any subject as the United Nations has on the question of Palestine and the right of the Palestinian people to live in their homeland, with complete freedom and sovereignty. Year after year the General Assembly has condemned the Zionist entity for its expropriation of Palestinian lands and the expulsion of Palestinians from their homes and lands by force of arms. Israel's response has been continued defiance of international legality, the United Nations and its resolutions.

225. Israel's intransigence has reached its peak. It arrogantly defies the resolutions of the Assembly and the Security Council, confirming its contempt for the will of the international community, and it obstinately continues

to violate the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

226. Israel's defiance of the unanimous will of the international community and its lack of consideration for the Charter of the United Nations and its resolutions, although Israel itself came into being as a result of one of those resolutions, is explained by the aggressive alliance between world imperialism and the racist Zionist settlement movement as personified by Israel.

227. The signature of the agreement on strategic co-operation between the United States and Israel one day after the commemoration by the entire international community of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People was no surprise to us. Israel is the object of a Western colonialist plan in which it would be an advance post for the protection of imperialist interests in the Arab region. Israel is more a role than a State. That is why the United States supplies Israel with everything it needs—the most modern and most deadly weapons, including weapons on which there is an international ban, so that Israel can continue its aggressive policy against the Arab peoples. This was clearly shown recently by the attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor, the war in southern Lebanon against the Lebanese and Palestinian people last July, and the bombing of the Fakhani suburb of Beirut, in which there were hundreds of civilians killed and thousands wounded.

228. At the political level, the United States has defended Israeli aggression by using its right of veto, or threatening to use it, to prevent the passage of Security Council resolutions intended to protect the Charter. It is clear that without the unlimited aid given to the Zionist entity by the United States, Israel could not adopt such an aggressive, arrogant attitude.

229. The revolution of the heroic people of Palestine has become stronger and more determined and is now widely recognized internationally. United Nations resolutions have clearly shown the support enjoyed by the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, which has become a full-fledged member of the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement. In addition, the PLO enjoys observer status at the United Nations. That support was won because all the Palestinian people, in the occupied territories and elsewhere, united around the PLO. In that way they gained unanimous support, which is reflected in the resolutions that reaffirm principles of the Charter such as the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and that guarantee the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, to return to their homes and to enjoy independence and national sovereignty. Those resolutions also call for the total, unconditional withdrawal by Israel from the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem.

230. The Israeli response has been a total rejection of the resolutions of the international community, including Security Council resolution 465 (1980), which was unanimously adopted, in regards to Jerusalem and the illegal decision of the Knesset to seize and annex Jerusalem to make it the permanent Israeli capital. Israel has without hindrance been changing the character of the Holy City. It can do all that knowing that the United States right of veto will allow it to do so with impunity.

231. Israel's arbitrary actions in the occupied Arab territories have attained unspeakable heights of arbitrariness and persecution. The attacks against the Arab people of Palestine and its national and popular forces and organizations have concentrated particularly on the members of municipal councils and on mayors to deprive the people of their elected representatives by exiling them.

232. We should not forget the expulsion of the Mayors of Halhoul and Hebron and the Islamic judge of Hebron, or the attempts to assassinate the mayors of the towns of Nablus, Ramallah and Al Bireh.

233. These restrictive and repressive measures are aimed essentially at national representation, above all at the municipalities and their elected councils, under the pretext that they have taken nationalistic positions and refuse to participate in the application of the autonomy plan, that they seek to ensure that it is never applied. The fact is that they regard themselves as committed to the national objectives of the Palestinian people, the unity of their representation of that people and total rejection of the "autonomy plan".

234. At the same time, the Israeli authorities continue their settlement policy and announce new plans for Judaization. They are extending financial and other economic assistance to ensure a doubling in the number of settlers inside the occupied areas. They have announced that new settlements will be established, that the number of settlements on the West Bank will be doubled and that all the laws passed by the Israeli Government and the military ordinances will be enforced. Those laws and ordinances forbid the Palestinian citizens of the occupied territories to make any statements that could be interpreted as showing sympathy or support for the PLO, or any statements regarding the rules for maintaining order in the universities and other educational institutions or regarding intervention in the affairs of the labour movement.

235. At the external level, the Zionist entity continues its vile plots to liquidate completely the leaders of the Palestinian revolution. This year there have been many victims of those plots, including Maguid Abu Charara, head of the unified information service of the PLO, and Naim Khedr, the head of the PLO office in Brussels.

236. Moreover, intense efforts are being made to pursue the mirage of the Camp David accords and the separate peace treaty, rejected by the Arab people of Palestine, the Arab peoples and the international community, as is clear from General Assembly resolution 34/65 B. The aim of the Camp David accords was basically to liquidate the cause of the Palestinian people and to torpedo their aspirations to return to their homeland, their aspirations to liberation and self-determination and to establish an independent State on their national territory. The Camp David accords were designed also to consolidate Israeli aggression in Palestine and in the occupied Arab territories and to transform the problem into a problem of autonomy, while at the same time imposing American hegemony on the area in the political, economic and military spheres by sowing dissension among Arabs in order to strike at the Arab liberation movement in the region.

237. As the Camp David accords did not yield the results expected by the Zionists and the imperialists and their agents, a fatal impasse has now been reached, and any subsequent initiatives must take into account the fact that peace in the Middle East has but one route. The broadest and the shortest route, that leading to the solu-

tion of the Palestine problem, requires recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people and guaranteeing that they will be realized: the right to return to their homeland, the right to recover their property, the right to self-determination without foreign interference, the right to national sovereignty and independence and, finally, the right to establish an independent Palestinian State in Palestine, under the leadership of their sole authentic representative, the PLO.

238. It is natural to demand that the punishment fit the crime, in order to save the reputation of this international Organization, to preserve its credibility and to ensure the carrying out of the principles of justice, as well as the maintenance of international peace and security, as provided in the Charter. Israel's total refusal to accept United Nations resolutions, its policy of aggression against the Arab peoples, its inhuman practices in the occupied territories, its violations of human rights and of the principles and provisions of the Geneva Conventions, its intensification of aggression, its measures to annex and change the occupied territories and establish settlements there, and its other crimes demand a firm and responsible attitude by the Organization.

239. Condemnation and disapproval are no longer sufficient; indeed they are useless. They cannot impose the respect due to the Organization and the Charter. The Zionist entity's flagrant, constant defiance of the international will is a serious threat to international peace and justice. That is why we have the duty to safeguard the purposes and principles of the Organization for the freedom and well-being of the peoples of the world.

240. The least we can ask is the application against the Zionist entity of the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

241. We express our deep concern about the recent developments in the Middle East and firmly condemn the strategic co-operation agreement signed last week between the United States and Israel. We denounce the American military manoeuvres now taking place in the Arab region, as well as the intention of the United States to carry out naval and air manoeuvres jointly with Israel. All those facts clearly represent a challenge to our future, to the interests of our Arab peoples and to the peace and security of the entire world.

242. The problem of Palestine is the very heart of the Middle East crisis. The essential condition for establishing a just and lasting peace in the region is to put an end to Israeli occupation of all the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories and guarantee the inalienable legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to return to their homeland and recover their property, their right to self-determination and to establish an independent national State, under the leadership of the PLO, their sole authentic representative.

243. Mr. FONSEKA (Sri Lanka): I should like to thank Mr. Massamba Sarré of Senegal and, through him, the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for the invaluable work they have done in the past year and for having presented the Committee's report to the Assembly. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank the Committee for the organization of the Third United Nations Seminar on the Question of Palestine, held at Colombo from 10 to 14 August 1981, details of which are found in the Committee's report [A/36/35, *annex II*].

244. That the question of Palestine lies at the core of the question of the Middle East has now received wide international acceptance, although the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people seem hardly any nearer fulfilment than they were when the United Nations first took up the question of Palestine. As was observed by the Rapporteur of the Committee, the life-span of the Organization has been paralleled by the unremitting despair of the Palestinian people.

245. Sri Lanka's long commitment to the cause of the Palestinian people was reiterated by President J. R. Jayewardene on 30 November this year in a message commemorating the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. He said:

“No solution of the Middle East conflict will be just or lasting unless it ensures the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable national rights, including the right of return, to self-determination and to establish an independent State in Palestine, a prerequisite to which is the withdrawal by Israel from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories.”

246. Sri Lanka's firm belief in the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the clear obligation of Israel to withdraw completely from all territories it has forcibly occupied found practical expression in 1970 when the Government of Sri Lanka suspended diplomatic relations with Israel. This we did as an act of principle to protest against Israeli policies and as an expression of support for the cause of the Palestinian people. The PLO, which we have accepted as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, has maintained an office at Colombo since June 1976.

247. It is a matter of particular gratification to us that the PLO is being recognized by an increasing number of countries and that a near-universal consensus has developed accepting the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and that, without their participation on an equal footing, no negotiations affecting the destiny of the Palestinian people are possible. We pay a tribute to the PLO, which has succeeded against tremendous obstacles in unifying a geographically and demographically dispersed people in a common commitment to their cherished goals—the right to return to their lands, to self-determination and to an independent State in Palestine.

248. While the entire Middle East area has been a cauldron of tension and instability, owing to the occupation by Israel of Arab lands and the policies pursued by that régime in these lands, the brunt of the resultant dislocation and suffering has been inflicted primarily on the Palestinian people. The deliberate policy of Israel has been to reduce the 4 million Palestinians to a status of permanent refugees and to push through a total annexation of all occupied territories. There can be no other intent in Israel's pursuit of carefully co-ordinated policies in violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,¹ than to alter radically the demographic composition of the occupied territories by means of the establishment of settler colonies, by confiscation of property, by expulsions and by what has been described as “agricultural strangulation” of the Palestinian people by the restriction and denial of scarce water resources. The head of the Political Division of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Mr. Farouk Kaddoumi, told us at the 80th meeting that some 20 per cent of the total area of Palestine has been covered by illegal settler colonies established by Is-

rael. The harsh laws on water utilization, limitation of electricity and other restrictions imposed on the occupied territories have had the effect of bringing other as yet un-occupied areas closer to expropriation and eventual annexation. The Israeli Government's setting up of a thinly disguised “civilian authority” to “administer” 1.2 million persons in the West Bank and Gaza is its current device to institutionalize this annexation.

249. Usurpation of land and water is one aspect of Israeli policies in the occupied territories. As a member of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, I am personally aware of the continuing violations of human rights for which Israel must be held responsible. These harsh measures have been designed to break Palestinian morale and to repress ruthlessly all forms of political expression against the occupation. Blueprints for the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are not lacking. While there has been a failure to implement United Nations resolutions for the just and lasting settlement of the question of Palestine, we can take some comfort from the fact that, despite all this, Israel's efforts to subjugate the Palestinian people have been of no avail.

250. Like the great majority of the States represented in the Organization, we have supported the innumerable resolutions adopted in this Assembly, and we have joined in the annual expressions of solidarity with the Palestinian people. We have no illusion that the question of Palestine will be settled by resolutions of the Assembly. We regard these essentially as intended to reassure the people of Palestine of the justice of their cause. At the same time, they are addressed to an obdurate Government in Israel, whose response so far has alternated between defiance and non-chalance. Yet even this defiant Israel must know that time is not on its side, that an organization and a people once dismissed, like Israel itself, as illegal and terrorist are no longer thought of in those terms and that the Palestinian people themselves cannot forever be denied their destiny.

251. Mr. SHERMAN (United States of America): Today, as we address ourselves to an issue whose history is virtually coterminous with that of the United Nations itself, my Government wishes to reaffirm its continuing concern for the fate of the 1.6 million Palestinian refugees registered by UNRWA in Jordan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Lebanon and the Israeli occupied territories and particularly for the almost 650,000 Palestinian refugees living in UNRWA camps.

252. UNRWA is a generation old. Since 1948, my Government has contributed nearly \$1 billion to this relief effort—almost one-half of the Agency's total expenditures. The United States gave \$62 million this year. In 1982, pending final action by the United States Congress, we hope to be able once more to increase our voluntary contributions to UNRWA. But we do not regard the UNRWA camps as anything more than an interim solution to the plight of the Palestinian refugees. As long as their future remains unresolved, they are entitled at the very least to the sincere efforts and concrete assistance of the international community in meeting their basic needs for health care, education and adequate living standards.

253. Today we address, as I have said, an issue whose history is virtually coterminous with that of the United Nations itself. The United Nations, it sometimes seems, is perpetually occupied with the question of Palestine. In one form or another this item has come before every

committee of the Assembly—often more than once. It dominates the agenda of the Security Council. It is the focus of the Secretariat's Special Unit on Palestinian Rights. It has affected—all too often it has distorted—the work of the specialized agencies.

254. Despite the attention it receives, however, the question of Palestine—shorthand, indeed, for the Arab-Israeli conflict—is far from resolved. It is true that the issues involved are complex and that the passions engaged are intense. But the United Nations cannot be held entirely blameless in this matter. Unfortunately, a great many United Nations activities related to the Arab-Israeli conflict have resulted in the exacerbation rather than the alleviation of Arab-Israeli tensions.

255. The United States wishes to avoid the sterile polemics and embittered exchanges that can only complicate the search for Arab-Israeli peace. We believe that the long-standing enmity between Arab and Israeli is anything but an immutable law of history: given courage, vision and persistence, enormous progress can be made. That belief was dramatically vindicated on 26 March 1979, when Anwar Al-Sadat and Menachem Begin, leaders of two nations whose relations had been marked for some 30 years by an extreme and seemingly intractable hostility, concluded a treaty of peace. My Government is convinced that that treaty is the first step in a process which can culminate in a just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

256. We are proud of the efforts previous American Administrations have undertaken to resolve this tragic conflict, and we intend to continue those efforts. Thus it is towards the goal of reconciling and not separating avowed enemies, of tempering and not hardening negotiating positions, that all of our efforts, including my remarks today, are directed.

257. It has been maintained by a number of speakers in this debate, and also by the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People that the Palestinian problem forms the “heart” or “essential component” of the problems of the Middle East. And so, in the almost ritualistic way that the question of Palestine is invoked in these halls, it would appear.

258. But without wishing to deprecate in any way the seriousness of the Palestinian tragedy, my delegation nevertheless wishes to point out that the Middle East is unfortunately riven by a great many grave problems, most of which have little or nothing to do with the Palestinian problem. Has the Palestinian issue anything to do with the unresolved conflict between Iran and Iraq? Do Palestinian rights form the core of the dispute between the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Sudan, or between the Syrian Arab Republic and Iraq? The answers to these questions, it seems to me, are simple and obvious.

259. Indeed, even in regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict itself—a series of conflicts, in truth—there is no consensus as to the “essence” of the dispute. Some Arab States maintain with considerable vehemence that the essence of the conflict is the failure to resolve the Palestinian problem, to restore to the Palestinians their legitimate rights. On the other hand, Israel maintains with equal vehemence that the essence of the dispute is the failure of most Arab States to accept Israel's legitimacy. As between these competing “legitimacies”, my Government finds it unnecessary to choose one or the other. Surely all of us in this

Hall can agree that any just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict must provide for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. And all of us in this Hall should also be able to agree that any just and lasting resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict must provide for Israel's recognition by all her Arab neighbours. Why then should we not leave the arduous task of defining “essence” to the philosophers and concentrate our limited abilities and energies on resolving the concrete and practical problems which now obstruct a settlement? And why should we seek to formulate a partisan definition of the Arab-Israeli dispute which one party or the other might regard as highly prejudicial to its vital interests and which can therefore only constitute yet a further impediment to an eventual settlement?

260. In view of the fact that the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty are the only successful peace negotiations in the entire history of the Arab-Israeli dispute, my Government believes that they deserve the whole-hearted support and endorsement of this body. To our considerable regret, however, the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People challenges the validity of the Camp David accords, and a number of speakers in this debate have attacked these accords on the grounds that they do not take Palestinian rights into account. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth. The Camp David framework for peace in the Middle East specifically endorses the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements. It also specifies a variety of measures through which the Palestinians will participate in the determination of their fate. Thus, far from ignoring Palestinian rights, the Camp David accords are the surest guarantee that these rights will in fact be respected. Indeed, Camp David is a formula for participation by the Palestinians in the forging of their own future. It does not seek to impose a solution on the Palestinians; it provides an opportunity for the parties directly concerned to negotiate the final status of the West Bank and Gaza.

261. But the Camp David accords are not solely preoccupied with Palestinian rights. Israeli rights are also recognized. Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) are both reaffirmed in the Camp David framework. Those resolutions call for a negotiated settlement in which the withdrawal of Israeli troops from territories occupied in 1967 is linked to the acknowledgement of the right of every State in the area “to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force”, according to resolution 242 (1967). This formula for a settlement is the only internationally agreed basis for peace in the Middle East, and we are opposed to any efforts to undermine it. Any call for Palestinian rights that does not also affirm Israel's legitimate need to be recognized by its Arab neighbours retreats from the equitable principles of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

262. My Government deplores the activities of both the Secretariat's Special Unit on Palestinian Rights and the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. Despite their names these bodies do not advance Palestinian rights in any way. Their sole function is to advance the political ambitions of the various groups which constitute the PLO. In allowing themselves to become instruments in the hands of the PLO, the Special Unit and the Committee are doing the Palestinian people a disservice and are working to undercut the progress that has already been made towards the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

263. My Government is acutely aware of the destructive role played by both the Committee and the Special Unit. To express its disapproval of the work of both these organs, the United States Congress, in passing the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1978, declared the following:

“(1) the continuation of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and the creation of the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights are wasteful expenditures of limited United Nations resources at a time when the United Nations is experiencing severe financial difficulties and when the United Nations is under close scrutiny from contributing Members;

“(2) the work of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People does not contribute to the process of peace-making under way at present in the Middle East.”

And earlier this year both Houses of Congress, in passing the Department of State Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1982 and 1983, agreed again, as they have since 1978, that the United States should withdraw any contribution to the United Nations to support the Committee or the Special Unit. This extraordinary step of withholding a small portion of the assessed contribution of the United States is not taken lightly. My Government fully realizes that, as stated by the sponsors of that Act, “the United Nations will find it hard to operate if Members freely withhold funds to express disapproval of particular budget items”. Nevertheless, as stated in the United States Congress,

“we take [this step] to express our very deep alarm that the PLO, whose purposes run counter to those of international society, has been admitted as a member in good standing within that society. We are alarmed that the United Nations has conferred legitimacy on an organization dedicated to the destruction of one of the United Nations’ Members.”

264. As long as the PLO endorses the destruction of a Member State of this body, my Government does not believe that it has any role to play in deliberations designed to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. Resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict requires the affirmation of both Arab rights and Israeli rights. Unfortunately, the PLO persists in denying that the State of Israel enjoys any rights whatsoever—even the elementary right to exist. We do not believe that enhancing the international status of such an organization serves the cause of Arab-Israeli reconciliation.

265. The United States supports the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and regards the Camp David accords as the only realistic means of advancing those rights in the West Bank and Gaza. It is our considered view, however, that the endorsement by this body of the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and the adoption of recommendations which are diametrically opposed to the essence of Camp David will in no way advance Palestinian rights.

266. Such actions will serve only to undermine the good name and moral authority of the United Nations. The United Nations is more than a weapon in one side’s political armory. It must not align itself with forces working against a final settlement between Israel and its Arab neighbours by repudiating the sole existing framework

provided in the Camp David accords for just resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. It is vital that the United Nations, rather than continuing to repeat the errors of the past, not be exploited for partisan purposes and that it strive to preserve the principles of balance and equity on which it was founded. For that reason and the others I have cited, the United States strongly opposes any efforts to derogate from the centrality of the Camp David accords and from Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

267. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization has asked to be allowed to reply to a statement made by one of the speakers in the debate. I intend to call on him on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) and particularly on the basis of the ruling made by the President of the thirty-first session² and of the precedents established in similar circumstances during subsequent sessions of the General Assembly. I call on the Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

268. Mr. ABDEL RAHMAN (Palestine Liberation Organization): Once again the representative of the United States of America has proved that the policies of his Government are lagging behind history. Those kinds of policies and stands are the cause of the conflict that we are going through in the Middle East.

269. The United States of America claims that it has paid \$1 billion in assistance to the Palestinian refugees. But it does not point out that the United States is primarily responsible for the tragedy of the Palestinian people. Because, in 1947, when the Government of the United States committed one of the most unforgettable acts of aggression ever inflicted upon the territorial integrity of Palestine, by twisting arms in this very General Assembly and blackmailing Member States to force them to accept the partition, it also committed a crime against the Palestinian people. As a result of that partition resolution the Palestinian people were expelled from their homes and property, which were given to Jewish immigrants under the banner of zionism—immigrants collected from all over the world, including the United States, for settlement in the land of Palestine. In fact, the United States has exported to us in Palestine criminals like Meir Kahane, and others, who have been engaged in committing crimes against the Palestinian people.

270. The United States, which complains that it pays \$1 billion to the Palestinians, has given Israel \$35 billion in the last 34 years—\$35 billion in armaments, F-15s and F-16s and tanks, which are not used for tourism or to cultivate the land in Palestine, but to burn land as in southern Lebanon and in the occupied territories.

271. I assure the representative of the United States that the PLO is much more popular among the Palestinians than his own Government is among the American people, since only 20 per cent of them elected it. The PLO enjoys the support, even under the guns of the Israeli occupation, of 86 per cent of the Palestinian people. Despite the fact that the policy of the Israeli terrorists inside the occupied territories is to consider adherence to or association with the PLO as a crime punishable by three years imprisonment or a fine of ten thousand pounds, the members of the municipal councils and the mayors who support the programme of the PLO got 86 per cent of the vote in 1976. The Government of Reagan could not get more than 20 per cent of the total votes in the United States.

272. Therefore, the United States representative cannot speak about who gives legitimacy to the PLO to be the spokesman of the Palestinian people. It is only the Palestinian people who can give legitimacy to the PLO. Whether he likes it or not, we will decide the future of the Middle East, not the United States of America. The United States can play an active role only if it behaves responsibly; otherwise it cannot. Responsible behaviour would give the United States a role to play in the Middle East. I repeat: we in the Arab world will decide the future of our region, not the United States.

273. I would say to the representative of the United States—despite the fact that he represents a super-Power and I represent a struggling people—that in the final analysis he should learn from the lessons of Viet Nam, Nicaragua and Iran, and advise his Government to walk together with history rather than behind history. The arrogance of the United States and its engagement in a militaristic policy in our part of the world can never be conducive to peace; it can lead only to further bloodshed

and destruction in our part of the world. We do not want to become part of the cold war waged by the United States. We do not accept this polarization which the United States is trying to impose in our region. We will not agree to becoming bases for the United States in the Arab world. We have fought hard and we continue to fight hard for our independence; it is not for sale or mortgage despite the potential of the United States in terms of weapons and other things. I assure the representative of the United States that we will continue to work with our Arab brothers to uncover the real intention of the United States, which is to assist its tool in the area: Israel.

The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.

NOTES

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

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 9th meeting, paras. 152 to 154.