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

AGENDA ITEM 12

Report of the Economic and Social Council (*continued*)
REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (PART II)
(A/36/691/Add.1)

AGENDA ITEM 69

Development and international economic co-operation (*continued*):*
(a) **International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade;**
(b) **Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States**
REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (PART III)
(A/36/694/Add.2)
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(i) **Report of the Commission on Human Settlements;**
(ii) **Report of the Secretary-General**

* Resumed from the 64th meeting.

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE
(PART XI) (A/36/694/Add.10)

- (l) **Effective mobilization and integration of women in development: reports of the Secretary-General;**
- (m) **Long-term trends in economic development: report of the Secretary-General;**
- (n) **United Nations Special Fund**

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (PART XII)
(A/36/694/Add.11)

AGENDA ITEM 71

Training and research (*concluded*):*
(a) **United Nations Institute for Training and Research: report of the Executive Director**

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (PART II)
(A/36/693/Add.1)

1. Mr. OULD SID'AHMED (Mauritania), Rapporteur of the Second Committee (*interpretation from Arabic*): I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly the reports of the Second Committee on agenda items 12, 69 (a), 69 (k), 69 (l), (m) and (n) and 71 (a)

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Second Committee.

2. The PRESIDENT: Statements will be limited to explanations of vote. The positions of delegations with respect to the recommendations contained in the reports of the Second Committee are reflected in the relevant summary records.

3. May I in this connection remind members of decision 34/401, by which the Assembly agreed that when the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in plenary meeting, a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, that is, either in the Committee or in plenary meeting unless that delegation's vote in plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee.

4. I now invite the Assembly to turn its attention to part II of the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 12 [A/36/691/Add.1].

5. The Assembly will now take a vote on the draft resolution entitled "Assistance to the Palestinian people" recommended to the Assembly by the Second Committee in paragraph 11 of its report.

The draft resolution was adopted by 99 votes to 2, with 18 abstentions (resolution 36/70).

6. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Yemen, who wishes to explain his vote.

7. Mr. ALAKWAA (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation already explained its vote in the Second Committee. I should like to reaffirm what we said then—that is, that assistance given to the Palestinian people, to whatever extent and at whatever level, cannot make up for the losses sustained by that people through the denial of its right to return to its homeland and to recover its property.

8. We state categorically that the Palestinian people deserves our assistance until it returns to its own country. The solution to the Palestinian problem lies not in offering gifts but in implementing the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

9. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to part III of the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 69 [A/36/694/Add.2].

10. In paragraph 3 of that report, the Second Committee recommends the adoption of a draft decision entitled "World development fund". May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt that draft decision?

The draft decision was adopted (decision 36/421).

11. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now consider the report of the Second Committee on subitem (k) of agenda item 69 [A/36/694/Add.10].

12. The Chairman of the fourth session of the Commission on Human Settlements, Mrs. Imelda Romualdez Marcos, First Lady of the Philippines and Minister for Human Settlements, has requested to be allowed to make a statement pursuant to paragraph 6 of Commission resolution 4/1 of 6 May 1981, entitled "Manila Communiqué on a Human Settlements Movement".¹

13. Mrs. MARCOS: I should like to begin by gratefully acknowledging the distinct honour and privilege bestowed upon me by the Governments whose delegations participated in the fourth session of the Commission on Human Settlements at Manila, which adopted the Manila Communiqué and instructed its Chairman to convey to the General Assembly the report on the subject of human settlements. I submit this report within the larger context of what we call the new human order.

14. There is in the *Book of Proverbs* an ancient truth so often lost in today's flux of events: "Where there is no vision, the people perish". Allow me to paraphrase that statement by saying that where there is no global vision for humankind, then all men perish. We must think out an entirely new framework for humankind. That paradigm is basically and essentially a moral framework that considers the welfare of man not only for today's generations but for generations yet unborn. This was stressed by President Marcos at the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, held at Cancún in October 1981.

15. When I speak of this moral order, I do not refer to the sense of morality as defined, for example, by organized religion or religious institutions. I speak of the overwhelming mass of humanity through the centuries that, whatever its faith or beliefs, demonstrates as individuals or as communities that sense of values, that touch of conscience, which makes the individual person a human being, superior to other living beings of this planet.

16. Many confusing and complex issues become clearer when we know where we want to go. If we are guided by

present thinking, we may insist that each nation, like each individual, must have a vision of itself. That is well and good. But it is not enough. These are self-defined goals, taking in fragments of humanity, isolated in regional interests and clustered around political and economic ambitions. What we need is a global human order where we all share in a future vision that must be planned and managed beginning today.

17. We tend to limit our perceptions of development to its physical manifestations, which are measurable. But a purely materialistic approach to development will inevitably reach its limits. On what is the new plan based? It is based on a positive feeling or love, not on the romanticism of emotional and physical excitement and attraction, but on the larger dimension of engagement or involvement. Man evolves into a superior form of humanity because he gives of himself to others. This he can achieve only through contact and involvement with people. This is not a new doctrine.

18. It has been observed time and again that emphasis upon the exclusively materialistic aspect of development has fragmented man and sacrificed his humanity at the iron altar of growth. What we need to do now is to make growth human, to balance the "macho" image and the father domination of human endeavour and to inaugurate with this the return of the mother to the family of man. This is no mere poetic metaphor but a recognition, prescribed by modern philosophers, of the restoration of the wholeness of human beings.

19. In a practical way, the return of the mother is the re-enshrinement of love as a disciplining force. When we speak of the new planning we mean this precise force, without which there can be no life, only existence. How can we be blind to it in our most fundamental need, the need to live with one another? This, then, is the economy of man.

20. We seek a world less volatile and dramatic than the one we have today, and certainly more interrelated. The goal is harmony with oneself, with others and with nature; it is not dominance but equity, solidarity, participation, integration. Development goals must encompass man in his total reality of body, mind and spirit or feelings, one and indivisible.

21. To allude once again to this is to postulate a cardinal point in the making of society. By your leave, let me give an account of the Philippine experience in this perspective.

22. In the Philippines we have classified basic needs into 11 services. These are water, power, food, clothing, medical services, education, ecological balance, sports and recreation, livelihood, shelter and land use, and mobility, including communications and transportation—roads and the like.

23. At the risk of redundancy, may I say that their planning, management and control must be approached, it is true, in terms of service to man but so that man serves himself. Livelihood is not just habitation and government services, but becomes the core of the human settlement.

24. In the Philippines the creation of the new Ministry of Human Settlements brings to life a development strategy inspired by the time-revered ideology of self-production, participation and involvement. This is a novel concept of development which is in tune with the needs of

the Filipino people. Houses are not given away free. Core houses are built only after the slums are cleared, re-blocked and the basic needs provided by Government. But each owner must work on his own home following models that he can choose from with materials that may be advanced to him. He must pay for his home on very easy concessional terms. If he has no source of income he is first brought into the village livelihood programme before he can participate. Thus he has a stake in the village as well as in his house. So does his family, who may be a part of the livelihood programme. Because he works, he survives. Because he earns his own bread, he has pride. His flesh and spirit are thus fulfilled. He is a dignified human being.

25. On the basis of our experience as a people responding to crisis and to actual continuing problems, we evolve and effect this ideology of the new society—a basic orientation and a basic thrust. Certainly the Ministry and the various agencies involved in human settlements development have been advocating this self-perpetuating, dignifying and humanistic approach to development.

26. It is significant that while the rural poor had been virtually forgotten by previous Governments, which launched programmes which at best provided palliatives for the continuing problems of poverty and lack of adequate services in rural areas, today the poor are more directly involved in bringing development into their lives through the same self-help and co-operative efforts, and with only minimal Government support and expenses. Opportunity structures or ways and means are hence being set up to make them feel that they belong; they are part of the total programme directed at ennoblement of the ordinary man.

27. The goal of the Ministry of Human Settlements is to meet, through this scheme, all the 11 basic needs in human settlements at adequate levels and degrees for all people in all villages, towns and cities of the Philippines.

28. We are beginning to move in these 11 directions simultaneously, for we realize that unless we develop totally we shall succumb to congestion, to rapid decline and final destruction. We realize that if we do not make a total effort for each and every single man we shall never attain our goals.

29. We have set up institutions to increase our capability to produce food and have laid the ground for the establishment of industries that will turn every human being into a dignified and proud unit of production of basic commodities, raw materials for defence, construction materials and basic human services. We thus seek to reduce our dependence on foreign supplies and resources.

30. We now think of the immediate, effective, continuing and cumulative satisfaction of the needs and aspirations of man in the community where he lives in every city, in every town, in every human settlement. We now think of the construction of houses, the local supply of water, school and medical services, sports and recreational facilities not only as projects being randomly handed down to the people but as components of the total and full realization of the being of man—the satisfaction of his inner yearnings for the good, the true and the beautiful. We now think in terms of power and water, upgrading and increasing the number of schools and medical services, sports and recreational facilities, transportation and job opportunities and maintaining the ecological bal-

ance between man and his environment ultimately to bring about a balanced ecoculture.

31. These, to my mind, are not just random projects but vital components of the total concentration needed to make man realize that he, after all these years, is the noble reflection of his Creator; that is why we have designed programmes directed to meet man's yearnings for that which is true, for that which is life.

32. While we do not abandon large-scale efforts to produce food and develop large-scale industries, we now disperse laterally all job opportunities for the residents of every town, through the setting up of small-scale agro-industrial and cottage industries in every village and locality, covering mixed agriculture and forestry for the mountainsides, livestock for the uplands, agriculture for the lowlands, and aqua-culture for the rivers, the ocean and the seas. Thus livelihood becomes the centre of activity of any group of human beings.

33. I think it is crucial at this point to crystallize the Manila Communiqué on a Human Settlements Movement. It was my privilege to chair the fourth session of the Commission, and it is the Commission's task to promote the integral concept of human settlements problems in all countries. We were deeply concerned by the deterioration of the quality of life in human settlements measured against basic aspirations for human dignity for a great proportion of the world population. We voiced anxiety over the likely worsening of the situation.

34. This is critical to our concept of human settlements. We see man as the beginning, the means and the objective of development, because man occupies the centre of human settlements concern. It is our position that the method of approach to human settlements can be a powerful force in the improvement of the human condition. It must receive co-ordinated sectoral activities involving multi-disciplinary experts working within a comprehensive and integrated framework. In practical terms, human settlements development does not mean just building houses for the poor or providing socialized housing. More importantly, it involves the co-ordination of all efforts in both the public and private sectors to improve the quality of life by satisfying the basic needs of the people, both in the visibles and the invisibles.

35. So we see this cascade of concerted action brought to this United Nations forum. Human settlements is the shared vision of humankind, the global movement for the betterment of the human condition. This movement is operationalized into global programmes of action on the 11 basic needs applying modern management techniques and, finally, specific and concrete demonstration projects in different environments in the world showing these concepts in application.

36. The Manila Communiqué therefore calls upon Governments and international organizations concerned to join, as appropriate, in a comprehensive and effective human settlements movement designed to bring about the full development of man as a tangible demonstration of the spirit of co-operation and understanding that animated the fourth session of the Commission on Human Settlements.

37. Perhaps it is in the human settlements movement that we have the answer to the North-South dilemma. The less industrialized nations are truly grateful for the historically unprecedented assistance they have received from

the industrialized countries in the recent past. But a better approach is needed to ensure that future development aid will be needless and that self-reliance will be achieved. We believe that this approach lies in the concept of human development in human settlements, the approach to man as man. Humanly fulfilled, man therefore becomes a most productive resource and the market on which investments are based. Man can produce and he can also pay for his needs. But, if we do not show appreciation of the dignity of man by making his own work the centre of his life, we risk man not only remaining a social burden but turning into a destructive force.

38. In this context and in that of our experience in my country, we offered to the fourth session of the Commission on Human Settlements for examination a modest proposal to all in the United Nations system, particularly those engaged in development work in the areas of basic human needs, for the undertaking of demonstration projects on human settlements in a number of geographically significant developing countries. Basically, we suggest that the various development agencies in the United Nations system work together by transforming selected depressed communities in Asia, Africa and Latin America into authentic human settlements provided with the basic needs and vitalized by the vision of a new global human order. Through these projects, we propose to bring down from the conceptual to the operational plane the meaning of human settlements by making it work in everyday terms among everyday people in everyday situations. They may just provide starting-points for transforming what is now only a creed into a living movement.

39. Human settlements are the cradles of humanity, the generators and repositories of human values. Humanity's last stand in its battle for survival will be established in the fortresses of families, communities and human settlements. These are the sanctuaries of the spirit of man. In the human settlements of the world, this spirit will be nurtured and protected until its reawakening into a mighty force. For if we look around us, the casualty of our times is man. His institutions have turned against him. Government has reduced him to statistics. Industries dehumanize him, armaments terrorize him, machines depreciate him, financial institutions enslave him, monetary systems betray him. Even development aid looks down upon him as an incorrigible burden who must somehow be recast in a superior mould. His feelings and values have been relegated to irrelevance and unimportance.

40. Let us build our human settlements on the basis of a new human order. God gave this world to man so that we may discover Him in all the things He has created. Let us now give the world back to man.

41. I began with a quotation from the *Book of Proverbs*; I should like to end with a message painfully evocative of what may lay in store for us and humanity if we are not able to induce an awareness of how vulnerable our humanism is. The graffiti, found written on a wall in a run-down community which apparently had given up both hope and its humanism, read: "Owing to lack of interest, tomorrow has been cancelled." The message was signed "God".

42. Let us bring back tomorrow today.

43. The PRESIDENT: I thank the Chairman of the fourth session of the Commission on Human Settlements for her statement.

44. The Assembly will now take action on the draft resolutions recommended by the Second Committee in its report on agenda item 69 (k) [A/36/694/Add.10].

45. Draft resolution I, entitled "International Year of Shelter for the Homeless", was adopted by the Second Committee without a vote. May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to do the same?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 36/71).

46. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II, entitled "Human Settlements", comprises three parts: A, "Report of the Commission on Human Settlements"; B, "Renewable sources of energy for human settlements"; and C, "Mobilization of financial resources for the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (HABITAT)".

47. The Second Committee adopted draft resolution II without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 36/72).

48. The PRESIDENT: We come next to draft resolution III, entitled "Living conditions of the Palestinian people". The administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution are contained in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/36/713]. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Israel, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Burma, Canada, Central African Republic, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Draft resolution III was adopted by 109 votes to 2, with 25 abstentions (resolution 36/73).²

49. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Uruguay for an explanation of vote.

50. Mr. BARREIRO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Although the delegation of Uruguay voted in favour of draft resolution III, it wishes to reiterate the position it expressed on 29 July 1980, during the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, on the question of Palestine.³

51. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the Second Committee on subitems (l), (m) and (n) of agenda item 69 [A/36/694/Add.11].

52. The Assembly will now take action on the draft resolution and draft decisions recommended by the Second Committee.

53. In paragraph 15 of its report the Second Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution entitled "Comprehensive outline of a world survey on the role of women in development". Since the Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote, may I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to do so?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 36/74).

54. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the draft decisions recommended by the Second Committee in paragraph 16 of its report. Draft decision I is entitled "Effective mobilization and integration of women in development". The Second Committee adopted that decision without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do so also?

Draft decision I was adopted (decision 36/422).

55. The PRESIDENT: Draft decision II, entitled "Long-term trends in economic development", was also adopted by the Second Committee without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft decision II was adopted (decision 36/423).

56. The PRESIDENT: Draft decision III, entitled "United Nations Special Fund", was adopted by the Committee without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly also wishes to do so?

Draft decision III was adopted (decision 36/424).

57. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Assembly to turn its attention to the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 71 (a) [A/36/693/Add.1].

58. The Second Committee adopted the draft resolution recommended in paragraph 9, entitled "United Nations Institute for Training and Research", without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly also wishes to do so?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 36/75).

AGENDA ITEM 31

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

59. Mr. MAINA (Kenya): This vexatious problem has been with us for a long time. The movement towards its

solution has been very slow, but there is no denying that there has been some movement forward. My delegation has for a long time felt and stated that a solution of the problem of Palestine, to be lasting, must be based on sound, firm and just principles. Those principles are to be found in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). We have also stated that any solution to produce a lasting peace must address itself to the core of the problem, which is the future of the displaced people of Palestine. They are entitled to a homeland that is free and sovereign. They are entitled to determine their future and organize their free State like any other people in similar circumstances.

Mr. Anderson (Australia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

60. The movement towards the solution of the problem has been slow because the principal parties have held rigid and mainly irreconcilable positions. The call for withdrawal from territories occupied in the 1967 war is interpreted as meaning less than what it says. The call for States in the area to live in peace within recognized borders is interpreted as excluding the creation of a State for the Palestinian people. There has therefore been, in the main, an unwillingness to engage in meaningful negotiations that would lead to a solution of the problem.

61. Sometimes we form the impression that the principal parties, having lived for so many years in a state of conflict, are afraid of peace itself. We feel—we hope we are wrong—that the parties have lived so long in conflict that it has become a way of life, with its supporting outgrowths and other deeply felt vested interests. This uncomfortable feeling has been reinforced in recent months by the vehemence with which Israel has taken steps to make a solution of the problem of Palestine permanently impossible. These steps include declarations on Jerusalem and refusal to agree to withdraw from all territories occupied since 1967. The positions Israel has taken indicate that at best these territories can only hope to become protectorates of Israel. These positions, among others taken by Israel, would make a solution of this problem permanently impossible. We view with similar apprehension the refusal by the other principal parties to consider proposals for the solution of the problem out of hand, without giving them a chance for discussion and thorough examination of the possibilities such proposal might offer.

62. We can only appeal to all the parties to modify their positions and to give a chance to the efforts of their friends to find a solution. The dangers which the continuation of this problem poses are obvious to all, and it is the responsibility of all of us at the United Nations to encourage movement towards the solution of this problem, which could conceivably trigger wide conflicts which could not be confined to this region alone.

63. Mr. CHOWDHURY (Bangladesh): The question of Palestine is the heart of the Middle East problem. It is an issue whose solution will govern the future peace in the region and also reflect upon the maintenance of peace and security in the world.

64. The question of Palestine has been the subject of an intensive debate for the last 36 years in the United Nations. In that period numerous nations have emerged from the shackles of colonialism and dependence and attained freedom and independence, and yet the people of Palestine continue to languish under oppression and occupation.

65. Bangladesh believes that no solution in the Middle East can be envisaged which does not take fully into account the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people.

66. Any examination of the question of Palestine must be based on the following basic elements. First, the question of Palestine is the core of the problem of the Middle East, and consequently it is not possible to envisage a solution to the problem of the Middle East unless the rights of the Palestinian people are taken into account. Secondly, there must be implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and to achieve self-determination, independence and national sovereignty. Thirdly, the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with all the other parties, on the basis of relevant Assembly resolutions, is indispensable. Fourthly, the acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible, and Israel must withdraw totally from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem. Fifthly, a greater understanding of the just cause of the Palestinian people is essential.

67. The United Nations has repeatedly tried, through the Security Council and the General Assembly, to bring justice to the suffering Palestinian Arab community. The Government of Israel, unfortunately, has each time taken measures in violation of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, thus frustrating all efforts of the international community to resolve this explosive issue. Israel has, in defiance of international law and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,⁴ continued illegally to establish Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and to expropriate and annex vast areas of land belonging to the Arabs. According to recent statistics, the Israeli authorities are reported to have seized in various ways more than 370,000 acres of West Bank land. The thrust of Israeli policy since 1967 has been to swallow up the West Bank as an integral Israeli territory. Israel has also continued to attack savagely Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, causing the death of hundreds of Palestinian civilians. They also plan to build a canal which would link the Dead Sea with the Mediterranean. They continue to threaten Christian and Islamic holy and historic places.

68. Israel is deliberately trying to undermine the basis of Arab communal life. Arab communities find themselves systematically isolated by the establishment of more than 100 strategically situated settlements. It is a preconceived Israeli policy to frustrate any attempts to create territorial and political continuity in the occupied territories.

69. Such a policy on the part of Israel is not only morally wrong but also legally untenable. Israel's attempt to impose and perpetuate colonial rule on 1 million Palestinians must be stopped. The sufferings and despair caused by Israel must cease, and her brutal oppression must be stopped forthwith. If the major causes of conflict are to be removed and if the security and the future of the region are to be guaranteed, this is the absolute prerequisite.

70. The central problem in the establishment of a global peace is in the Middle East, and the solution resides in the solution of the Palestinian problem and in the assurance of the conditions necessary to enable the Palestinian people to realize their aspirations to develop freely and without let or hindrance. The full participation of the PLO in efforts undertaken on an international level is of

particular importance for a global settlement. The United Nations, we believe, must play a more active role in those efforts.

71. No discussion of Palestine would be complete without consideration of the humanitarian aspect of the Palestine refugee problem. We must emphasize again that the refugee problem is totally political in origin. No amount of humanitarian measures, however effective, will be adequate to eliminate the refugee problem until a just and lasting solution is found for the overall question of Palestine. The refugees must be settled in their own homeland. In the meantime, the United Nations and its specialized agencies should provide the economic and technical assistance necessary for the consolidation of the Palestinian entity.

72. In conclusion, I should like to re-emphasize that Bangladesh will continue to support and encourage all just and moral initiatives aimed at the full exercise of the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine. We will continue to encourage any initiative that has the support and provides for the participation of the Palestinians and their representative, the PLO. Peace in the region must be achieved through collective effort on a realistic basis.

73. As the President of Bangladesh, Justice Abdus Sattar, said in his message on the occasion of the commemoration of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People:

“The Palestinian situation continues to challenge the international community as a major test of the credibility and capacity of the United Nations in the fulfilment of its fundamental responsibility for preserving peace and security in the world. No other problem has provoked so much thought, unleashed so much indignation or so polarized the emotions of nations and individuals alike. It is our duty to promote a lasting and durable peace. If peace is to endure it must be based on justice, and justice demands the redressing of all wrongs done contrary to international law, adherence to the norms and principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the establishment of the fundamental human rights.

“There cannot be any doubt that the people of Palestine are a definite political entity. To ignore their presence is to discount a reality recognized by the overwhelming majority of States and, indeed, all mankind. Thus the fundamental element of a durable and permanent Middle East peace revolves around the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to a State of their own in their homeland.”

74. The Bangladesh delegation would like to become a sponsor of draft resolution A/36/L.33 on the question of Palestine.

75. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): While not entering at this moment into an evaluation of the deterioration of the Middle East situation—which is a consequence of Israeli aggression and expansion, on which we shall have an opportunity to speak in a later debate on the Middle East—I should, however, like to point out some factors which are equally relevant today and which characterize the situation in this sensitive region. Those irrefutable factors carry dramatic messages for the whole international community and cannot be overlooked by anyone.

76. First of all, there is no doubt that the Palestinian question is at the core of the Middle East crisis. The failure to solve it has negative consequences not only for that region but for the world as a whole. The most essential principles of stable international relations are embedded both in the main cause of that crisis and in the basis for its solution. For what is at issue here is inalienable rights, such as the rights to self-determination, national independence, protection from the acquisition of territories by force, return to one's own home, protection of property, the establishment of one's own State, and so forth. Therefore, the exercise of these inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people is a prerequisite for a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

77. Secondly, if anything has become clear in this crisis, it is the fact that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, which has the right to decide on its destiny. The sooner this verified fact is accepted, the faster will be dissipated the dangerous illusion that peace in the Middle East can be negotiated behind the back of the Palestinian people. The PLO has on several occasions proved its constructive character, contributing to the search for the peaceful solution of the Middle East crisis. It has therefore been integrated into international life as an observer at the United Nations, a member of the non-aligned movement and a full member of a number of bodies and agencies within the United Nations system, and it has thus become a responsible international, legal and political subject with which an ever greater number of States are establishing relations with the characteristics of relations between sovereign States.

78. The third irrefutable fact is that the Israeli policy of expansion and domination is an obstacle to the solution of this question and of the crisis in the Middle East in general. For this reason, the responsibility of all international elements which actively or passively support such a policy has become even greater.

79. A consensus has been reached on these undeniable facts, and an ever smaller number of Governments tries to deny them. Through decisions and measures adopted by its organs and through the declarations of statesmen or the stands taken by political forces, the international community has clearly pronounced itself on this issue. These facts, which were reaffirmed in 1980 at the seventh emergency special session, on Palestine, are encouraging. No one should disregard them or remain lulled by the illusion that force or separate solutions will yield lasting results. The neglect of this truth can only exacerbate the problem to an even greater degree and lead to further exposure of the Palestinian people and the neighboring Arab countries to permanent aggression, thus jeopardizing peace in the region and in the world.

80. The exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people is not only an ethical or humanitarian question, although it concerns the violation of human and social rights of Palestinians as a people and as individuals. It is first of all a political issue concerning the right to self-determination and the right to one's own State. Therefore the United Nations should strive even more strongly for such solutions as would enable the Palestinian people to regain its rights and would terminate the Calvary of this people, which has been suffering as have few peoples in contemporary history. Not only has its right to existence been questioned, but it has been driven out of its country and denationalized, and its cultural, historical and religious identity has been threatened. The *faits accomplis* of such a policy have never been accepted, nor can its

temporary and partial successes become permanent. On the contrary, the policy of force has always been defeated, and all its protagonists should take this fact into account.

81. More than 30 years ago the world Organization took responsibility for the solution of the Palestinian question, the acute character of which imposes itself upon us today as a test of conscience. It cannot be evaded any longer under any pretext, particularly not at a time when the ideals of self-determination, national independence and human rights have become the basic inspiration and support of the struggle for a new, more stable world, where everybody would have access to them.

82. Therefore we consider that the solution of the question of Palestine should be urgently tackled. First of all, this should be done through a comprehensive and active approach by the United Nations in launching a process that would lead to an overall solution of the Middle East crisis. This means recognition of the inalienable national, social and human rights of the Palestinian people in its own State, which will create the conditions necessary to ensure realization of the right of all peoples and countries in the region to free and undisturbed life and development.

83. The positions of Yugoslavia regarding the question of Palestine are well known. They proceed from, first, the indispensability of the withdrawal of Israel from all territories occupied since 5 June 1967, including Jerusalem; secondly, the realization of the right of the Palestinian people to create its own State; thirdly, the recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; and fourthly, the recognition of the right of all peoples and States in the Middle East region to secure and independent national and social development.

84. Non-aligned countries, whose policy has always been an expression of the aspirations and needs of all peoples and countries for free development and which have thus become the firmest supporters of their independence, have always and consistently endeavoured to achieve a solution of the Middle East crisis under which all countries and peoples can realize their legitimate interests. This was reaffirmed at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 9 to 13 February 1981, which stressed the need for a more active commitment of the United Nations to the implementation of its own decisions.

85. We have carefully studied this year's report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [A/36/35]. In our assessment this important United Nations organ has again successfully fulfilled its assigned task, since its report identifies all the crucial elements of the question and offers concrete suggestions for its solution. We fully support the recommendations contained in the report [*ibid.*, paras. 49-53] and consider that at present it is most important to proceed urgently with their implementation.

86. Yugoslavia, which has always been constantly engaged in the effort to eliminate all negative trends in international relations, will continue, together with other non-aligned countries, to support all endeavours, concrete actions and measures leading to the realization of the national aspirations of the Palestinian people. The liberation of this heroic people and the creation of its free and independent State would contribute to the freedom and independence of all countries and peoples and to peace in the

world—which cannot be lasting as long as there are peoples subjected to foreign domination. Therefore, there is no problem in the world today the solution of which is more urgent than the question of Palestine. It is our duty to contribute to the creation of conditions that will enable the General Assembly and the United Nations fully to assume their responsibilities, by adopting decisions that will contribute to the security of all countries and peoples and to peace in the region and in the world at large.

87. Mr. KARRAN (Guyana): Our debate this year on the question of Palestine occurs at a particularly troubled moment in relations among nations. There has been a marked deterioration in the climate of international intercourse, linked primarily to a renewed jockeying for strategic advantages and military superiority. The language of reasoned discourse and the search for mutually acceptable bases for collaboration between the major Powers have given way to postures of belligerence and the rhetoric of confrontation. There are now deliberate attempts to globalize local situations of conflict in order to have them serve narrow strategic interests.

88. Against that backdrop, it is important that the international community maintain the question of Palestine in its proper perspective—a story of the dispossession of an entire people, of a proud nation chased from its land and reduced to the status of refugees, and the story of the struggle of that people to regain its inalienable rights, including the right to its own independent Palestinian State. In view of the full and unequivocal commitment to the promotion of the rights of the Palestinian people, my delegation is particularly grateful for this opportunity to make a contribution to our current debate.

89. The consideration of the Palestinian issue at this thirty-sixth session is once again facilitated by the comprehensive report prepared by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. Since its establishment in 1975 that Committee has worked assiduously, particularly in the intersessional period, to sensitize international public opinion to the tragic dispossession and the wide-scale injustices that are the daily lot of the Palestinian people.

90. My delegation wishes to record its continuing appreciation of the valuable work performed by the Committee, under the wise leadership of Mr. Sarré of Senegal.

91. Various aspects of the Palestinian problem have already exercised the attention of the Assembly at this session. The Special Political Committee has considered two related items: the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories [*item 64*], and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East [*item 60*]. The debate on those items has provided new evidence of the deliberate policies and practices of the Israeli authorities aimed at the complete subjugation and dispossession of the Palestinian people and at suppressing all nationalistic sentiment within them and even at depriving them of their identity.

92. My delegation wishes to reiterate its strong condemnation of those Israeli policies and practices in the occupied territories that create further hardships for an already brutalized people. In arrogant disregard of United Nations resolutions and international opinion, Israel not only continues its settlement programme in the occupied territories, but also has undertaken a systematic process of destruction of Palestinian homes, deportation and ex-

pulsion of Palestinian leaders, repression of educational institutions and interference with the religious freedom and practices of the Palestinians. Recent Israeli legislation affecting the status of Jerusalem is another manifest link in the annexationist intent of the Israeli authorities, as are the Mediterranean-Dead Sea canal project that traverses the occupied Gaza Strip and the excavation of tunnels in Jerusalem, which endangers historic Islamic buildings.

93. My delegation sees all these acts as coherently inter-linked. They are part of a process of creeping colonization put into motion by the Israeli occupiers. They represent a short-sighted attempt by Israel to seek security through a policy of colonial domination and the dispersal of the Palestinians from their homeland.

94. Ironically, these policies have their own self-destructive dynamics. Security for Israel cannot be founded on the insecurity of its neighbours or on the subordination of the Palestinians. Conscious acts of terror and dispossession against a victimized people cannot produce the peace and stability that Israel claims it wishes. They will only widen and intensify the cycle of violence, for the Palestinian people will not allow themselves to be sacrificed to Israel's aggressive behaviour. The self-perceived insecurity of Israel is a clear outgrowth of its own aggressive expansionism and indiscriminate violence.

95. The systematic terror practised by Israel in the occupied territories does not stop there. This State-sponsored violence touches even those Palestinians who have been forced to flee the horrors and deprivation of Israeli occupation. An already desperate existence in refugee camps has constantly to reckon with the threat of massive and indiscriminate Israeli attacks against those camps. The Assembly has only to recall the brutal incursions into southern Lebanon in July that wreaked such wide-spread devastation on life and property.

96. Israel's contemptuous flouting of international opinion and United Nations resolutions on the question of Palestine and its continued display of arrogant confidence in its military capabilities are made possible only by the tolerant acquiescence of its main supporter. Israel is undoubtedly bolstered by any policy which indiscriminately prescribes military solutions to every conflict situation, whether of local, regional or global dimensions.

97. We must not allow the search for an internationally acceptable solution to the Palestinian problem to be complicated by the approach that argues for the building of a so-called strategic consensus in the Middle East. Such an approach seeks to introduce considerations which depart from what is almost universally recognized to be the essence of the problem of the Middle East and naturally takes us farther away from a solution to that problem. We must strongly resist any attempt to marginalize the Palestinians' problem or to superimpose the determinants of super-Power rivalry on the situation in the Middle East as a whole.

98. The Palestinian people have certain inalienable rights which must be taken into account if there is to be a lasting peace in the Middle East. The Palestinian people must be allowed to participate in any negotiations concerning their future, and my delegation is pleased to note the increased political recognition which the PLO is gaining as the representative of the Palestinian people. We join our voice to that of other progressive forces in insisting that the PLO, as the representative of the Palestinian people, be included in any negotiations for a secure and

lasting peace in the Middle East. The prescription for such a peace already exists; its elements are well known: first, Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories; secondly, recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to a homeland; thirdly, the right of all States in the area—I repeat, all States in the area—to live within secure and mutually recognized boundaries.

99. The cause of Palestine cannot be divorced from the Middle East conflict. Repeated United Nations resolutions have recognized the centrality of the question of Palestine to the situation of conflict that continues to prevail in the Middle East. The search for a just and lasting peace must therefore involve all the affected parties and must encompass all the causes of the conflict. Partial solutions can never restore peace in the Middle East.

100. The widening international consensus supportive of the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights emphasizes the overriding justice of their cause. My delegation, finally, hopes that the necessary political will will be exercised by those concerned in order to bring an early end to the tragedy which is the Palestinian question.

101. Mrs. KOZAKOU-MARKOULI (Cyprus): At the outset, I should like to express my sincere appreciation and gratitude to Mr. Massamba Sarré of Senegal, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, to Mr. Gauci of Malta, Rapporteur, and to the other officers of the Committee for their diligent and untiring efforts, their excellent work and their contribution to the just cause of the Palestinian people. The dedication of the Committee, of which Cyprus is proud to be a member, gives courage and provides ample proof of the determination of the international community to strive for the freedom and dignity of man and the fundamental rights of the oppressed, whether in Palestine or elsewhere.

102. The position of my Government on the question of Palestine is well known and has been stated time and again before the Assembly and in other international forums. In addition to their geographical proximity, the Middle East and Cyprus are facing problems that have many points in common. The Government and people of Cyprus have always whole-heartedly supported and defended the just struggle of the Palestinian people to return to its homeland, preserve its national identity and its existence as a nation and establish its own independent sovereign State in Palestine.

103. Our position is based on the following principles. First, it is our firm belief that the question of Palestine constitutes the heart of the whole Middle East problem. There can be no comprehensive, just and durable solution that would restore and preserve peace in the Middle East without taking into account the legitimate national aspirations of the Palestinian people. Secondly, we firmly recognize the inalienable right of the Palestinians to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty and the right of all refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes and properties. The right and the longing of the refugee and the displaced person to return to his ancestral home has a deep meaning for the Cypriots, and we consider that no passage of time can affect or alienate it, whether in Palestine or elsewhere. Thirdly, we strongly believe that the Palestinian people has the inalienable right to establish its own independent and sovereign State in Palestine. Fourthly, Cyprus strongly adheres to the fun-

damental principle, enshrined in the Charter, that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible and can never be legitimized, whether in Palestine or elsewhere. We cannot, therefore, condone the creation of *faits accomplis*—high among them the annexation of Jerusalem—which continues unabated in the occupied territories. We strongly condemn the sustained policies of expropriation and colonization through new settlements, which aim at altering the legal status and the demographic structure of the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories. We also condemn the continuing policies of expulsion, eviction and systematic oppression of civilians in the occupied territories. Those policies are a direct challenge to the Organization and its Charter. They seriously violate international law, contravene and gravely breach the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,⁴ and ignore numerous United Nations resolutions. The occupying Power must cease those practices and withdraw completely and unconditionally from all territories occupied since 1967. Fifthly, Cyprus recognizes the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, whose active participation on an equal footing is indispensable in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East problem. We firmly believe that the future and destiny of a nation cannot be discussed in its absence, and therefore all agreements and treaties that could affect the future of the Palestinian people, its inalienable rights and the status of the occupied Palestinian territories which ignore, violate or deny those rights or are negotiated without the participation of the PLO contravene General Assembly resolutions and have no validity.

104. Lastly, we are of the view that belligerency must come to an end and the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the region, including the Palestinian State the establishment of which is envisaged, must be recognized and respected, as should the right of all States to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

105. It is within the framework of these principles that the Government of Cyprus placed the question of Palestine, and it therefore once again fully endorses the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

106. Concerning the grave developments that have recently taken place in Lebanon as a consequence of the Israeli acts of aggression against civilian targets in Beirut and Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon, Cyprus deplores and has strongly condemned those actions, which constitute a blatant violation of all norms of international law. Once again we wish to reaffirm our total commitment to the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and independence of our neighbour and friend, Lebanon.

107. The international community has the legal and moral obligation to protest and restore the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, just as it has the obligation to protect the oppressed and victimized wherever they may live.

108. In conclusion, I wish to stress that the case before us constitutes a serious breach of the fundamental norms and principles embodied in the Charter, which should at all times govern the conduct of Member States. The question of Palestine is among the most serious international problems that gravely threaten peace and security in that

most sensitive region and the entire world. The United Nations has the primary responsibility to strive for its just and lasting solution. It is necessary and, indeed, urgent for the Organization to take all the appropriate measures provided for in the Charter to compel Israel to comply with the decisions and the will of the international community.

109. Cyprus, for its part, will continue to support all international efforts aimed at the full recognition and restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The Government and people of Cyprus will stand firmly and whole-heartedly by the dispossessed and oppressed people of Palestine until their struggle is rewarded and they return to their homes and properties and establish their own State in Palestine.

110. Mr. MRANI ZENTAR (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly, at its thirty-sixth session, is for the thirty-sixth time discussing the question of Palestine and the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, which Israel continues to ignore with implacable steadfastness, without the Organization having been able to find a way or take measures to put an end to that obstinate defiance, which is so tragic for the region and represents an increasing threat to international peace, which is daily pushed closer to the edge of the abyss.

111. The sole cause of the crisis in the Middle East is the Palestinian problem, and a return to peace in one of the most sensitive regions of the world is closely bound to the solution of that problem, which is the core of that crisis, as has been generally recognized by the international community.

112. It is remarkable that African decisions, those of the non-aligned countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the most recent initiatives of the West European countries and the resolutions of the United Nations all agree on the fundamental nature of the need to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to its homeland and to create an independent State in Palestine.

113. The long march of the Palestinian people, a march marked by acts of unequalled bravery and by self-abnegation, patience and infinite faith in the inevitable success of that legitimate struggle which has aroused the admiration of peoples throughout the world and has won the respect due to causes whose defenders never doubt the final victory.

114. In the face of the courage and determination of the Palestinian people, which is confident of the justice of its cause, Israel is committing the tragic error of shutting itself up in a negative attitude the persistence of which only serves to accentuate tension in the Middle East and encourage the rivalries of foreign Powers, which find in the Middle East an opportunity for the struggle for influence, clearly at the expense of the interests of the peoples of the region and increasing the risks of a major international conflict.

115. The behaviour of Israel in Palestine and the occupied Arab territories and towards neighbouring Arab countries is characterized by blind acts of aggression and oppressive administrative measures, which have been condemned by the international community.

116. In Palestine and in the occupied Arab territories, once again this year we have witnessed a series of arbi-

trary decisions tending towards the unilateral modification of the demographic and economic structure of the territories and their thorough and absolute Judaization by the establishment of artificial colonies in regions never before settled, together with the forcible transfer of property to Israeli nationals ordered to those territories. Such activity, when it takes place, moreover, in territories acquired by force, is unfailingly rejected—justifiably—by the international community.

117. In addition, during the past year Israeli violations in the occupied territories have increased considerably. No fewer than 200 settlements have been established at gunpoint, and repression has reached new levels against municipal authorities, students and even school children, as well as anonymous inhabitants whose houses have been dynamited as part of collective reprisals.

118. There has been an escalation of murderous actions against the fraternal people of Lebanon, made martyrs so many times over, particularly by the systematic bombings of densely populated areas of Beirut, in which men, women and children have been innocent victims of these blind acts of vengeance.

119. This aggressive action, accelerated by an intoxication with power, has allowed Israel to reach out as far as the peaceful nuclear installations at Tamuz, near Baghdad, and has taken place in defiance of condemnatory decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, which forcefully call for Israel to abandon a policy which so flagrantly violates international resolutions that have been confirmed several times over and the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

120. The Holy City of Jerusalem, a city of tolerance and the meeting point of the three revealed religions, a city which contains the Holy Places of Islam venerated by hundreds of millions of Moslems, has been the victim this year, more than in the past, of inadmissible and defiant measures, condemned unanimously by the international community.

121. The unilateral decision of the Knesset to make Jerusalem the indivisible and eternal capital of Israel, to the detriment of the inalienable Arab rights over the city and of Islamic religious feelings towards a city where the deepest mysteries of the faith were revealed, has given rise to a very legitimate reaction throughout the world, as illustrated by the resolution in which the Security Council rejected that annexation and ordered the withdrawal of all diplomatic representation from the city of Al Quds. However, that forceful decision did not dissuade the Israeli authorities from continuing in the Holy City their debasement of Jerusalem from the historic, physical and human standpoints, their destruction of the Holy Places in the guise of archaeological excavations, particularly around the holy mosque of Al Aqsa and in the El Maghariba quarter, in a futile search for illusory lost remains.

122. The Palestinian people, which is suffering for its national feelings and for its faith, has never shown the least sign of weakness or discouragement in the face of all these trials.

123. The resurgence of the Palestinian people, often repressed, is now stronger than ever and deserves our admiration for its tenacious resistance, under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

124. I should not like to let this opportunity pass without expressing my delegation's satisfaction over the dynamic action taken throughout the year by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, and without warmly congratulating its Chairman, Mr. Massamba Sarré of Senegal, who has done excellent work in guiding the Committee.

125. At the invitation of His Majesty King Hassan II, the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference was held at Fez to consider anew the situation in the Middle East in the light of important developments in the crisis in the region. The Conference was called upon to give particular attention to the Saudi proposal for a peaceful solution to the crisis, a proposal which constitutes the most remarkable contribution to the cause of peace that the region has seen in a long time.

126. His Majesty King Hassan II, who presided over the summit conference, said that the plan proposed by Prince Fahd⁵ was not addressed only to some, to the exclusion of others, that on the contrary, the plan was addressed to the whole world in order to show that the Arab countries, as a result of their civilization and history, are capable of mapping out a future for civilization in which all men, whatever their religion or colour, can in peace make their contribution to the well-being of mankind.

127. That first phase of the Arab Summit Conference at Fez made it possible for the participants to gain a better awareness of the facts of the new situation, to interpret them correctly and to make the necessary detailed preparations for the second phase of the Conference, which will take place in the near future. The Arab Summit Conference at Fez was thus suspended to enable the participants to carry out consultations to reach a correct attitude and adopt measures that can be immediately implemented.

128. The second phase of the Conference will take place at Fez on the date to be agreed by the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the League of Arab States.

129. There will be no solution of the Middle East problem until the Palestinian people is allowed to establish its own independent and sovereign State on its own national territory, including the Arab capital of Jerusalem. It is not being obsessive to repeat that self-evident truth.

130. It must be agreed that, however one approaches the problem, if peace and security, justice and equity are really our objectives, there can be no solution but the recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to live in freedom in a sovereign State, in an independent Arab Palestine.

131. Mr. FARAH DIRIR (Djibouti): The General Assembly is once again debating another annual report on the question of Palestine. It is very unfortunate that this same question has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for the past 34 consecutive years and has not been treated in its proper perspective. This is because Israel, which owes its own creation to a United Nations resolution, has unwisely chosen to treat with contempt all the United Nations resolutions demanding its withdrawal from all the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and its recognition of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to a homeland.

132. The unacceptable behaviour of the Israeli authorities in their ill-treatment of the Palestinians and the

other Arab populations in the occupied Arab territories, the provocative acts of aggression and the evident escalation of tension in the region, as well as the necessary steps that have been taken to safeguard the rights of the Palestinian people, have been very well studied under the mandate of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and are vividly described in its report [A/36/35].

133. My delegation affirms its full support for the Committee's conclusions and recommendations, and in this regard we pay a tribute to Mr. Massamba Sarré of Senegal, who has made commendable efforts in directing the work under the Committee's mandate with objectivity and vision.

134. My delegation once again reaffirms that the question of Palestine is at the very heart of the problem of the Middle East and that consequently any solution that does not take into consideration the inalienable rights of the Palestinian People will certainly be doomed to failure.

135. Thirty-four years have elapsed since the inception of the State of Israel as a Jewish State in the land of Palestine, through General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947. Those 34 years have passed without an Arab State being set up, even in the remaining part of Palestine, in spite of the affirmative declaration, in the same resolution, of the formation of an Arab State the same year. As a result, the Palestinian people have experienced 34 tragic years of horror and cold-blooded murder, of indignation in exile and of dispersal to alien and other lands, where they obviously experience the apprehensions and anxieties of the homeless and stateless. It should be recalled that while the General Assembly and the Security Council have been wrestling with the question of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the world has throughout these years experienced the tragic incidents of four destructive wars in the Middle East region as a consequence of the Palestinian tragedy. In each of those wars the world came to the brink of another world war. The dangers that have arisen as a result of Israel's intransigence have been enormous. Through the years the international community has been deeply disturbed by the escalation of tension and the creation of further hotbeds of tension in the region through Israel's intransigent behaviour and its evil schemes aimed at annihilating the Arab nation.

136. The international community—at the United Nations and in the forums of the non-aligned nations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Organization of African Unity—has made the strongest protest against Israel's acts of aggression against the Palestinians and other Arab peoples. In all these forums the international community has reaffirmed its support for the legitimate Arab cause and accordingly called upon Israel to desist from its aggression against the Arabs and their territories and to come to terms with the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people as affirmed in the relevant United Nations resolutions.

137. The whole world has now become cognizant of the fact that the daily developments resulting from the Israeli Government's practices and policies in the occupied territories have become intolerable.

138. The new illegal Israeli settlements, which replace the indigenous populations in the occupied territories with alien settlers, the expropriation by the Israeli authorities of vast areas of Arab-owned land and other violations of

the rights of the Palestinian people, the ongoing and unending illegal acts of displacement of Arab civilians from their homes, the deportation and expulsion of innocent citizens and the denial of their right to return to their own homeland—all these offensive acts continue to aggravate further the already explosive situation.

139. Other causes of grave international concern are the Israeli legislation affecting the status of Jerusalem, the establishment of new Israeli settlements and the enlargement of previously established ones, the construction of a canal across the Gaza Strip to link the Dead Sea with the Mediterranean, the excavation of tunnels under Al-Haram Al-Sharif in the Holy City of Jerusalem, which endangers the historic Islamic buildings, and the destruction of archaeological and cultural buildings and properties. While we declare all legislation in this regard null and void, we add our voice to that of the international majority to reject all measures taken by the Israeli authorities in disregard of the rights of the Palestinian people and in defiance of United Nations resolutions and the repeated appeals of world public opinion. We also reaffirm the right of the Arab nations to sovereignty over Arab Jerusalem.

140. Israel, in a policy that leaves it isolated, continues its illegal measures to change the legal status, geographic nature and demographic composition of the occupied Arab territories. This persistent action by Israel is part of a premeditated design to annex Arab lands. It is an act whose sole aim is to create confusion round the core issue in that region, divert international attention and place obstacles in the way of the continued efforts of the international community to promote a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

141. Despite the feverish refusal of the Israeli Zionist régime, the international consensus supports the exercise of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty. We believe that this would contribute to the solution of the crisis in the Middle East. We also believe that the ongoing international efforts to achieve successful results in the peace negotiations on the question of Palestine should take into consideration the inclusion, on an equal footing, of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and their leader in the struggle for the achievement of all their rights, including the right to self-determination and to establish an independent State on the territory of Palestine. We condemn any separate treaty, agreement or accord which violates the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

142. International public opinion has become aware of the fact that the Arab nations, including the Palestinian people, have demonstrated to the whole world that they want peace and security to prevail in the region. The Israelis, on the contrary, have continually shown utter disregard of all moral values, international laws and treaties and have refused to come to terms with the Palestinian people and the Arab nation.

143. We note with satisfaction that the countries of the European Community have joined the popular trend towards a change of opinion in favour of the Palestinian and Arab world. We hope that their attempt to contribute to the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people will put pressure on the Israeli authorities and seal the fate of their intransigence.

144. At this point, we urge the General Assembly and, especially, the Security Council to make radical changes in their deliberations on the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to bring about fair and equitable results on the question of Palestine.

145. Mr. TOMASZEWSKI (Poland): Once again the present debate is emphasizing the importance that the international community attaches to the question of Palestine. Once again the consideration of this item is demonstrating the utmost urgency of resolving the problem. This point of view stems both from the assessment of the current situation in the region and from the growing awareness that there is only one road to peace in the Middle East and that it leads through the solution of the question of Palestine.

146. Since the question of Palestine is the crux of the problem of the Middle East, as long as it remains unresolved it contributes greatly to the maintenance of one of the most dangerous hotbeds of tension in the world and therefore poses a serious threat to international peace and security. Its repercussions on the situation in the region are far-reaching. For more than three decades the Palestinian people have been exposed to enormous human suffering, exile and oppression. They are facing a policy of aggression and creeping annexation of their homeland. They are experiencing escalating harassment, expulsions, expropriations and the sealing and demolition of habitations. They are witnessing the expanded construction of new Israeli settlements. They are subjected to curfews, forcible transfers and other methods of terror applied by the military occupation authorities. All this is done in flagrant violation of international law, in defiance of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and in disregard of the numerous relevant resolutions adopted by the Assembly. There is no need to stress that these policies can only add to existing tensions.

147. Poland has always unfailingly supported the just aspirations of the Arab people of Palestine to the attainment of their inalienable rights. We have always considered that full implementation of those rights leading towards the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian State on the territories liberated from the Israeli occupier and the guaranteeing of the existence and security of all States and peoples in the region are an objective necessity determined also by the interests of international security and world peace at large.

148. This position of ours has been reflected in many statements and documents, including the records of the United Nations.

149. Only recently, in his message sent to Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, Mr. Henryk Jablónski, President of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic and Chairman of the All-Poland Committee of the National Unity Front, stated, in *inter alia*:

“The struggle waged by the Palestinian people against the Israeli policy of aggression and expansion is particularly close to us Poles, who in our history have many times had to face aggression and militarism, paying a tremendous price in blood and sacrifice in defence of freedom and independence. This is why we constantly and invariably reaffirm our profound solidarity with the striving and aspirations of the Palesti-

man people, who wish to live on the soil of their forefathers liberated from the Israeli occupier and to be a recognized member of the great family of free nations. At the same time, we express our full support for the Palestine Liberation Organization as its sole legitimate representative and for the participation of the PLO, on a par with the other parties concerned, in efforts aimed at a global political solution of the Middle East conflict in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.”

150. We have consistently stressed that a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem requires the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, the restoration of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the establishment of its own independent State, and the safeguarding of the sovereignty and security of all States of the region.

151. Recent developments closely related to the situation in the Middle East confirm once again very clearly that ignoring the rights of the Palestinian people can lead nowhere. The participation of the PLO as an equal partner is a prerequisite, a *sine qua non*, for successful negotiations. No avenue to a lasting peace in the Middle East can possibly be opened by attempts to deal with the problem on a piecemeal basis. There can be no partial solution to the Middle East situation.

152. This year's annual observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People clearly confirmed the international community's concern with the overriding importance of the question of Palestine. It testified once again to the necessity of focusing our attention on that question and intensifying genuine efforts to ensure settlement.

153. In the search for peace in the Middle East there is an important role for the United Nations to play, notwithstanding the continuous non-compliance with its numerous resolutions calling for a complete withdrawal by the Israeli occupation forces from the areas occupied in 1967 and the cessation of the policy of annexation and the violation of the human rights of the population of those territories. That important role is both to inform world public opinion about the explosiveness of the situation and its grave consequences for international peace and security and to continue efforts for the attainment of the rights of the Palestinian people.

154. In this context I should like to take the opportunity to pay a special tribute to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for its important and dedicated work.

155. The present debate is solid proof of the sentiment among the members of the Organization, today stronger than ever, that if we do not embark upon the course of recognition and implementation of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine the situation in the Middle East will remain, as it is today, one of central concern and will continue to endanger world peace. The present debate also emphasizes the contrary, that taking the legitimate aspirations of the Arab people of Palestine fully into account will not only bring about the real solution of the Middle East problem but also contribute to the betterment of the international climate and the consolidation of peace and international security.

156. Needless to say, only the attainment of a just settlement of the conflict will guarantee a secure existence for all States and peoples of that region.

157. Mr. RASOLONDRABE (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Some delegations, including that of Israel, are behaving in the present debate as though the fate of the Palestinian people were not a subject of legitimate concern to the international community, as though by recognizing the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, by reaffirming them year after year and by promoting their implementation, the General Assembly were in some way acting unlawfully, exceeding its powers or violating the Charter.

158. Those delegations would be only too happy to confine us to the limits of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), the terms of which should be considered as gospel, sacred and immutable, even though that text spoke of refugees instead of Palestinian people, and interests instead of Palestinian rights.

159. Those delegations, which prevented the Geneva conference from meeting, would if they could gladly declare the United Nations incompetent and prevent the majority of Member States expressing their views on the appropriate way to resolve the question of Palestine and to guarantee the Palestinian people enjoyment of its rights.

160. In all of this we see manoeuvres to divert attention from a problem whose duration and political and moral implications demand that the international community act promptly and with resolve. We see in this an intention to exclude the United Nations from efforts to resolve the question of Palestine on the basis of internationally recognized principles.

161. It is true that there can be no people without rights, whether it be the Palestinian people or any other people. We believe that the question of Palestine has been, is and will be the history of Israel's desire to deny, disregard, usurp and restrict the national rights of the Palestinian people; it will only be resolved when the inevitable happens—that is, full recognition and strict respect of those rights by everyone, beginning with Israel.

162. The United Nations, which is quite rightly proud of its role in decolonization and the liberation of peoples, would therefore be betraying its mission and its obligations if it were not to demand the cessation of Israel's machinations, which obstruct the exercise by the Palestinian people of its rights, which include the right to self-determination and to national independence and sovereignty in Palestine, the right to establish its own independent sovereign State in Palestine, the right of the Palestinians to return to their ancestral homes from which they were displaced and uprooted and to recover the belongings of which they were stripped, and finally, the right of the Palestinian people to permanent sovereignty over the natural resources of the occupied Palestinian territories.

163. Israel is certainly doing a disservice to its true interests by persisting in acting like a conqueror *vis-à-vis* the Palestinian people. The experience of the former colonial Powers, models for the Zionist authorities, do, however, teach that such an attitude is at best a policy without a future. The injustices, brutalities, exactions, individual and collective sanctions—the inevitable events of military occupation—cannot render that occupation acceptable. The annexation of Jerusalem, the proliferation of settle-

ments and other measures to confiscate land all give rise to a reflex reaction of self-affirmation from the Palestinian people, who have been oppressed and plundered, and unequivocal and understandable condemnation by the international community, since those actions reflect a certain desire to violate the principle forbidding the acquisition of territory by force.

164. The main consequence of three decades of Israeli policies involving persecution of the Palestinians, disregard of the Arab countries and defiance of the international community has been—in addition to the ravages of war and other forms of armed confrontation—to make it impossible to restore badly needed peace and security to the region.

165. The tragedy is that the Zionist entity is not showing any sign of a desire to draw a lesson from that negative policy and is stubbornly trying to impose its will on the Palestinian people and their Arab neighbours by force and violence.

166. Not only do the Israeli authorities engage in political assassinations, arbitrary arrests, deportations, acts of torture and other violations of human rights to restrain opposition within the occupied territories, they also attack Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. They have invaded the southern part of that country and bombed its capital, Beirut. They have attacked the Iraqi nuclear plant at Tamuz and on many occasions violated Saudi Arabian air space.

167. In the face of those examples it is difficult not to draw the conclusion that force is the principal, if not the sole, instrument of Israeli policies in the Middle East. This affirmation, which weakens any possibility of a peaceful settlement, becomes even more disturbing in the light of the growing militarization of the region, in which the Zionist entity is playing an increasingly important role. Israel's inclusion in a strategic arrangement based on strengthening the military presence of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] in the Middle East and in the Indian Ocean region gives a new dimension to the military factor that the Zionist entity represents in the Middle East. To say the least, this new dimension complicates rather than simplifies the regional equilibrium.

168. My delegation shares the concerns which stem from the fear of seeing considerations linked to the East-West confrontation hinder the search for a solution to the problem of Palestine, which is the central element of the Middle East conflict. We understand the logic of those who see in the strengthening of the Israeli military apparatus and in the strategic guarantees from which it benefits encouragement for intransigence, arrogance and military adventurism.

169. My delegation sees in recent events the main reason which should impel the Security Council to strengthen its authority and take decisions consistent with the recommendations submitted to it since 1976 by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. In so doing, the Council would be working for the elimination of the injustice of which the Palestinian people is a victim and would contribute to placing the search for a solution to the question on the only valid course, that leading to the realization of the sovereign equality of peoples in the Middle East.

170. The use of force or the manipulation of the military balance of the region cannot be a substitute for such action by the Security Council and in any event could not lead to the same result, namely, the establishment of just and lasting peace in the region. Any other course of action would be doomed to failure if its supporters did not accept as a starting point the need to abandon any desire for conquest, hegemony, domination or subjugation. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People—which is composed of 23 members—recalled that conviction in its report by concluding that no agreement or treaty that could affect the future of the Palestinian people, its inalienable rights or the status of the occupied Palestinian territories could have any validity if it ignored, infringed on, violated or denied those rights or if it was negotiated without the participation of the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people.

171. The participants in the third United Nations Seminar on the Question of Palestine, held at Colombo from 10 to 14 August, noted that a persistent characteristic of Israel's policy was its resolve to eliminate almost all manifestations of Palestine national existence. They expressed the opinion that in occupied Palestine the negation of human rights was only one aspect of a broader negation, that is, the very negation of the Palestinian nation. In our view, this justifies emergency action by the Security Council to guarantee that the rights of the Palestinian people will not become simply a subject of academic discussion, an hypothesis accepted or tolerated by no one. We must immediately do all in our power to eliminate such a possibility.

172. I cannot conclude without reiterating the unequivocal support of the Government and people of Madagascar for the Palestinian cause. We are proud and pleased to maintain with the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people, consistent relations of confidence, both on the bilateral level and on the level of international and regional organizations concerned with the Palestine question.

173. My delegation would also like to associate itself with all those delegations that have preceded us in paying a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Sarré of Senegal, Chairman of the Committee, for his constant efforts to defend and promote the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 8, Annex I, sect. A.*

² The delegations of Iran and Zimbabwe subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 11th meeting.*

⁴ United Nations. *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.

⁵ Expounded in a radio interview broadcast by Riyadh Domestic Service on 7 August 1981. For a transcription of the interview, see Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report*, FBIS-MEA-153, of 10 August 1981, vol. V, No. 153, p. C 3.