



*President:* Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

### AGENDA ITEM 8

**Adoption of the agenda and organization of work  
(continued):\***

**(a) Report of the General Committee**

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning I should first like to draw the General Assembly's attention to the fourth report of the General Committee [A/37/250/Add.3].

2. In subparagraphs (a) and (b) of paragraph 1, the General Committee recommends inclusion in the agenda of the current session of an additional item entitled "Observance of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Simón Bolívar, the Liberator", and its consideration directly in plenary meeting. May I consider that the Assembly approves that recommendation?

*It was so decided (decision 37/402).*

3. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to paragraph 2 of the General Committee's report. On the basis of the recommendation of the Committee on Conferences, the General Committee recommends that the General Assembly authorize the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories to meet during the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. May I consider that the Assembly also approves that recommendation?

*It was so decided (decision 37/403).*

### AGENDA ITEM 31

**Question of Palestine (continued):**

**(a) Report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People;**

**(b) Report of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine;**

**(c) Reports of the Secretary-General**

4. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members that, so far, three draft resolutions have been distributed: A/37/L.42 to L.44.

5. Mr. KITTIKHOUN (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Since the adoption by the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session of resolution 3236 (XXIX), which defined the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, the efforts made by the United Nations, and

particularly by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, to ensure the exercise of those rights have continued to be in vain because of the intransigent attitude of Israel, which is unconditionally and invariably supported by the United States.

6. The international community has unanimously acknowledged that the question of Palestine is at the core of the problem of the Middle East and at the root of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It has repeatedly reaffirmed that the solution of the problem must be reached through a comprehensive, equitable settlement, requiring the total and unconditional evacuation by Israel of all Palestinian territories and other occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, in keeping with the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of foreign territory by force; the free exercise of the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property from which they were expelled and uprooted, or the payment of equitable compensation to those who waive their right to return; the restoration and free exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, in particular, the right to self-determination and to national independence and sovereignty, without foreign interference, and the right to create their own independent and sovereign State.

7. However, the already grave situation created by the occupation of Arab territories by Israel since 1967 has grown even worse during the past year, to the point where the General Assembly and the Security Council have been obliged to meet several times. Following its intransigent policies and practices, Israel persists in establishing settlements in the occupied territories, displacing Arab citizens, destroying their homes and confiscating their property. Israel similarly persists in committing acts of terrorism and repression against the civilian populations of the territories by imposing curfews, by expelling officials elected by the people, by ordering the closure of universities and by ordering its occupation troops to fire on unarmed students engaged in peaceful demonstrations.

8. Carrying its arrogance even further and scorning the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations, Israel, last June, even invaded peaceful Lebanon in order to liquidate the Palestinian resistance. The bombing of Beirut, causing several thousand deaths among the civilian population, both Lebanese and Palestinian, and the terrible massacre of Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila camps in West Beirut on 17 September are still horribly fresh in the memory of the international community.

9. Today, as we consider yet again the question of Palestine, we are forced to note that, because of the constant obstruction engaged in by the United States in the Security Council, the international community is unable to succeed in finding ways and means of

\* Resumed from the 65th meeting.

eliminating the obstacles to the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, particularly by persuading Israel to be less demanding and more reasonable, and thus restoring a climate of trust and peaceful coexistence among all the peoples and States of the region—a climate which is necessary for a just and lasting settlement of the Palestine question and, consequently, of the problem of the Middle East as a whole.

10. There is certainly no shortage of peace plans, but the main obstacle lies in the hegemonic and expansionist aims of the United States and Israel in this region, which have been given concrete form in the signing of the agreement on strategic co-operation between the two countries. That alliance has encouraged Israel to entrench itself even more firmly in its intransigence.

11. In his tireless struggle for peace, the late President Leonid Brezhnev announced, on 15 September 1982 [A/37/457], a certain number of principles which should constitute the basis for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. Those principles take into account the interests of all the States of the region, including Israel and the Palestinian State to be created, and require that they undertake to respect each other's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and to settle their disputes by peaceful means.

12. For several months now we have been pleased to note that the Arab countries have taken a constructive and realistic approach to the situation. For example, the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez, adopted on 9 September 1982 a plan for the settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict [see A/37/696] that is quite similar to the Soviet proposals.

13. If the main concern of the United States and Israel is the security of Israel and its recognition by the Arab countries, those two countries should show greater realism and be more receptive to those proposals, for any settlement of the question of Palestine and of the situation in the Middle East without recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish an independent State in Palestine, and without the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], its sole legitimate representative, is doomed to failure.

14. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to reaffirm the position of my country which is emphasized in the message that Comrade Souphanouvong, President of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, addressed to Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, on 29 November 1982 in connection with the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People:

“Aware of the fact that the question of Palestine is at the heart of all the problems of the Middle East crisis and that if it is not solved it will not be possible to bring lasting peace and security to the Middle East, the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Lao people give their full support to the martyred Palestinian people in their struggle for their inalienable right to self-determination and the creation of an independent Palestinian State in Palestine.”

15. Mr. NATORF (Poland): Barely two months have elapsed since the General Assembly again considered

the question of Palestine at its resumed seventh emergency special session. Barely two months have passed since the Security Council, deeply shocked, alarmed and appalled, strongly condemned the heinous crime committed against Palestinian civilians—the brutal slaying of hundreds of innocent men, women and children in the refugee camps in West Beirut.

16. At that time, public opinion of the entire world called firmly for strict observance of the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, for the withdrawal by Israel of all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally from Lebanon, and for an end to be put to the ceaseless acts of aggression, resulting in enormous suffering for the Palestinian population.

17. The gloomy picture of events in the Middle East and the state of the question of Palestine have not changed much since then.

18. The grave, indeed explosive, situation that persists in that region, one of the most sensitive areas of the world, requires a settlement that can ensure genuine peace. And today, as forcefully as before, we must once again emphasize that a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region cannot be established without the withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories that it has occupied since 1967, including the Arab part of Jerusalem; without the achievement of a just solution to the problem of Palestine based on recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish its own independent State; and without the safeguarding of the sovereignty and security of all States of the region.

19. That obvious and objective political truth has to be repeated once again, since obstacles are constantly being raised on the path towards achieving a just settlement. It goes without saying that Israel alone could not afford to pursue its policies in defiance of international opinion and in flagrant violation of international law unless it had the strong support of its strategic ally. Behind the smoke-screen of the separatist formulas and piecemeal approaches of the Camp David arrangement and the more recent initiatives, encouragement is being given for the policies of creeping annexation, interference in the internal affairs of others and disregard for the rights of the Palestinian people. Not so long ago the world witnessed an attempt to crush by force the Palestinian people and its organization, the PLO. Owing to its bravery and dedication to the cause, the PLO has won yet another victory in its struggle for the independence, sovereignty and statehood of the Palestinian people.

20. The efforts to eliminate the PLO and to tear up the fabric of the Palestinian people produced a fiasco. The oppressive violence did not achieve any results either. The Palestinian people emerged from the fierce battles firmer, stronger, more determined and more consolidated than ever.

21. As Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO and Commander-in-Chief of the Palestinian Revolutionary Forces, said in his message on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People,

“The Palestine Liberation Organization has proved once more, along with its heroic people, its

capacity for waging battles under the severest and most difficult conditions of war. We stood steadfast, with our heads high and our sunburnt hands holding aloft our guns and giving the sign of victory on the path of return to our homeland.”

22. Poland's unvarying position concerning the national aspirations of the Palestinians has always been coupled with sympathy and admiration for the heroism of a nation that has given proof of its unvanquished will to make unlimited sacrifices in defence of its own existence and dignity, in defence of the ideals of freedom and social justice and for the attainment of its inalienable rights, including the right to its own independent State.

23. For 30 years, the question of Palestine has been one of the most important issues dealt with, directly or indirectly, by the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies under different agenda items and in varying circumstances. During that time, the voice of Poland in support of a genuine settlement has always been heard clearly and unequivocally.

24. For years now we have been pointing to the Israeli policy of stepped-up aggression, expansion and creeping annexation as the main source of tensions in the Middle East. We have been emphasizing that the stubborn persistence of Israel in denying the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to their independence, sovereignty and statehood continues to have an adverse effect on the situation in the region.

25. Our point of view on the question of Palestine has always been based on the proven assessment that no structure of lasting peace can be built without recognizing the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people, and that the resolution of the question of Palestine, which lies at the heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict, is the first and most essential prerequisite for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It is also obvious that such a settlement without the participation on an equal footing of the sole representative of the Palestinian people—the PLO—is unthinkable.

26. Today, we should like once again to reiterate our support and to reaffirm our position at a time when the grave situation in the Middle East resulting from the escalated Israeli aggression continues to pose a threat to international peace and security. Once again we wish to join the intensified efforts of the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations directed toward the attainment by the Palestinian people of the exercise of its inalienable rights as defined and reaffirmed in United Nations resolutions.

27. In this respect, we consider that the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, scheduled for next year, will play an important role in the process of making possible the attainment of Palestinian rights.

28. In conclusion, I wish also to pay tribute, on behalf of my delegation, to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and its Chairman, Mr. Sarré, of Senegal, for their tireless efforts to promote the just cause of the Palestinian people in the United Nations.

29. Mr. SAYEED (India): The year 1982 may well be remembered as a significant year in the chequered

history of the struggle of the Palestinian people for national independence. They have emerged from a severe test of wills with their determination strengthened, their sense of nationalism sharpened, and their cause universally recognized. Thousands of them, innocent civilians and children, perished together with their Lebanese brethren in the holocaust caused by Israel, and many were displaced even from their temporary homes. But throughout those long months of travail, the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, remained courageous and heroic in battle, steadfast in their objective, reasonable and flexible in negotiations and compassionate towards non-combatants. The entire civilized world condemned the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and expressed sympathy and support for the Palestinians. The conscience of humanity was shaken to the core at the genocidal massacres of Sabra and Shatila. The unprecedented support that the resolutions of the special emergency sessions of the General Assembly received this year even from non-traditional quarters was evidence of the universal recognition of the rights of the Palestinians, so dramatically highlighted by the events of this year.

30. The events of the year related to Palestine will also be memorable for the various proposals that have emerged in recent months for finding a comprehensive solution to the problems of West Asia, at the core of which is the question of Palestine. Foremost among those proposals is the plan adopted by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez, as a framework for Israeli withdrawal from the Palestinian and Arab occupied territories and for peace in the region. The Arab leaders, including Chairman Arafat, reviewed the situation in a statesmanlike spirit and evolved the Fez charter which, if implemented, could lead to a lasting and just peace in West Asia. Other world leaders, too, have made their own efforts to promote a comprehensive solution. We see in these efforts a starting-point for negotiations within the framework of the United Nations that should pave the way for a universally acceptable comprehensive settlement, particularly since all of them recognize that the uprooted people of Palestine should secure their legitimate rights.

31. The year under review also marked a further intensification of Israel's intransigent and expansionist policies. The massive invasion of Lebanon and the attempts at a Palestinian genocide added yet another chapter to Israel's long history of misdeeds. Israel's responsibility for the gruesome massacres of Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila was self-evident from the beginning, and it has been further exposed by the legal machinery in Israel itself. The universal anguish over the incident was echoed in the Israeli Parliament itself when it was said there:

“This is a dark day for all of us. Innocent people, old men, women and children were murdered for no crime in Beirut in the cruellest possible way. The human mind cannot accept that such would be the fate of innocent people.

“We have a sense that underneath the blocks of cement used to cover the bodies of children, women and old men, lie moral ruins—the slaughter of hundreds of innocent men, women and children in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila in Beirut

was conducted by the lowest form of murderers, people who have lost their divine spark, their human image.”

32. In the process of establishing new settlements in the occupied territories, Israel has trampled upon the rights of the local population, destroyed dissent by the use of brutal force and engaged in a systematic depletion of the basic resources of the areas inhabited by the Arab population. More recently, there have been reports about the coercive politicization of academics in the occupied territories by forcing them to sign political declarations under duress. The continuing disregard shown by Israel towards the decisions of the international community and its escalation of the conflict in West Asia has made it clearer now than ever before that a solution to the question of Palestine can be found only if compliance by Israel with United Nations resolutions is enforced by recourse to the methods available in the Charter of the United Nations.

33. The numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the question of Palestine and on the situation in the Middle East have recognized that the Palestinian right to national independence is premised upon a long-standing consciousness of their distinct territorial and national identity and not merely a response to Israel's occupation of their lands. This recognition naturally entails the unconditional termination of the political, geographic and cultural fragmentation to which the Palestinians have been subjected since the establishment of Israel.

34. India's sympathy for the people of Palestine in their suffering and our support for the establishment of a Palestinian State are rooted in our awareness of the historical, territorial and national identity of the Palestinians. Even during the days of our struggle for national independence, our leaders identified themselves with the Palestinian cause and raised their voice for securing the establishment of an independent Palestinian State. The continuing struggle of the Palestinians evokes sympathy and understanding among the people of India to this day. India has consistently advocated that a just and comprehensive solution to the problems of West Asia should consist of the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable national and human rights, including the right to establish an independent State in their homeland, the total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem and a guarantee for all the States in the region, including Palestine, to live within secure and recognized borders. The Palestinians have a right to return to their homes and property in Palestine, from which they have been mercilessly displaced and uprooted. Their right to self-determination should be exercised without any external interference and, like other States in the region, the State of Palestine should be enabled to live in peace and security and follow its own domestic and foreign policies. An essential prerequisite for the attainment of a peaceful solution is the full and equal participation of the PLO, the only genuine representative of the Palestinian people, in any discussions relating to their future and, indeed, the future of the entire region. India has extended its support to every initiative, whether at the United Nations or outside, which is consistent with our principled position.

35. To the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which India is a member, the question of Palestine has always been more than even a colonial question or a refugee problem. The Movement has viewed it as affecting virtually all the principles of non-alignment that it cherishes. For example, the question of Palestine has played a critical role in affecting the relationship between the major Powers, especially because of the possibility of the region becoming an arena for great-Power confrontation. Furthermore, this festering problem has resulted in the dangerous militarization of certain countries in the region and poses a severe threat to international peace and security. The Palestine question embodies in it another matter of great concern to the non-aligned, namely, the struggle for racial equality throughout the world. Israeli policies have been viewed by the Non-Aligned Movement as racist in character, as they are based on an exclusionary doctrine that divides the people of the world into arbitrary categories. The Palestinian people remain outside the body politic of their own country and are excluded on religious and racial grounds from participating in the affairs of their State as equal citizens. Even the economic aspects of the issue have become significant, as Palestine is located in an area that provides the world with much of its energy resources, and therefore it is interlinked with the establishment of a new international economic order. The Non-Aligned Movement has responded to these challenges by expressing support for the legitimate struggle of the Palestinian people and by extending moral and material assistance to the PLO, which is a full-fledged member of the Movement. The Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cyprus from 15 to 17 July 1982, at the time of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, was symbolic of the spontaneous sympathy felt by the Movement for the plight of the Palestinian and Lebanese citizens. A Ministerial Committee of nine non-aligned countries, including India, set up at this meeting has been following the developments in West Asia closely with a view to identifying concrete action that could be taken by the Movement to help the struggle of the Palestinians and to rid Lebanon of the Israeli invaders. Recently, the Ministerial Committee called on Chairman Arafat in Tunis and reaffirmed to him the commitment of the Movement to the Palestinian cause.

36. As a member of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, India has fully supported the Committee in its efforts to secure the rights of the Palestinian people and to promote their cause. The report of the Committee for 1982 [A/37/35 and Corr.1] bears testimony to its untiring efforts under the leadership of Mr. Sarré, of Senegal. Though the basic recommendations of the Committee have remained unimplemented so far, its activities during the year, particularly the seminars held in various regions of the world, have served to increase the support of the international community to the cause of Palestine. In its capacity of Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, the Committee has laid the foundations for a successful conference to be held next year. We have no doubt that with the assistance of the energetic Secretary-General of the Conference, Mrs. Lucille Mair, the Committee will be able to

organize a conference that will advance the cause of Palestine. In a message addressed to the Committee on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, said:

“This summer’s traumatic events lend added poignancy to the solemn occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. There is now much greater understanding in the world community of the Palestinian cause and of the urgency of a just culmination of the Palestinian people’s struggle in the pursuit of their inalienable rights to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty.

“Since the thirties, when we ourselves were in the thick of our fight for freedom, the people of India have expressed their consistent and solid support for the aspirations of the Palestinian people. This I reiterate on behalf of my party and the Government.

“I send my good wishes to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for success in its endeavours.”

37. Mr. SUJA (Czechoslovakia): We share the firm belief that the implementation of the inalienable national rights of the Arab Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and the establishment of their own sovereign State, continues to be a fundamental prerequisite for the settlement of the Middle East conflict, and thus also of the question of Palestine, which is the very core of that conflict.

38. Israel, however, continues to ignore the decisions of the Security Council, the appeals of the General Assembly, international opinion, the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law. It continues its policies of expansionism, aggression, terror, territorial annexation and genocide, as a result of which the Middle East remains one of the most dangerous hotbeds of international tension, threatening international peace and security.

39. Since the very beginning of the State of Israel, established on the former Mandated Territory of Palestine under resolution 181 (II) of 1947, which envisaged the establishment of two sovereign States, an Arab State and a Jewish one—which decision, by the way, has so far not been abrogated—the ruling circles of Israel have constantly come into conflict with the valid norms of international law. By occupying and annexing Palestinian territories and establishing on them a network of militarized settlements, and by banishing hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their homes, Israel has been striving to achieve the goals dictated by the Zionist doctrine in order to prevent the Palestinians from exercising their inalienable right to the establishment of their own State. In this way, Israel is denying the Palestinians the same rights as were accorded it by the United Nations at its birth 35 years ago.

40. The continuing occupation of Lebanon, the gory massacre in the Palestinian refugee camps in Sabra and Shatila, and the use of fragmentation, phosphorous and vacuum bombs, which are prohibited by international conventions, against civilian Palestinian and Lebanese populations have already been categorically condemned by the international community and by

the Organization. The fact that Israel refuses to meet the United Nations requirements concerning respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence of Lebanon testifies to its further plans to divide Lebanon and to perpetuate its occupation of entire Lebanese regions under the pretext of ensuring its security. In view of Israel’s expanding policies of aggression, occupation and genocide practised against sovereign Arab States and the Palestinian people—practices which the Israeli ruling circles have long since elevated to the status of national policy—it has become quite clear that it is the Arab States and, above all, the Palestinian people that are in need of security.

41. We too have no doubt that Israel could not implement its expansionist policies without the all-round military, political, economic and diplomatic support of the United States. The aggravation of the current situation in the Middle East testifies to the fact that it is the direct result of the Camp David agreements, the direct result of the well-known strategic consensus. My country, along with all progressive forces rejects the continuation of the Camp David spirit in the United States plan for the settlement of the Middle East problem. We are strengthened in this position by the fact that this plan ignores the basic elements of the solution of the question of Palestine—that is, the establishment of an independent sovereign Palestinian State and participation on a basis of equality by the PLO in the process of a comprehensive and just settlement. It also bypasses the demand for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab and Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem. The statements made in this forum also bear out that the international community is becoming aware of the anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian nature of that plan, which cannot be the basis of genuine security in the Middle East. That is why we join others in noting with appreciation the decision of the Arab Summit Conference at Fez, which has created favourable conditions for the substantive solution of the question of Palestine and is not at variance with what the socialist States have been advocating for many years. The results of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez, confirm once again that the success of the Arab struggle will be directly proportionate to that of an active common course of action against zionism and imperialism.

42. A guideline for the establishment of lasting peace in the Middle East is provided by the new Soviet proposals incorporating six realistic and constructive principles for a Middle East settlement that were confirmed at the session of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held in Moscow on 21 and 22 October 1982. These proposals start from the premise that

“... a truly durable, just and generally acceptable peaceful settlement in the Middle East requires the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the eastern part of Jerusalem, recognition of the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to establish their own independent State, protection of the right of all States of that region to a secure and independent existence, cessation of the state of war and establishment of peace between the Arab

States and Israel, and the formulation an acceptance of international guarantees of such a settlement." [See A/C.1/37/7, para. 8.]

The States represented at the meeting called for

"... the urgent convening, for the solution of these matters, of an international conference at which all interested parties would be represented, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only lawful representative of the Palestinian Arab people. A useful and important role in this matter would devolve on the United Nations." [Ibid.]

43. We welcome the fact that the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People notes with satisfaction that the plan agreed on major points with the recommendations of the Committee, which had been repeatedly endorsed by the General Assembly. May I, in this context, join those delegations which made a positive assessment of the active work of the Committee in which, beginning this year, we are participating with observer status. We also welcome the fact that the International Conference on the Question of Palestine will be held in Paris in August of next year.

44. I should like, in conclusion, once again to assure the delegation of the PLO, headed by the Chief of the Political Department of the PLO Executive Committee, Farouk Kaddoumi, who made a highly principled statement at the current session [84th meeting], that my country will continue to strengthen its relations of friendship with the Palestinian people and its sole legitimate representative, the PLO. In this context, I should like to underline the contents of a letter sent by Gustáv Husák, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, to Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, on 29 November of this year. The letter says:

"The people of Czechoslovakia follow and support with feelings of profound and sincere solidarity the courageous struggle of the Arab Palestinian people against the imperialist-Zionist conspiracy in the Middle East, against the present barbarous aggression of Israel in Lebanon, the main victims of which are, in the first place, the Palestinian people. The firm and heroic struggle of Palestinian patriots fighting under the guidance of their vanguard, the Palestine Liberation Organization, has gained the well-deserved admiration and support of all our people, and of the progressive forces of the entire world.

"The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic resolutely condemns the aggressive policy of Israel in Lebanon and in the whole area of the Middle East, carried out even at the cost of the most repugnant crimes against humanity, and with the all-round support of world imperialism headed by the United States, with the aim of thwarting the just aspirations of the Arab Palestinian people to life in peace in an independent State of their own. We are convinced that the just cause of the Arab Palestinian people will triumph. You will have our full and resolute support in that struggle also in the future."

45. Mr. BELTAIEF (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): When, in 1981, the thirty-sixth session of the

General Assembly came to an end, having adopted the pious resolutions on the question of Palestine with which we are all acquainted, the great majority of delegations thought that in 1982 they would find the same question before them to be examined in the same routine manner.

46. But the Government of Prime Minister Begin decided otherwise when it put into effect its plan for a physical solution of the Palestinian population with the PLO at its head, a solution which, according to Begin himself, would last for 30 to 40 years. And thus, when the thirty-seventh session of the Assembly began its work in September, the entire world had just witnessed a horrible massacre organized by the Israeli Government, whose army had for three months been ravaging an independent Member State of the United Nations, Lebanon, in order to destroy Palestinian resistance. For 90 days, on land, on sea and in the air, and with the most sophisticated weapons—fragmentation bombs, phosphorous bombs, implosion bombs—the Israeli army sowed terror, killed people by the thousands, caused immense destruction, starved families and deprived them of water, and executed wounded children in hospitals, where their blood flowed in torrents, together with that of the doctors and nurses attending them.

47. And when the Assembly began its work, that same aggressor Government, which has unceasingly defied the Charter of the United Nations, yet again, and with its customary arrogance, defied world opinion by rejecting all peace initiatives: the Franco-Egyptian initiative,<sup>1</sup> the Brezhnev plan [A/37/457], even the Reagan plan,<sup>2</sup> and, of course, the Fez plan [A/37/696]. For the most part, the world was astounded, dismayed and stunned by such criminal aggressiveness and arrogant defiance. But in Tunisia we were not, in fact, totally surprised because we have always known that the successive Governments of Israel have built their country on violence and defiance, on expansionism and terror, on racism and hatred. And the Begin Government has greatly extended and developed those foundations and those practices of Israeli policy towards the Palestinian people and towards the countries of the region. No, we were not surprised, because everything that took place stemmed from the very nature of Zionist power in Israel.

48. Facing that leadership which has always, and deliberately, chosen violence and defiance as the basis of its policy, we find an impoverished people, but a people which has always resisted aggression, giving proof in this instance of a heroism which has won the admiration of all those who cherish peace and justice, and a people which in its unequal face-to-face combat with the Israeli war-machine has put an end to the legend of the invincible invader.

49. Facing that leadership which, in its Gadarene rush to destruction, has finally antagonized its allies and its protector and aroused indignation and condemnation even in Israel and among thousands of Jews around the world, we find a Palestinian leadership which, while remaining determined to defend the right of its people to its freedom and its homeland, is working for justice and peace and calls for respect for the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions adopted by the United Nations concerning Palestine.

50. In a word, we find a responsible leadership which has asserted itself and grown stronger both during the aggression against Lebanon and the Beirut massacre and during the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, at Fez.

51. And if there are some who still question the representativeness of the PLO—and fortunately they are growing fewer in number—it is because they disregard history and the real facts. Those facts include the well-deserved recognition of the heroic resistance of Palestinian militants and of the political maturity of the PLO by all those in the world who cherish freedom and justice. Those facts include all those massive demonstrations and repeated strikes by the Palestinian population in the West Bank and Al-Quds, in the name of the PLO and in support of the PLO. Those facts include the Palestinian mayors and academics, those patriots whom the Israelis are trying to silence through repression, and whose qualities have been recognized even by United States officials, as when the Secretary of State, Mr. Shultz, denounces Israeli practices towards academics, on the one hand, and receives two patriotic Palestinian mayors, on the other.

52. As for history, let those who hesitate to recognize the PLO consider the vital forces that took into their own hands the destiny of their former colonial countries and they will see that all without exception—for example, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Kenya, Zimbabwe—had been, before independence, liberation movements, the representative nature of which had been constantly called into question for a long time. Sooner or later, the same thing will happen with the PLO, but if it happens sooner a larger number of lives will be spared and greater and more serious disasters will be avoided. For no one doubts that the Israeli Government, in its recklessness, will do the same thing again. And if Begin has failed in his attempt to settle the question of Palestine for the next 30 or 40 years, who will prevent him, or other Begins and Ariel Sharons in power from trying again to carry out plans for a century-long solution or even for a final solution?

53. And when one sees what has happened and when one imagines what could still happen, one cannot help recalling what happened in Europe before and during the Second World War, and then one is both shocked by and convinced of the similarity of the ideas and methods of the two Powers founded on hatred and violence. Here and there we see preventive wars, annexations, massacres, raids, mercenaries. And even Anne Frank is no longer unique or alone; there are today Palestinian and Lebanese Anne Franks. We find these similarities even in the testimony given and statements made before commissions and courts.

54. Who can forget those Nazi leaders at Nürnberg who denied having any knowledge of what was happening in their country and in the countries occupied by their army? And today, a generation later, the Prime Minister of the Israeli Government, whose army occupies an independent country Member of the United Nations, states that he learned of the heinous massacre only three days later, on a BBC broadcast.

55. If ridicule does not kill, the cynicism of the Prime Minister has killed, and has forced people to flee. That cynicism has, through the action of the army and

mercenaries, killed thousands of unarmed Palestinian women, children and old people, thus renewing by actions what propaganda has sought to revive of late through a televised holocaust. Especially since it has come to power, it has driven into exile thousands of Palestinian families, but also—and this is not sufficiently spoken about—more and more young Israelis.

56. What a disavowal of the Israeli Prime Minister—and also what a persuasive argument for those who still hesitate to lose their confidence in him—is to be found in the increase in the number of young Israeli emigrants, to the point that it exceeds the number of aged Jewish immigrants to Israel.

57. If young Israelis are leaving Israel in ever-increasing numbers out of despair, fearing the nefarious consequences of the policy of the Prime Minister's Government—did not Nahum Goldman say that with that policy Israel had no future?—we can assure all those in the world who love freedom, peace and justice, and above all the youth of today, that the young generation of the Arab world, and more particularly the Palestinian youth, does not despair and that it is more than ever resolved to fight for the triumph of the Palestinian cause. It appeals to them to go beyond the indignation aroused by the horror that the pictures of the massacres revealed about the true nature of the power in Israel and to support it in its struggle to recover its rights to freedom, justice, a homeland and peace.

58. Those flouted rights are the subject of a report [*A/37/35 and Corr.1*] submitted by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, a Committee to which I am happy to pay tribute. I should like to pay a particular tribute to its Chairman, Mr. Sarré, for his work within that Committee and for his work in preparing for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, which is to be held in 1983 and in which we place great hopes.

59. It is true that the conscience of the world was honestly startled and that expressions of indignation over the heinous practices of the Israeli Government and of sympathy for the Palestinian people and its resistance increased in number and scope during and after the aggression. To enumerate them all would take too long, so I shall confine myself to recalling, by way of example, the statements of President François Mitterrand and the appeal addressed by the militant anti-Fascist President Pertini, of Italy, to the conscience of the world during the meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Rome last September, to shoulder its political and human responsibilities in respect of all that had happened in Lebanon. And how can we fail to recall the meeting between His Holiness the Pope and Yasser Arafat? In addition, we cannot fail to mention what has happened in the United States, where tens of thousands of persons of every faith, including even Jews, have spoken out in indignation and where the official approach to the question appears to be acquiring a new dynamic.

60. But we say to all those peoples and their Governments that this new awareness must not stop there. Any delay or recourse to obstructive procedures, even here in the United Nations, may perhaps postpone the inevitable date of the establishment of a Palestinian

homeiand, but will certainly not remove the guilt of the Zionist power in Israel.

61. Any obstacle or delay will give further credibility to the idea that the Israeli leaders fear a peace that not only would dash their hopes of achieving Greater Israel, but would no longer justify the massive subsidies and assistance which enable the Israeli economy to survive. Any obstacle or delay would substantiate the thesis that there is a sinister plan to maintain disorder in that region of the world and thus to divert the Arab world in general from the path of resurgence, development and progress. Any obstacle or delay will justify the growing doubts about the effectiveness of the United Nations and will certainly help to weaken it further. The Organization, seriously threatened today, as is clear from the courageous and informed report of the Secretary-General, is constantly flouted and defied by Israel, which was created by virtue of General Assembly resolution 181 (II), which also, it must be recalled, created the Arab State of Palestine.

62. Finally, any obstacle or delay will enable the Zionist power in Israel to resort again to its demoniacal diversionary practice of using new acts of aggression, annexation or massacre to mobilize the efforts of Foreign Ministries or of the Organization to deal with these secondary questions. How many problems have engaged our attention and called forth enormous efforts, from Suez to Lebanon! But this time, thanks to the Palestinian resistance on the ground and to the political maturity of its leadership, the PLO, the true problem has been clearly revealed to the whole world: settle the Palestinian question and peace will reign in the Middle East.

63. When, during the twenty-second session of the Assembly, President Bourguiba spoke, on 20 May 1968, to the conscience of the world, through the representatives of all the Member States of the United Nations, about the Middle East question, and specifically the Palestinian question, he did so, among other things, to applaud the entry of Palestine on the international arena. He said in particular:

“Finally, another people, dispossessed of its land and its homeland by European emigrants, is confronting the same kind of colonialism, accompanied by a basically religious and racial fanaticism. The Palestinian people, whose cause has frequently been confused sometimes with political intrigues and sometimes with the ambitions for leadership that prevailed in the Middle East, is today showing its vitality and its ability to put up an increasingly effective resistance to an occupier who is no longer even taking the trouble to disguise his intentions. For the first time in many years, the Palestinian problem is being posed in clear terms: it is no longer a question of the clash of exacerbated national ambitions, but of the right of the Palestinian people to recover its homeland and to determine its own future.” [1658th meeting, para. 14.]

64. Eighteen years have passed since then, and the Palestinian people has not ceased to affirm, through and by the PLO, its presence and to show its capacity to achieve its legitimate ambition to recover all its rights. Today, the Palestinian people, under the responsible leadership of the PLO, is heroically resisting

the Israeli army; that people and its leadership have reached maturity and need no guardians.

65. This week, on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, President Bourguiba again addressed the Organization and, after recalling the facts concerning the Palestinian people and asserting the irrefutably representative character of the PLO, he hailed that organization and, speaking on behalf of all free men, he said:

“It is our duty to applaud this desire for peace on the part of the Palestine Liberation Organization which has been clearly revealed through its participation in the Fez Summit Conference and its adherence to the wise resolutions adopted there, which are capable of establishing peace in the region.

“This Palestinian-Arab attitude in favour of peace, based on United Nations legality—and I have constantly appealed for recourse to it to settle the thorny Middle East question—should be the foundation for our hopes today and tomorrow. And if the world truly wants to settle that question, the Arab peace plan opens wide the door to peace. That is why it is urgent that we all work to achieve it.”

66. Mr. SOUKA (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): If there is one problem which contributes to the campaign of denigration of the Organization and serves as an excuse for the imperialist Powers to sidestep the United Nations in order to settle certain international disputes from the viewpoint of their own selfish interests, it is undoubtedly the question of Palestine, which the General Assembly and the Security Council have been examining without decisive results for more than 30 years. Those have been more than 30 years of harsh struggle to secure recognition of Palestine's right to existence as a free and independent nation; more than 30 years of loss of life and heavy sacrifice on the part of the martyred Palestinian people, which has been stripped of its heritage, driven from its land and reduced to endless wandering in search of a homeland, with no alternative for survival but that of fighting a powerfully armed enemy which has the aid of countless accomplices among the multifarious forces of international reaction which are trying to steer world affairs in a dangerous direction.

67. The debate this year again in the General Assembly on the question of Palestine is taking place after the premeditated aggression committed by Israel against Lebanon, the catastrophic consequences of which can now be truly assessed. This debate is taking place just after crimes of unspeakable horror have been committed in cold blood in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, crimes which have truly conveyed to an indignant international community the exact extent of the cynicism of the Israeli Government, whose entire diplomacy can be summed up as a strategy hinging on one central factor: the steady enlargement of its more and more sophisticated military arsenals in order to perpetuate its domination over the other peoples of the Middle East and continue the humiliation of the Arab nation. Thus, there has been, since the advent of Israel in 1948, a dangerous dialectic of domination and confrontation which eliminates any possibility of finding a just and lasting

peaceful solution to the tragedy which the Israeli Government has been imposing on its neighbour countries in the land of the Middle East that is said to be promised to all.

68. In its main organs—the Security Council and the General Assembly—the United Nations has devoted numerous debates to the Middle East conflict, at the heart of which lies the Palestine problem, as the Secretary-General rightly emphasizes in his report [A/37/525]. The absence of a settlement of this question has turned the Middle East into a turbulent area, which is a constant threat to international peace and security.

69. The People's Republic of the Congo has repeatedly affirmed its position on the problem of Palestine, and therefore we shall refrain from dwelling on it again during this debate. However, we wish to emphasize once again the gravity of the situation in the Middle East and the urgent need to settle the future of the Palestinian people, which has been a victim of the intolerant and destructive exclusivist attitude of the Israeli Government.

70. The General Assembly had to resume its seventh emergency special session four times in the year 1982 alone, between April and September. Of all the acts carried out by Israel justifying the repeated convening of the General Assembly and the Security Council, none could be said to have the slightest legality, whether in regard to the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,<sup>3</sup> or in regard to the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

71. The frantic establishment of settlements in the occupied Arab territories, the annexation of Jerusalem, the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, the barbarous bombing of the Iraqi nuclear power plant which was under IAEA controls and, particularly, the invasion of Lebanon last June, only attest to the basic fact that Israel has deliberately acted contrary to the principles of non-aggression and of peaceful coexistence with its neighbours.

72. Israel had already committed criminal acts accompanied by other extremely arbitrary measures against the Palestinian people remaining in the West Bank and Gaza, such as the dissolution of municipal councils and the dismissal of elected local Arab officials, and many other arbitrary actions. The massacre in the Sabra and Shatila camps forms part of this logic of gratuitous, blind, terrorist violence established by the Begin Government.

73. Was there any need for such a horrible and absurd record to solve an essentially legal and political problem? Some people in the world, even in Israel, have been shaken by the casual way in which the Israeli Government embarked upon a venture which was a kind of final solution in invading Lebanon in order systematically to destroy the Palestinian resistance.

74. My country has never lost faith in the possibility of reaching a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Israel is wrong to underestimate the self-esteem of a people convinced of the justice of its struggle. Hitler's madness brought suffering to the Jews, which no one of sound mind could disregard,

but, reasonably, the Jewish tragedy cannot be a reason for a Palestinian tragedy.

75. My delegation wishes to reaffirm its unswerving faith in an elementary principle of the Charter of the United Nations—that of the right of every people to live in peace. The Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, its sole and legitimate representative, expects straightforward support from the international community to enable it to exercise its inalienable rights to self-determination and to create a peaceful, free and independent State.

76. The Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has submitted to the Assembly a report on that Committee's highly praiseworthy activities. During the course of this debate, the representative of the PLO has put forward some proposals that we regard as highly relevant. Those statements should inspire the Assembly in its quest for a just and lasting solution to the Palestinian tragedy.

77. For our part, we wish to state that the glorification of force cannot guarantee the future of a people which, like the people of Israel, continue with impunity to ignore the pressures being exerted upon them from all sides. Nor can we afford to overlook the benefit that all the peoples of the Middle East will derive from a peace that is not imposed upon them but rather worked out with the full support of all the parties concerned and, above all, with the full participation of the PLO, the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people.

78. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): After 35 years of debating the question of Palestine in the United Nations—a question that is still before us and will figure on the agenda of the General Assembly for God alone knows how much longer—is it not high time that we faced the facts objectively and courageously and declared that the efforts of the United Nations in this respect have reached an impasse and that we have for years been locked in a vicious circle of repetitious and identical resolutions, with no confidence that any of them would be implemented. The sole purpose of those resolutions was to give the illusion of forward movement so that we would not be forced to admit that we had reached a stalemate or to acknowledge the incompetence of the United Nations.

79. And we should also face another important fact, namely, that the failure of the Organization to solve the question of Palestine cannot be attributed to any lack of knowledge of both its historical and its human dimension, or to any lack of sound political and geographical vision. It is obvious that the many resolutions that the United Nations has adopted over all these years were not merely the fruits of emotions. Rather, they were an expression of the international community's conviction that a grave injustice had been done to the Palestinian people and thus to the justice of their cause. Those resolutions were also a reaffirmation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, foremost among which is the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, let alone an entire homeland.

80. One of the most important facts reflected by those resolutions is the qualitative development of the struc-

ture of the international community between 1947 and 1982. That change is not just a matter of the increase in the number of Member States from 57 to 157. It is significant because that growth represents the liberation of most Member States from blind dependence upon the super-Powers and from usually adopting or acquiescing in positions in the Organization in accordance with the dictates of those Powers rather than the principles of international law and accepted norms.

81. I would refer anyone who continues to have doubts as to the truth of this to an article by Peter Grose, of the Council on Foreign Relations, published in *The New York Times Magazine* on 21 November 1982 and entitled "The Partition of Palestine 35 Years Ago". This American scholar reminds us of the circumstances and conditions in which the United Nations adopted that partition resolution. He clarifies the collaboration of international Zionism and the United States Government, both of which exerted great influence in Europe following the Second World War. He points out the manner in which international Zionism managed to secure the two thirds of the votes that were needed to pass that ill-fated resolution. Based on historical documents, he proves that votes were purchased with dollars and that the United States Government forced States dependent upon it for economic aid to support the partition resolution, if not by means of pressure and coercion, then by employing threats. Even some of its Western allies were not spared this treatment.

82. Therefore, we can state with confidence that the international community of today is basically different from the international community of the past, and especially from that of the years after the Second World War. The explanation for this change is crystal clear. It can be found in a single factor, namely, the emergence of the national liberation movements, along with the liquidation of the colonial heritage and the liberated will of independent peoples. This factor is reflected, as I said at the outset, in the resolutions the United Nations has adopted concerning the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Those resolutions reflect the clearly expressed will of States and reaffirm their desire to redress the serious mistake that was made as a result of the hegemony exerted by the major Powers over the international Organization. They clearly reflect the increase in the votes in support of Palestinian rights in the General Assembly, or, in other words, the decrease in the number of opposing votes, which have fallen from 18 in 1975 to only 2 in 1982. I need not point out that those two votes were cast by the United States and Israel.

83. The international community's support for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and to establish their own independent State in their own territory, Palestine, has not been confined to adopting resolutions in the United Nations and in other international forums. It has extended to increased recognition by the countries of the world of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. There can be no doubt that the international community's increased respect for the PLO is a result of the conduct of the leaders of that movement, as evidenced by

their responsible behaviour following the ugly and inhuman siege of Beirut by the Israelis.

84. Subsequent events, particularly those that have occurred since the massacres in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, demonstrated that the PLO is equal to its responsibilities and that the other side is ineffectual and unable to implement its pledge to protect the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. It is no longer acceptable, either internationally or logically, for a super-Power to acquiesce in Israel's false allegation accusing the PLO of terrorism, for the Israeli invasion of Lebanon refutes that argument as well as the false pretext of Israeli security.

85. It is no longer acceptable internationally, or from the standpoint of logic, that anyone should fly in the face of reason and repeat parrot fashion the claims of Israel concerning its security needs, at a time when Israel is occupying Arab territories and has been doing so for over 15 years, and has recently ravaged the land of Lebanon in a feverish attempt to eliminate the Palestinian people.

86. Logic and the physical facts require us, instead of repeating these false allegations, to consider seriously taking steps to secure the safety of the Arab countries from the threat posed by Israel. I emphasize that this applies to all the Arab countries, because the threat of Israeli aggression is not confined to one Arab country alone, as has been emphasized by the attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor.

87. The international community has expressed its support for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in resolutions of the United Nations. But those resolutions cannot be implemented so long as the will of the international community is fettered, as it is by the use made of the right of veto by one member of the Security Council.

88. The delegation of Qatar appeals to the Security Council to assume its responsibilities fully, not only to restore the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations and those of the Fez Arab Summit Conference, adopted with Arab unanimity, and to save the occupied Palestinian territories from systematic annexation, but also to restore the authority and credibility of the United Nations, which are being eroded, so that the practices of the international Organization will not degenerate into fruitless acts of absurdity.

89. In conclusion, the delegation of Qatar views with extreme interest the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, to be held in Paris in 1983. That Conference represents an event of special importance for the Palestinian people and the Arab nation. All peace-loving nations are invited to participate and make an effective contribution to ensuring its successful outcome, since such an outcome will be of great value in restoring the stability of the Middle East area, still plagued by occupation and instability.

90. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Ever since the inception of the United Nations, the question of Palestine has occupied a position of prominence in its deliberations and has occupied its attention more frequently than has any other question.

91. This year, the Security Council was convened several times to deal with Zionist practices in the occupied Arab territories. In a six-month period, from April to September, the General Assembly resumed its seventh emergency special session four times; this was in addition to the ninth emergency special session at the beginning of this year, devoted to the question of the Syrian Golan Heights, which is closely linked to the question of Palestine.

92. Such attention reflects the concern of the international community at the heinous criminal practices perpetrated by the Zionist gang against the Palestinian people both within and outside the occupied Arab territories. The Zionist entity, based on racist Fascist dogma, makes an art of repressing the civilian Arab population—men, women, the elderly and children—persists in flouting the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and violates United Nations resolutions and the resolutions of international and regional organizations.

93. Zionist practices take many forms, such as the expulsion of the Arab population from their homes, the usurpation of their territories by force, the establishment of settlements for foreigners who were brought from various parts of the world, the closing down of universities, institutions and schools and the arrest of Palestinian demonstrators and students who are exercising their right to protest against the policies imposed on them in the territories illegally occupied, the dismissal of elected mayors, the desecration of the Holy Places, the attack on the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, Al-Haram Al-Sharif, the interference in the private affairs of the population of the occupied territories and the appropriation of sources of water. All these are routine actions committed daily by the Zionist gangs.

94. The hands of the racist Fascists in Tel Aviv are stained with the blood of innocent victims who were murdered in the villages and towns of the occupied Arab territories by the bullets of terrorism and treachery. Some of them were barely 15 years old. Many martyrs fell outside the occupied territories as the result of the treachery and terrorism of those Fascist gangs.

95. The international community has denounced these criminal acts and methods of the Zionists designed to terrorize the Palestinian people so that Zionism can impose its expansionist policy, consecrate its *faits accomplis* and displace millions of Palestinians, causing them to live in camps which do not provide the minimum basic requirements.

96. The Palestinian refugees have not even been allowed any peace of mind and stability even after the usurpation of their properties. They live in constant fear, pursued by the aggressive practices of the racist Fascist Zionists, such as the storming of their houses at any hour under the pretext of searches for commandos, and the arrests, arbitrary detentions, torture, murder, exile and expulsion.

97. All of these tragedies to which the Palestinian people are exposed are detailed in the various reports issued by international organs and bodies, especially the reports of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories. The Zionist

entity refuses to allow that Committee into the territories, thus preventing it from obtaining more adequate information which is not available from other sources.

98. The Western mass media, even those controlled by Zionist influence, could not, in the face of the brutal onslaught waged by the Zionist gang, refrain from reporting on and publicizing the Zionists' repressive practices and the news of the uprising of the Arab people in Palestine, a people which reject the occupation, in exercise of their right to protest against oppression by the Zionist invaders.

99. In spite of unanimous international recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people, foremost among which is its inalienable right to return to its homeland and property, to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty and to establish an independent State in Palestine, despite recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and despite the adoption of hundreds of resolutions by various United Nations bodies and organs and by regional organizations such as the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of African Unity [OAU], the Organization of the Islamic Conference and others and the complete international support for the struggle of the Palestinian people to regain its usurped rights, the racist Zionist entity in occupied Palestine persists in its denial of Palestinian rights and in its disregard of international public opinion.

100. The invasion of Lebanon, the devastation of its cities and villages and the aggression committed against the capital of a sovereign State provide further proof of the magnitude of Zionist arrogance and the danger posed by the Begin-Sharon-Shamir triumvirate to international peace and security.

101. The blood of the victims on the hands of the rulers of Tel Aviv demands that the international community put an end to the tragedy of the Palestinian people and for the adoption of resolutions and statements of solidarity and support. But this is not enough; it is a completely inappropriate way of dealing with the racist Fascist Zionists. The experience of the past 35 years, during which the Palestinian people have been subjected incessantly to all these acts of aggression and every form of humiliation and repression, shows that the Tel Aviv rulers, regardless of their individual identities, belong to another kind of people, ruled by the mentality of terrorism and expansionism and adhering to theories based on race and religion.

102. It is time for the international community to take practical action commensurate with the magnitude of the Zionist crimes by boycotting the Zionist entity in all political, military and economic fields. It is time for the United Nations, which contributed to the tragedy of the Palestinian people by adopting the resolution on the partition of Palestine and endorsing the establishment of the Zionist entity, to take practical action and expel that entity from the United Nations and its specialized agencies because of its disrespect for the Charter of the United Nations, its blatant violation of its principles and its disregard of United Nations resolutions. We see the representative of the Zionist entity making a mockery of United Nations

resolutions, whether in this Hall or in the Security Council chamber or elsewhere, and displaying contempt for the United Nations itself simply because it supports the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, affirms that people's inalienable rights and condemns Zionist practices, which the whole world has been unanimous in considering to be crimes against humanity. This arrogance, the pursuit of a policy of violence and incessant warfare and the disregard of international norms and resolutions are the result of the support, encouragement and planning of the United States, which provides that entity with economic and military assistance, thus transforming it into the greatest Fascist military force in the region, to serve its imperialist aims and implement its satanic schemes.

103. A recent report by the International Institute for Strategic Studies indicates that the Zionist entity is the fourth most powerful military force in the world after the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of China, and that the weapons used in all the wars waged by the Zionist gangs against the Palestinian people and the neighbouring Arab countries and in its invasion of Lebanon are among the latest produced by American manufacturers. In international forums, the United States takes it upon itself to protect and support the Zionist entity. It is the only State that presses the red button in the service of the Zionist entity, thus departing from the international consensus, and it uses every form of blackmail, threat and pressure each time the enlightened international conscience is moved to adopt a decision to punish the aggressor.

104. We still recall the hysteria that seized the United States Administration when voices of conscience spoke out in favour of a draft resolution by the Assembly rejecting the credentials of the Zionist delegation.

105. As for the Security Council, in which the United States enjoys the right of veto, the United States, by virtue of this right conferred upon it when the United Nations was established, at a time when the Organization represented less than one third of the States of the world, has been able to prevent the Council from adopting practical resolutions which fulfil the aspirations of the Palestinian people and deter the Zionist aggression, or indeed any resolution condemning that entity's policy of terrorism and expansion. This year alone it has prevented the Council from adopting any decision condemning Zionist aggressions, whether in the form of repressive actions against the Arab population's uprising against occupation, the desecration of the Holy Places or the invasion of Lebanon. Thus, the United States has transformed the Security Council into an American-Zionist security council.

106. I have no doubt that the American people will soon lose patience with the immoral United States policy of supporting aggression and oppression in the Middle East and will question the viability of that policy and of continued United States aid to Israel at the expense of the American citizen, who is burdened with increased taxes. Some voices have already been raised in criticism of the American policy of limitless support for the Zionist entity and the use of United States aid and assistance in the murder of thousands of innocent people and to satisfy the blood lust of the

Begin-Sharon-Shamir gang, which desires to implant settlements in the Palestinian Arab territories despite the declared opposition of the United States Administration.

107. Statistics have been published in American newspapers criticizing the magnitude of United States aid to the Zionist entity, which amounts to almost \$3 billion—that is, one fourth of all United States foreign aid. If this sum were distributed among the population of the Zionist entity, the per capita share would be \$800. This is more than the benefits received by the unemployed worker in Detroit. I wonder how many States in the world have a per capita income less than that sum provided by the United States. The 32 least developed countries have a per capita income of less than \$200, which is a quarter of what the United States provides for each individual in the Zionist entity.

108. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has adopted several recommendations affirming the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and affirming that the question of Palestine is at the heart of the Middle East problem and that there can be no settlement in the Middle East that does not take into account the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people. They also affirm the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to its property and homeland and to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty; they reiterate the basic principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, and call for the full and speedy withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories.

109. In our view, these recommendations represent the correct way to achieve a just settlement of the Palestine question, they enable the Palestinian people to regain its usurped rights and they reflect an important development in the United Nations view of the tragedy of the Palestinian people, a view which has become more comprehensive and more objective, taking into account the wrong done by the General Assembly when influenced by a universal conspiracy, it adopted the resolution for the partition plan of Palestine and the establishment of the Zionist entity, thus participating in the dispersion of the Palestinian people.

110. Initiatives and solutions designed to "liquidate" the question of Palestine are doomed to failure. Any solution which does not take into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people is doomed to failure, regardless of the attempts of imperialism and Fascist Zionism to subjugate that people and impose capitulation on it. All of this will be useless, and the Palestinian people will remain steadfast in its just struggle, making sacrifices and setting an example of fortitude. It will not be discouraged by the massacres and genocide to which it is subjected, because it is convinced of its right and of its eventual victory.

111. The United States initiative which was announced last September is one of the more futile attempts and will meet the same fate as the Camp David agreements. How can we consider this initiative when at the outset it refuses to deal with the Palestinian people, refuses to recognize the PLO as the

representative of that people and denies the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of its independent State in Palestine, and when it disregards United Nations resolutions and those of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the OAU? This proposal was put forward by the traditional ally of the Zionist entity, to whom Israel is linked by a special relationship and with whom it has a strategic agreement designed to control the Arab region, with its strategic areas and raw materials. Hence, it is clear in advance that the initiative is designed to serve first and foremost the Zionist interests. This and other recent initiatives, which accord one way or another with the imperialist plans, are all designed to subjugate the Palestinian people, to force them to accept a solution of surrender and *fait accompli* as part of the imperialist schemes to control the area.

112. A few days ago we observed the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. We must strengthen this solidarity by taking practical measures to affirm our support for the struggle of the Palestinian people in the following ways.

113. First, the Zionist entity should be expelled from the United Nations and from its specialized agencies because it has persisted in its disregard of United Nations resolutions. We consider that the signing by 49 States of a document expressing reservations on the credentials of the Zionist delegation is a step in the right direction.

114. Secondly, a political and economic boycott should be imposed on that entity, since the General Assembly considers Israel a non-peace-loving State which has not met its commitments under the Charter.

115. Thirdly, there should be condemnation of the political, material and military aid given by the United States to the Zionist entity, thus encouraging it to persist in its policy of aggression against the Palestinian people and the neighbouring Arab States.

116. Fourthly, in the light of the United States position in the Security Council and the resort to the right of veto against any consensus draft, it has become essential to amend the Charter of the United Nations to abolish this unfair right and establish equality among peoples.

117. In conclusion I should like to express the thanks and appreciation of my delegation to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for its efforts to help that people and publicize the Palestine question. By delegation also supports the convening of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine in 1983 and wishes it every success. On this occasion, my delegation would like to thank the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference for its efforts.

118. Mr. MOHAMMED (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, I should like to extend thanks and appreciation to Mr. Sarré, of Senegal, the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, to the two Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Roa Kourí, of Cuba and Mr. Zarif, of Afghanistan, and to the Rapporteur of the Committee, Mr. Gauci, of Malta, for their noble and strenuous efforts to carry out the task assigned to the Committee by the General Assembly.

119. I should also like to take the opportunity to express appreciation of the efforts of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, scheduled for next year, hoping that it will contribute to the affirmation of the right of the Palestinian people to exercise its inalienable rights in Palestine, on the basis of United Nations resolutions.

120. For the last 35 years, the question of Palestine has occupied a position of prominence in the deliberations of the United Nations, in the General Assembly, the Security Council and in various Committees. No other question has commanded such effort or such concern. No other international problem poses such a threat to international peace and security in the absence of a solution. There is no other question in the United Nations on which so many resolutions have been adopted, expressing the wish of the entire international community to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. No State has been more repeatedly condemned than Israel by numerous resolutions, more often condemned by the international community for its constant aggression against the Palestinian people and the Arab peoples. Yet it persists obstinately in disregarding and violating United Nations resolutions and the Charter of the United Nations. No people has been so incessantly subjected, as the Palestinian people have been by Israel, to displacement, murder, torture and genocide simply because it wants to return to its homeland and to live in peace, freedom and dignity like all other peoples of the world. Yet this heroic, patient, militant people furnishes proof of the truth of its resolve, its will-power and its wisdom in dealing with the trials afflicting it. The latest of these proofs was the immortal battle of Beirut in which the Palestinian people, together with the Lebanese national movement, wrote anew with blood and great sacrifice a radiant page in its legitimate, just struggle to determine its future, and to return to establish an independent Palestinian State under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, the PLO. The battle of Beirut and the subsequent heinous massacres and crimes prove that Israel is a State of aggression based on expansion, terrorism and murder. The brutal massacres of Sabra and Shatila were evidence of that, shaking the conscience of humanity, which condemned it as a link in the campaign of terrorism waged by Israel against the Palestinian people and its leaders everywhere. Yet the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, emerged more resolved than ever to pursue the struggle to achieve its inalienable rights, which constantly commanded the solidarity of the progressive forces in the world.

121. The legitimate and just struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, to regain its legitimate rights is a major part of the universal progress towards an era of liberation, justice and equality, free from repression, oppression and occupation. Like the national liberation movements today in Asia, Africa and Latin America, which strive for freedom, independence and dignity, as an inalienable right which is in accordance with the principles of civilization and legitimacy, and established international law, the legitimate and just struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO,

is a struggle supported and endorsed by all free peace-loving people that believe in the dignity of man.

122. Much has been said in this international forum about the Palestine question and the continuous Israeli aggressions against the Palestinian and Arab peoples. Numerous resolutions have been adopted condemning those aggressions, only to meet with intransigence and obstinacy, while Israel persists in its arrogance and aggression, annexing occupied Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, establishing settlements in the occupied territories, deporting mayors and judges, practising various forms of oppression and repression against the Palestinian people, appropriating its waters and lands and working for its continued displacement, trying to change its character, its culture and the historic landmarks of its territory.

123. In addition to this, Israel strikes everywhere by land, sea and air, using the most modern and lethal weapons, wreaking total havoc with internationally prohibited weapons which it receives in the form of assistance—and what assistance! Does this bloody process have an end? Is the entire international community unable to put an end to these inhuman acts? Will the United Nations not respect its resolutions and the inviolability of its Charter?

124. In his statement in the General Assembly on 14 October, our Foreign Minister said:

“Israel would not have been able to invade Lebanon, wage a war of annihilation against the Lebanese and the Palestinian peoples, or occupy an Arab capital—that is, Beirut—without the support and unlimited encouragement which it has received ever since its inception from the imperialist States. By virtue of American military, political and economic support, in particular, Israel has been able to wage repeated wars against the Arab countries, usurp Palestine, occupy the West Bank and Gaza and annex the Golan Heights and Jerusalem.”  
[A/37/PV.31, para. 35.]

125. Those who shed crocodile tears for human rights not only remain silent before the heinous crimes against humanity perpetrated daily by Israel against the Palestinian people, but they stand behind the aggression and support it in all fields, hindering the efforts of the United Nations to put an end to the grave violations of the bases of international relations, international law and the Charter, claiming that they seek to establish peace in the Middle East.

126. Our Foreign Minister further defined our view on the United States position when he spoke before the General Assembly on 14 October:

“There is amazing irony in the fact that the American Government plays the role of mediator for the maintenance of peace in the Middle East while it does not hesitate to provide Israel with all possible sophisticated military devices.

“The United States is the only State that has used the right of veto in the Security Council against draft resolutions aimed at stopping aggression and bringing about Israeli withdrawal. It concluded a strategic alliance with the State of terrorism and aggression. It sides with the aggressor and protects it in its expansionist greed. Is there still any doubt

about American collusion with Israel, as well as about co-operation between Washington and Tel Aviv, and co-ordination of their efforts, against the Arab peoples?” [Ibid., paras. 35 and 36.]

127. It is certain now that the question of Palestine is the core of the conflict in the Middle East, as affirmed by General Assembly resolution 36/120 D (XXXVI), and that peace in the Middle East is indivisible and must be based on a permanent and comprehensive solution of the Middle East problem, under the auspices of the United Nations, that guarantees full and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, to enable the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, to exercise its inalienable rights, including the right to return home and the right to self-determination, national independence, and the establishment of its own independent sovereign State in Palestine, in accordance with United Nations resolutions.

128. Israel, since its inception, has consistently constituted a threat to international peace and security. It is time for Israel and for its friends and allies, especially the United States, to realize that peace and security in the area cannot be achieved except by the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, without which there will be no peace, and that Israeli notions of expansionism and aggression will never bring about security.

129. The talk about peace in the Middle East region will become more convincing if all possible peace-motivated efforts are made to take practical action to put an end to Israeli arrogance and to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, as well as its right to participate on an equal footing, as a major party to a prolonged conflict, in all efforts to bring about peace in that sensitive region of the world. This is the essence of the Arab peace plan in the Middle East, which was adopted at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference.

130. Mrs. IDER (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Every year, for many years now, the agenda of the General Assembly has included the question of Palestine, yet a just solution to the question has still not been found. The present discussion of the question of Palestine is unusual in that it coincides with a sharp and dangerous aggravation of the Middle East crisis, resulting from the new Israeli aggression, supported by the United States Administration. Once again blatantly flouting the generally accepted rules of international law, the Zionist rulers of Israel have openly challenged the world community by unleashing in June a large-scale aggression in Lebanon against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

131. This fifth Middle East war in a third of a century has proved to be the most cruel in the whole history of the Middle East conflict. It has brought untold sufferings to hundreds of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians and has reduced to rubble many Lebanese towns and villages. The tally of the dead and wounded already amounts to no fewer than 60,000 peaceful citizens, and the number is still rising.

132. The monstrous carnage carried out by the Fascist-minded Zionists and their henchmen in the

Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps in West Beirut represented the culmination of genocide, which has been elevated to the rank of State policy, by the ruling circles of Israel, against the Arab peoples of Palestine.

133. The world was shocked by the cruelty of the aggressors and the barbarity of their acts, which gave rise to angry protests throughout the world. In its statement of 22 September [A/37/480], the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic expressed deep indignation at the slaughter of members of the peaceful population, emphasized that, like the Fascist crimes of the Hitlerites, Zionist atrocities will never be erased from the memory of mankind and declared that crime to be, at the same time, an affront to the conscience and honour of the Jews themselves, who suffered so much at the hands of Hitler.

134. It should be noted that one of the main purposes of the Israeli warmongers in their military operations in Lebanon was the physical destruction of the military contingents and leadership of the PLO, through which the aggressor wanted to decapitate the Palestinian resistance movement and to crush the will of the heroic Palestinian people struggling for its national rights. That criminal aim was not attained, however, even though Israel's entire military machine was set in motion.

135. The military adventure of the Israeli rulers has turned into a major political and moral failure for them. The firmness and valour of the Palestinians in their struggle with the aggressor greatly enhanced the authority of the PLO. The just struggle of the Palestinian people is receiving ever-increasing support from the international community, as can be seen from the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People held here at the United Nations a few days ago and the statements of many representatives before this Assembly.

136. The Mongolian delegation considers that the new criminal acts of Israel against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples are a direct consequence of the separate Camp David deal, itself a result of the so-called American-Israeli strategic co-operation, which poses a threat to all the countries of the region. It is perfectly natural that responsibility for the crimes on Lebanese soil must be borne jointly by Tel Aviv and its American protectors.

137. It is well known that the acts of the Israeli warmongers serve the aims of the American expansionist policy in the Middle East. By providing Israel with many billions of dollars' worth of economic and military aid and by politically and diplomatically covering up their aggressive acts, the United States Administration is using Tel Aviv as a junior partner in asserting their military presence in that oil-rich region, which has particular strategic significance. It is precisely thanks to the comprehensive complicity of Washington that Israel is today continuing so cynically to flout the repeated decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly demanding that it cease its aggression and allow the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples to exercise their inalienable rights. For example, Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509

(1982), adopted at the beginning of June, which demanded the immediate cessation of all military operations in Lebanon and the unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli troops from that country, are still unimplemented. Those demands were repeatedly confirmed in resolutions subsequently adopted by the General Assembly at its seventh emergency special session.

138. It is interesting to note that the resolution adopted by the Assembly on 24 September 1982 [resolution ES-7/9] received the affirmative votes of 147 Member States, with only two voting against it—the United States and Israel.

139. The tragic events in Lebanon have demonstrated with new force that the Palestinian problem occupies a central place in the whole range of questions related to the Middle East crisis. They have reaffirmed that, without a just solution to this problem, that is, without satisfaction of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, it is impossible to establish peace and tranquillity in the Middle East and to assure the security of all the countries and peoples of the region.

140. Until a comprehensive and just solution is found for the hotbed of tension and war in the Middle East, it will not be possible to eliminate the threat to peace and international security. The Mongolian delegation considers that the basis for a practical solution of the Middle East problem and the Palestinian problem already exists. It derives from the numerous resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly and is reflected in the well-known principles for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis formulated by the Soviet Union in September of this year and in the Declaration adopted at the Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez. This means that Israeli troops must be withdrawn from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem. It means that the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to set up their own State, must be implemented, and that the right of all the States of the region to a secure existence and development in conditions of mutual respect and territorial integrity should be secured under appropriate international guarantees. At the same time, we consider that the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine, must participate on an equal footing in all international efforts to attain a just comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem.

141. Let me take this opportunity to confirm Mongolia's support for the convening of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, the successful holding of which would doubtless make an active and constructive contribution to the solution of the Palestinian question on the basis of the well-known decisions of the United Nations.

142. In conclusion, my delegation considers that further efforts by the international community are needed to compel Israel to put into effect the repeated decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, which would constitute an active contribu-

tion to the prompt settlement of the question of Palestine and the Middle East problem as a whole.

*The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.*

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1982*, document S/15317.

<sup>2</sup> *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1982), vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

<sup>3</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.