



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

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

1. Mr. ULRICHSEN (Denmark): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

2. The Ten continue to be deeply conscious of the importance of the problem of Palestine for the future peace and security of the Middle East. They remain firmly of the view that a just solution of the problem is an essential element for any comprehensive peace settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Events during the past year, and in particular the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and its tragic aftermath, have once again demonstrated that the need for a negotiated, comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict is more pressing than ever. They furthermore confirm that there can be no real peace or stability in the region unless the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are recognized also. The dangers of the failure to achieve such a settlement serve to underline the urgency of the need to work towards a just solution of the Palestinian problem.

3. The essence of any solution must be the reconciliation of the State of Israel and the Palestinian people so that these two realities can live together in peace and security. The Ten, basing themselves on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), have set out in the Venice Declaration, published on 13 June 1980,<sup>1</sup> and in their subsequent statements on the issue the essential principles which they believe must govern the search for such a reconciliation. Most recently, in their statement in Brussels on 20 September 1982, they said that such a settlement should be based on the principles of security for all States in the region, including Israel's right to exist, justice for all peoples, including the right of self-determination for the Palestinians with all that implies, and mutual recognition by all the parties involved.<sup>2</sup> If the parties can be brought to accept these principles, the Ten believe that this will represent an important step towards the just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement which is so sorely needed.

4. The Ten's commitment to the right of Israel to live in security and peace is fundamental and unwavering.

So also is our commitment to the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, with all that this implies. The Ten remain convinced that Israel will not obtain the security to which it has a right by using force or creating *faits accomplis*, but that it can find this security by applying the principles of a negotiated settlement and, in particular, by satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people. We believe that it is neither wise nor just for Israel to seek to deny another people the right it claims for itself.

5. The Ten wish to see the Palestinian people in a position to pursue their demands by political means and by negotiation. For negotiations to succeed, the Ten believe that the Palestinian people must be able to commit themselves to them and thus to be represented at them. Consequently, the position of the Ten remains that the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] must be associated with the negotiations.

6. The Ten will continue to be active in pursuing their efforts to promote a peace settlement along these lines. We clearly recognize that it must be for the parties directly concerned to negotiate a lasting settlement themselves. The Ten will maintain and expand their contacts with all parties to help improve the conditions for such negotiations.

7. The Ten welcome the new United States initiative contained in President Reagan's speech of 1 September 1982. It offers an important opportunity for peaceful progress on the Palestinian question and a step towards the reconciliation of the conflicting aspirations of the parties.

8. All parties should seize the present opportunity to initiate a process of mutual *rapprochement* leading towards a comprehensive peace settlement.

9. In this connection, we emphasize the importance of the Final Declaration adopted on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in November 1981 and September 1982 [A/37/696]. We view that Declaration as an expression of the unanimous will of the participants, including the PLO, to work for the achievement of a just peace in the Middle East encompassing all States in the area, including Israel.

10. We renew our call now for a similar expression of a will for peace on the part of Israel.

11. The Ten believe that discussions in the Security Council on the Franco-Egyptian draft resolution<sup>3</sup> could play a useful part in establishing a common basis for a solution of the problems of the area.

12. The Ten have repeatedly indicated the principles on which they base their position concerning the Arab territories occupied by Israel in 1967. They reaffirm that an end must be put, within the framework of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement, to the

territorial occupation which Israel has maintained since 1967; that the provisions of the Hague Convention of 1907<sup>4</sup> and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,<sup>5</sup> are applicable to all these territories; and that the Israeli settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, as well as any change in the status and demographic structures of those territories, are illegal under international law. Israeli policies in the area during the past years have led to mounting tension and continued unrest. The Ten view these policies with profound and increasing concern. In particular, they are deeply concerned by the Israeli policy on settlements. They call on Israel to put an end now to this illegal and damaging policy, which is a grave obstacle to progress towards peace, and in particular to rescind its recent decision concerning expansion of the settlement programme. For Israel to continue its present policy of settlements in the occupied territories could only serve to undermine the necessary basis for dialogue and trust, which are essential prerequisites for any constructive negotiation to reach a comprehensive peace settlement. The Ten reiterate that the Israeli decisions concerning East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights are contrary to international law and therefore invalid, in their eyes.

13. The Ten take note of the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [A/37/35 and Corr.1]. The views of the Ten and such reservations as are maintained in regard to the Committee are well known.

14. In conclusion, the Ten take this opportunity to reaffirm their support for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Recognition of these rights remains one of the fundamental principles to which I have referred and which, in the Ten's view, must underlie the search for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement in the Middle East.

15. Mr. ABULHASSAN (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Thirty-five years have passed since the Palestine problem, in all its well-known dimensions, was created as a result of the establishment of the Jewish State, Israel, on the Arab land of Palestine. Thirty-five years have passed while the international community, which took the original decision allowing this alien State to be established on the territories of others, tries to find a way out of this predicament that continuously threatens the peace and security of the Middle East, as well as international peace and security. Thirty-five years have passed and the Palestinian people—the main victim of the conspiracy of the establishment of the State of Israel—struggling to regain its usurped rights, expects the international community to rise to the level of events and efficiently and actively tackle this problem, which each year becomes more complex.

16. During all these years, Israel, which has been found to be the source of every evil and the cause of every misfortune, persists in its transgression and confronts us with an arrogance that one would never have expected from a people which has itself suffered at the hands of others. But that people is now trying to take revenge on its former oppressors by venting its wrath on a peaceful people which had nothing to do with its suffering, that is, the Palestinian people.

17. After all these long years of futile attempts on the part of the world Organization to solve the Palestine problem, we find that Israel remains the same, unchanged. It has not changed—unless the change is that its international conduct has become more vicious and arrogant.

18. In the beginning, the Israelis tried to hide their real objectives in the land of Palestine and covered them with sugar-coated words about their desire to live in peace with their neighbours. When the Arabs referred to the covetousness and expansionist designs in the Zionist plans, they were accused of an exaggerated perception. What has happened and is still happening in the Middle East clearly demonstrates that the Arabs were not exaggerating but were, in fact, being very moderate in their description of the real expansionist Israeli objectives. What they said then is now being repeated daily in world capitals everywhere and by newspapers.

19. The military power possessed by Israel and supplied by its principal protector, the United States, went to the head of that spoiled child and turned it into a savage beast that no longer cared what was said about it once it had decided unequivocally and shamelessly to confront the world with its real expansionist intentions and objectives in the Middle East region.

20. When asked whether he intended to annex the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Menachem Begin, the Israeli Prime Minister, answered: "You can annex foreign land; you cannot annex your own country." And he added: "Judea and Samaria are part of the land of Israel where the nation was born." His Defence Minister, Ariel Sharon, concluded by saying:

"The settlements are an integral part of our security, and Israel must see to it that the Jewish communities in the occupied territories are increased and consolidated. By returning Yamit in Sinai, Israel has reached the red line of its concessions."

21. Turning from words to deeds, we find that Israeli acts run parallel with the declared objectives of the Israeli leaders, whether those acts are manifested in Israeli illegal practices against the inhabitants of the occupied territories or in open aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese people during the treacherous Israeli invasion, which violated Lebanese independence and sovereignty. In both cases, the objective is one and the same: to establish in the Arab mind and implant therein forever Israeli military dominance and political hegemony in the Arab region in order to paralyse the Arab ability to resist the long-term Israeli plans to seize the rest of the land of Palestine, even if that objective is to be achieved by running over the bodies of innocent defenceless civilians or through massacres of human beings. The perpetrators of those massacres should receive appropriate punishment as war criminals who are guilty of committing ugly crimes against humanity. But the massacre at Sabra and Shatila was not the first heinous crime committed against the Palestinian people during its long and bitter struggle; rather, it was preceded by similar massacres committed by those who rule Israel at present, particularly the massacres at Deir Yassin, Qibya, Kafr Kasseem and others.

22. If we take the Israeli behaviour as a criterion, we can definitely say that the massacre at Sabra and

Shatila will not be the last of its kind, that it will be followed by others—if the Israeli Government continues to carry out its plan to annex the West Bank and Gaza in order to link them to Israel at the appropriate time and after driving their Arab population out, whether gradually through the seizure of land and the expulsion of the inhabitants, or abruptly through the panic created by the subsequent massacres which we should expect.

23. At a time when it seems to those who are far away and those who are near, those who are friends and those who are foes, that Israel does not intend to relinquish one inch of the land it occupies, at a time when the United Nations is unable to find an effective solution to the problem, whether because of the use of the veto against any effective Security Council resolution or of the toothlessness of United Nations resolutions, we see the Arab countries behaving as States which actually feel a sense of their historic responsibility. Accordingly, they adopted, during the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez, important decisions that could be considered as a basis for a deep-rooted solution that in content and substance is in accordance with international law and ensures justice for the Palestinian people, who are truly the principal victims in the Middle East conflict. Such a solution would also guarantee security and stability in the Middle East and hence security and stability in the world, by providing international guarantees for the security of all the States in the region, in accordance with the decisions of the Fez Conference.

24. Those decisions are based on three fundamental elements: first, unshakeable faith in the right of the people of Palestine to self-determination and to establish their own State on the soil of their land; secondly, unshakeable faith in the fact that peace in the Middle East is an integral part of the cause of world peace; and, thirdly, unshakeable faith that the States which contributed to the creation of this problem by helping to establish Israel on Palestinian territory bear a special responsibility for trying to ensure a fair and lasting solution and the success of this just cause.

25. But, as usual, Israel did not bother even to consider these decisions, but rejected them forthwith. The reason is quite obvious. The Israeli leaders, who are planning the creation of Greater Israel and whose every act, every announcement, is aimed in that direction, do not want any solution which will deal with the heart of the Middle East crisis, namely, the Palestine question, but rather wish to leave themselves freedom of action in the region after establishing their military domination.

26. To our great dismay, we find that, while the international community is trying to solve the problem in a way that will safeguard the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, certain countries that actively contributed to the creation of Israel and are still contributing by supplying it with the means of power that will only augment its ferocity, arrogance and appetite for aggression make no real effort to check Israel and to pave the way for a fresh effort to reach a just and comprehensive solution of the problem of the Palestinian people.

27. The Palestinian people have carried on a bitter struggle to attain their legitimate rights and have suf-

fered more than any other people in our time. The time has come for their struggle to be crowned by their exercising their right to self-determination, establishing their own State on the soil of their land and taking their place among the nations of the world which, since the end of the Second World War, have rid themselves of colonialism and are established as independent and sovereign States.

28. Through their continuous struggle and by the responsible spirit demonstrated by their leaders in the PLO, the Palestinian people have proved that they exist and that any conspiracy aimed at smothering their voice, whether through Israeli military pressure, barbaric Israeli massacres or futile attempts to solve the problem behind the backs of their legitimate representative, the PLO, is doomed to absolute failure, and that their struggle will finally be crowned by success.

29. In the light of what has been said, my delegation deplores the stand taken by the United States in regard to the PLO. Although that organization has won the recognition of the majority of the nations of the world as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and although it has proved worthy of international responsibility, the United States Government still stipulates that the PLO recognize Israel's right to exist, not as a pre-condition of any negotiations with that organization but rather as a pre-condition of dialogue with it, and that in itself is an extremely exaggerated request.

30. We deplore the abnormal stand taken by the United States because it includes the following two paradoxes: first, it seems somewhat strange that the United States should now insist on pre-conditions concerning any dialogue with the PLO, despite the fact that the United States is not a party to the Palestinian question here, whereas it did not set any such pre-conditions concerning its negotiations with the Viet Nam Liberation Front although the United States was a party in the Viet Nam war; secondly, the Israeli leaders continue to declare that they were offered the land as a gift from the Prophet Abraham, may he rest in peace, and therefore they do not need recognition by the PLO, and that even if that organization recognized them they would never negotiate with it. Thus, the United States Government is showing prejudice.

31. The scores of resolutions adopted by the United Nations every year since the crisis started some 35 years ago reflect the real feelings of the international community and the real conception of the international consensus, but we all know that a resolution is one thing and its implementation is something else, that these resolutions are not solutions *per se* but the means by which to reach a solution, and that the solution will only be reached by implementing the resolution, and its implementation requires, as we have mentioned before, the means to implement it, which unfortunately the international Organization lacks.

32. The United Nations, and especially those countries which have contributed to the creation of the Palestine question through their contribution to the creation of Israel, without any consideration for the rights of the people who lived on the land on which Israel was established, have a grave responsibility

for solving this problem in a way that will guarantee the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and to establish their own State on Palestinian land. Therefore, Kuwait appeals to the countries that contributed to the creation of the State of Israel, foremost among which is the United States, to shoulder their responsibility and fully try to solve this problem.

33. The United States also has a special international responsibility because of its special relationship with Israel, that same relationship which allows Israel to continue its aggressive, expansionist policies without fearing any interruption of the steady flow of American arms and money, without fearing the cessation of American protection by the use of the veto against any Security Council resolution aimed at checking Israel and, last but not least, without fearing any serious attempt to solve the problem by recognizing the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and negotiating with it to solve the Palestinian problem, which even the United States recognizes as the core of the Middle East question.

34. The delegation of my country believes that United States recognition of the PLO would be a basic step in the right direction, a step on which must depend the results of any efforts directed to a fundamental and just solution to the Palestinian problem that could restore to the Middle East and to the world at large a feeling of security and stability and the prevalence of the principles of justice and equity.

35. Mr. SOMOGYI (Hungary): The well-known developments of the past year and the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East as a result thereof have further intensified the interest and concern with which the international community has long been following the Palestinian issue. The series of Security Council meetings and the successive resumptions of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine were manifestations of these sentiments within the United Nations. And now this body is once again seized of this problem of great importance.

36. The question of Palestine, as already established by the General Assembly in its resolution adopted in 1974 [resolution 3236 (XXIX)], is at the core of the whole Middle East crisis and consequently there can be no peace in that region without a just solution to this problem. But up to now all efforts to solve this long outstanding issue have failed. Practically all the resolutions of the various organs of the United Nations have remained dead letters.

37. The lack of progress in this regard is due to the aggressive, expansionist policy of Israel and to its stubborn refusal to accept any motion that might bring about a just settlement of the Palestinian issue. By pursuing this irresponsible course of adventurism, Israel not only endangers and violates the sovereignty of the neighbouring Arab States and destabilizes the entire Middle East region, but also gravely threatens international peace and security.

38. As a result of a series of Israeli aggressions, the Palestinian people has been displaced and uprooted from its own motherland. Consequently, a great number of Palestinians are now living in exile, many of them still in refugee camps, as foreigners in another

country. Another million or more are forced to live under Israeli oppression and subjugation in the occupied territories, deprived of all human rights and fundamental freedoms, downgraded to the status of second-class citizens in their native land.

39. The circumstances in which the Palestinian Arab population is forced to live in the occupied territories are steadily deteriorating. Expropriations and confiscations of Palestinian property, the establishment of more and more Israeli settlements, an increase in the number of Jewish settlers, arrests, ill treatment and torture of Palestinian civilians, expulsions and denials of applications to return are the characteristic features of the prevailing situation. These measures are aimed at perpetuating the consequences of successive Israeli aggressions, changing the legal status and demographic composition of those territories, annexing those lands and destroying the national identity of the Palestinian people.

40. In addition to all these facts reflecting the ongoing deterioration of the situation in the occupied territories, we have witnessed in recent months the invasion of Lebanon, the siege of Beirut and the massacres in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. The aim of this latest Israeli aggression was to disperse further the Palestinian people, to intimidate them, to break their will and determination to fight for their rights and physically to annihilate the vanguard of their struggle, the PLO. It has been demonstrated once again that the ruling circles of Israel are ready to do everything, are ready to commit any crime, however brutal it might be, in order "to settle" the Palestinian problem in accordance with their ambitions deriving from hatred and expansionist aspirations.

41. But universal indignation, abhorrence and resolute condemnation on the part of world public opinion, as well as the subsequent moral and political defeat of Israel, have shown at the same time that a genuine solution cannot be attained by force.

42. The key to a just and lasting solution lies in satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the long-suffering Palestinian people. An indispensable pre-condition for any solution of the Palestinian issue, and consequently for any comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis, is the free exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights, which comprise the right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty, including the right to establish in Palestinian lands an independent and sovereign State of its own. It is noteworthy, in this regard, that as early as 1947 the General Assembly, by a resolution, already envisaged the establishment of an independent Palestinian Arab State and, since that resolution has never been rescinded or otherwise nullified, there can be no grounds whatsoever for arguing against that right.

43. The inevitable failure of all unilateral attempts to date has clearly indicated that it is only by peaceful means, through negotiations and the collective efforts of all parties concerned, that an end can be put to the ordeal of the Palestinian people. It is only within the framework of a comprehensive Middle East settlement that the question of Palestine can be resolved.

44. The Hungarian delegation is of the firm conviction that such a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of this complex of problems should be based on the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied in or after 1967, including Jerusalem; on the exercise of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish an independent State of its own, and on the recognition and realization of the right of each and every State in the region to live in peace within internationally guaranteed boundaries.

45. It is obvious that this kind of genuine solution can be achieved only through an international conference to be held with the participation of all parties concerned. It goes without saying that the PLO, the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people, a principal party in any Middle East peace agreement, should also participate on an equal footing with all other participants.

46. Since the comprehensive Soviet proposal put forward last September [A/37/457] meets all the aforesaid requirements, we think that it can be the basis of a solution to this pressing problem. Therefore, we whole-heartedly support that initiative. At the same time, we consider that the Arab position, elaborated at the Arab Summit Conference at Fez, is a valuable one because it has been conceived in the spirit of the principles I have just mentioned and because it is a manifestation of the long-awaited unity of the countries most directly concerned.

47. On the other hand, we are of the view that proposals that fail to recognize the necessity of establishing an independent, sovereign Palestinian State, that do not even mention the PLO as a party to the proposed settlement, that completely avoid the issue of Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories can lead nowhere.

48. There must not be any illusion as to the intention of the United States in this regard. As has been amply demonstrated by the United States vetoes cast in the Security Council to prevent effective measures from being taken against Israel and by the unceasing political, military and economic support for the aggressive, expansionist Israeli policy, Washington, pursuing its own egoistic interests, has irrevocably sided with Israel, which it considers its strategic ally in that region.

49. Hungary, a member of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, has deep sympathy and active solidarity with the Palestinian people in its just struggle and will continue to support its fight for self-determination and for the establishment of an independent State of its own. While we support all the efforts aimed at an immediate solution to the Palestinian issue, we look forward with great expectations to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine to be held in Paris in 1983, because we hope that it will contribute to enhancing the cause of this long-suffering people.

50. It is the view of my delegation that the United Nations should take an active, constructive part in the quest for a genuine solution to the Palestinian issue. A great deal of attention has already been paid by the world Organization to the question of Palestine and to other aspects of the Middle East problem.

The United Nations, together with the vast majority of the international community, has already recognized that a fundamental factor in averting the threat to world peace and international security that the Middle East crisis constitutes is enabling the Palestinian people freely and fully to exercise their inalienable rights, that is, solving the question of Palestine. Justice must be done; actions must be taken, actions in the spirit of the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, endorsed and repeatedly confirmed by the General Assembly. Hence, what is at stake is not only the authority and prestige of the United Nations but also the survival and fate of a long-suffering people.

51. Mr. AL-HADDAWI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I wish, at the outset of my statement, to express thanks and appreciation to Mr. Sarré, of Senegal, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, and to the members of that Committee for their praiseworthy efforts and characteristic objectivity in preparing their report [A/37/35 and Corr.1].

52. I should like briefly to point out certain aspects of the Palestinian cause, for the benefit of some Members of the United Nations of the new generation who have not personally witnessed this tragedy. Many acts of that tragedy took place at the United Nations and its *dramatis personae* were those who were believed by the world to be faithful preachers of ideals and human principles and to care about international peace and security.

53. The roots of the tragedy of Palestine date back to the middle of the last century, when the first wave of Jewish persons emigrated to Palestine, motivated by religious feelings and the desire to live in the Holy Land. They did not have any nationalist motives, because the Zionist plague had not yet come into being. This first wave consisted of only 900 persons, encouraged by the British Jew Moses Montague, but the number gradually increased until it reached the figure of 50,000 emigrants at the end of the nineteenth century. Zionism had come into being by then as a chauvinistic, expansionist movement, led by the Fascist Austrian journalist Theodor Herzl, who, despite his Zionist zeal, had no knowledge of the geography of Palestine nor of its history. He did not even know that it was peopled by Arabs at that time. Herzl dreamt only of establishing a Jewish State, or what he called *Judenstaat*, regardless of where it was established. In this connection, Desmond Stewart mentions in his memoirs that Herzl did not refrain from playing the part of an agent in the service of large British imperial interests. He therefore accepted at once the proposal of Joseph Chamberlain, the then British Colonial Secretary, that Kenya be the country where the Jews would settle and establish a homeland. He also accepted the proposal of Baron Hirsch that a Federal State with a Jewish component be established in Argentina. But due to pressure from Zionist leaders, foremost among whom was the Russian Jew Chaim Weizmann, the Jews rejected these proposals and insisted that their State should be established in Palestine. Herzl acquiesced in their view and during the first Zionist conference at Basle, in 1897, they adopted a resolution in which they called

for the establishment of a national Jewish homeland in Palestine and refrained from using the word *Judenstaat*, or Jewish State, so not to be opposed by non-Zionist Jews.

54. This word was subsequently used in the Balfour Declaration, issued on 2 November 1917. It is well known that Balfour, who was Jewish and the then British Foreign Minister, was sympathetic to the Zionist movement and, under the pressure of Chaim Weizmann and in co-operation with the British Jewish lobby, especially businessmen and wealthy persons, he issued the Balfour Declaration, which is considered to be one in a series of British schemes against the Arab nation. The Balfour Declaration, despite its conspiratorial character and its bad faith with regard to the Palestinian people, did not refer to making Palestine a political homeland for the Jews. Rather, it called for a national homeland for them, provided that that would not affect the rights and religions of people of other nationalities in the country.

55. Chaim Weizmann succeeded in establishing a number of Jewish and Zionist societies in Britain, including the Anglo-Jewish Association and the Board of Deputies of British Jews. These associations, with the support of certain British political personalities, among them Lloyd George, Churchill, Baron Rothschild, Baron Hirsch, Clement Attlee, Herbert Samuel and Harold Wilson, as well as scores of others who sought financial and political glory, worked to change the Balfour Declaration by replacing the concept of a Jewish homeland in Palestine by that of the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine, on the pretext that such a State would constitute a political foundation that would serve the interests of the British Empire. They competed in supporting the Zionist movement and encouraging Chaim Weizmann, who assumed the leadership of the Zionist movement after the death of his rival, Herzl.

56. The first seed of the Zionist State owed its origin to religion and the desire to find a refuge for the Jews, to rescue them from a life of wandering and from being scattered throughout the world. But this was just camouflage behind which lay the ambitions of political and regional expansion.

57. We believe in Judaism as a revealed religion that, like all the other religions, calls for love and sympathy between human beings and the worship of the Creator. But we reject zionism, which is far from being a religious creed. It is a racist, imperialist, political movement that distinguishes between Jews and non-Jews, believes in the purity of the Jewish race and is based on terrorism, repression, treachery and expansion, just as nazism distinguished between the German and the non-German races and resorted to terrorism, repression and expansion. Since its inception in 1947, the *Judenstaat* has been guilty of putting into practice all these evils.

58. The centre of Zionist activity moved from Great Britain to the United States, where the Zionists succeeded in establishing many Jewish societies, with different aims and slogans. Some of them sought at first to end the discrimination that the Americans practised against them. They called for the granting to Jews of political rights equal to those of American citizens. There was not at first much enthusiasm about zionism. It was not recognized as a political

basis. Even the idea that the Jews were a people without a homeland was rejected. But in no time the picture changed, and the societies became terrorist institutions that played the most invidious and repugnant roles in the killing of Palestinian people and the establishment of their tragic fate.

59. Certain members of those societies had no shame in arranging demonstrations on Broadway and in Times Square in 1949 and 1950, and in urging bystanders to contribute to Israel with the slogan "Pay a dollar to kill an Arab".

60. To achieve its aims, the Zionist movement evolved into another stage, when its leaders made much of the Nazi barbarism that had been practised against them and other peoples of Eastern Europe. Thus, the proponents of zionism won increasing world-wide sympathy. Their interests coincided with those of the leaders of the Western countries, especially the United States, which undoubtedly became a super-Power after the Second World War. The Zionists exploited the American people's change of heart towards them resulting from the Nazi persecution, and also exploited the ambition of many political adventurers seeking positions and victory in elections.

61. Jewish financial influence had increased in the United States because of war conditions and their aftermath, when the United States adopted an open-door policy towards Europe, which had been destroyed by the war. The Jewish societies succeeded in lessening discrimination against Jews in some parts of the country and hastened to impose their absolute domination on finance, the mass media and various sectors of public opinion. They gained positions in the United States Congress, the White House and the Department of State. Those who needed the support of the political personalities involved hovered around them, and the influential Jewish lobby appeared on the scene.

62. On the other hand, the British, who held the Mandate, were at an impasse. Their forces in Palestine were exposed to harassment by the Zionists. For example, the Irgun Tzeva'i Leumi, led by the terrorist Menachem Begin, blew up the King David Hotel, killing 75 British and Arabs. Other examples—again with Menachem Begin in the lead—include the kidnapping of two British soldiers, who were hanged from trees, and the assassination of Lord Moyne. There were attacks on British camps and police stations in order to steal ammunition and arms and humiliate the British authorities.

63. The British Government was unable to find a sound solution, despite its flagrant bias towards the Zionists. Seeing no way out of its predicament, it put the question of Palestine before the United Nations, which was then only two years old. Great Britain sought a solution because the Zionists had mobilized American public opinion and all its energies in their favour and had thus been able to tilt the balance to their side. The Zionists found in President Harry Truman, who, together with his wife and daughter, was very enthusiastic about the movement, a supporter who pursued an unfair and inhuman policy against the Palestinian people, with the support of many members of the Congress and people in the White House, the Department of State and the mass media.

The Palestinians did not have a single voice to counter those myriad pressures.

64. The United States Government had a design based on an improvised plan prepared by a special committee of the United Nations that called for the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab States. The plan did not receive the sort of consideration that could have ensured its success, as was proved by the fact that it failed then and has remained a failure. After the American people had celebrated Thanksgiving Day, the United States Government put all its weight behind the matter in the General Assembly, including the weight of the United States President himself and his principal assistants, including a Jewish personality, David Niles, who was notorious for his considerable and direct influence on the President. Niles hid from Truman the proposals and advice of men of reason and embellished the Zionist views so much that he succeeded in implanting the idea of partition in the President's mind. He forestalled any possibility of reviewing this idea, which thus grew and became even stronger. The propaganda machine was applied to States Members of the United Nations in order to obtain the required two-thirds majority in the General Assembly. American diplomacy made intensive efforts to obtain the four or five additional votes needed for adoption of the partition decision.

65. The records of the United Nations for that period refer to the illegal methods used by the United States, including blackmail and threats to stop assistance under the Marshall Plan to States opposed to partition. It is even said that the United States bought the votes of some delegations.

66. Hence, we see the immoral acts which made of the United Nations at that time another New York stock market, where American diplomats were in direct contact with the President and receiving instructions from him. Some sources report that Chaim Weizmann paid a visit to President Truman before the decision on partition, with David Niles serving as intermediary. The President said that the success of the partition plan was not in doubt, and Weizmann asked him to mediate in order to obtain the inclusion of the Negev desert in the Jewish part of Palestine. The President agreed, although he knew that that desert belonged to the Arabs under the ill-fated partition plan.

67. The unfair partition plan resolution [resolution 181 (II)] was adopted by a two-thirds majority—33 votes in favour, 13 against, and 10 abstentions, with one delegation absent—at a time when there were 57 Members of the United Nations.

68. There was and is nothing in the Charter of the United Nations which vested the General Assembly with that right. Nor did the General Assembly ask the views of the inhabitants of the country. It was not aware of their desires and did not give them the right to self-determination. We suggest that those interested in the circumstances of the partition of Palestine read the article entitled "The Partition of Palestine 35 Years Ago", written by Mr. Peter Grose and published in *The New York Times Magazine* on Sunday, 21 November 1982; it is an excerpt from a book he plans to publish next autumn, in which he gives the horrendous details of this bloody conspiracy.

69. The adoption of the partition resolution was not the end of Zionist ambitions, because the real Zionist ambitions are based on false historical assertions and on the argument about the rights of the Jews in Palestine to establish a Greater Israel from the Nile to the Euphrates. That is what Herzl called for under the pressure of the First Zionist Congress. Herzl said in particular: "We have to confiscate private lands gently and annex them to ours and we have to drive the poor Arabs away, without any provocation from our country, and force them to work in the neighbouring States".

70. Ben-Gurion said to Ibrahim Shebat, editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Al-Mirsad*, that Israel was a homeland for the Jews only. Ben-Gurion always insisted that had Moshe Dayan been in the leadership in 1948 the State of Israel's borders would have been much broader; and Yigdal Allon, when he was Israel's Foreign Minister, said that it was Ben-Gurion who had accepted the truce in the first Arab-Israeli war, whereas Israel should have continued the battle in order to annex the Litani River in Lebanon in the north and the Sinai Desert in the south, and to complete the liberation of the homeland.

71. When Golda Meir was asked how the occupied lands would be returned, she answered:

"There are no people to whom we can return them. There is nothing called 'Palestinians'; there was no Palestinian people in Palestine that considered itself Palestinian. We came and expelled it after seizing its homeland. That people does not exist."

72. Immediately after the adoption of the partition resolution, Menachem Begin declared that Israel was not liberated but was partitioned and that therefore Israel would revert once and for all to the Jewish people.

73. In a secret meeting between Menachem Begin and Ralph Bunche in Palestine, after the partition decision, Begin begged for help to establish a non-partitioned Jewish State in Palestine. Bunche answered: "I understand you quite well, Sir, because I myself belong to a persecuted minority".

74. Immediately after the June 1967 war, *Haolam Hazeh* published a statement by Moshe Dayan, Israel's Minister of War, in which he said:

"Our fathers reached the borders that were recognized by the partition plan; our generation reached the 1949 borders; and now the generation of the six-day war was able to reach Suez, Jordan and the Golan Heights. The borders of the present truce are actually not the end, because there will be further victories that will enable us to reach beyond Jordan, possibly Lebanon and the middle of Syria too."

Several hours would be needed for me to quote from all such statements by Zionist leaders, but the ones I have already quoted suffice to confirm that Israel's greed is unlimited.

75. Immediately after the adoption by the General Assembly of the illegitimate and ill-fated partition resolution, the Israelis seized 35 per cent of the Arab sector. Then, through successive acts of aggression, they occupied the West Bank, including Jerusalem,

Sinai, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. They are still entrenched in Lebanon, on the very outskirts of its beautiful capital, Beirut. Begin declared Jerusalem the eternal capital of Israel, gave the name of "Judea and Samaria" to the West Bank and imposed the Zionist administration on the Syrian Golan Heights. The aim of Israel's greed for more Arab lands seized by force of arms is the emigration of Jews from all over the world to settle in occupied Palestine. They have used all ways and means to attain this end.

76. First, in contravention of General Assembly resolution 194 (III), which provided for the return of the Arab refugees to Palestine or compensation for the loss of property and money for those who did not wish to return, the Israelis endeavoured to prevent the return to Palestine of the refugees who had left their homes in the 1948 war. In order to make the return impossible, the Israelis from the very beginning massacred defenceless civilian inhabitants of Arab Palestine. The most hideous massacre at that time was the one at Deir Yassin, which was planned and led by the international terrorist Menachem Begin when he was the leader of the Irgun Tzeva'i Leumi. It is known that more than 300 innocent people were slaughtered in that massacre, among them a pregnant woman—and two terrorists of the Begin gang made a bet about the sex of the foetus and so decided to open the woman's womb.

77. The common action of and co-ordination between the three Zionist terrorist gangs—the Haganah, the Irgun Tzeva'i Leumi and the Stern—resulted in massacres of farmers and other civilians in Kafr Kassem, Qibya, Nahhalin, Qalqiliya, Halhul and scores of other Arab villages in Palestine immediately after the implementation of the partition plan. The primary aim was to sow terror in the Palestinian people and intimidate them into fleeing for their lives to neighbouring Arab countries. Thus, the Zionist authorities implemented a part of their designs by expelling more than a million Palestinians and hastened to enact laws to prevent their return, in contravention of the General Assembly resolution; those laws gave these Palestinians the status of absentee owners and orders were therefore issued to confiscate their land and their homes and property. It was called the "absentee property law". They also enacted a law granting Israeli citizenship to any Jew who came to Palestine and considering the Jews who lived abroad as Israeli subjects—without even knowing their opinions and without taking account of the difficulties involved in dual citizenship.

78. The Zionist authorities persecuted the Palestinians remaining in the occupied territories, enacting hundreds of laws and decisions divesting them of their land and property. They gave the military governors the responsibility for implementing those laws and decisions. These governors prevented the Arab farmers from planting their land, and then they declared the land confiscated because it was not being tilled by its owners. The Israeli Government thus confiscated millions of dunums of farmland, which it gave to the new Jewish immigrants for the establishment of settlements and co-operative farms.

79. On the pretext of national security, the military governors arrogated to themselves the right to confiscate any land they wished. The Palestinians became

second-class citizens and the victims of racist practices; they were prevented from working and deprived of the right to establish industries or participate in agricultural or trade projects.

80. Until 1972, the Histadrut, the Israeli federation of trade unions, refused membership to any Arab worker. After 1972, it allowed a few of them to become members, but by 1977 only 4,000 of the original Arab inhabitants of occupied Palestine, which numbered about 1 million, had done so.

81. The Zionist authorities engaged in repression, blowing up the homes of the inhabitants and expelling them by force beyond the borders, imposing school curricula which were contrary to the Islamic and Arab heritage. Even places of worship did not escape Zionist aggression. Thus, the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque was burned by an arsonist and the Mosque of Al-Haram Al-Sharif was profaned. Many religious personalities, both Muslim and Christian, were imprisoned. Elected mayors, who had the support of the Arab Palestinian people, were banished and replaced by agents of the Israelis. The Israelis also pursued all the free Palestinian personalities and thinkers throughout the world, and their intelligence service murdered many of these fighters and martyrs.

82. That brief account of the plight of the Arab people in Palestine reveals one aim: the complete liquidation of the Palestinian people and the complete elimination of its identity in order to force it to leave its homeland, so that Palestine will remain purely Jewish, intact, and all the Jews of the world will be brought to it.

83. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted hundreds of resolutions in regard to all the matters I have referred to, but they have remain unimplemented by Israel. On the contrary, zionism has continued its wicked propaganda campaign to force Jews throughout the world to emigrate to Palestine. It sheds tears on them and keeps busy complaining in the world mass media about the state of human rights in some countries of the socialist bloc. They even trapped former President of the United States Jimmy Carter into engaging in an unjustified campaign, devoid of any basis in facts. Hundreds of citizens of other countries were victims of violations of human rights. Israel did not even bother about them. But when one or two Jews were punished, for reasons connected with the security and laws of certain States, Israel made a great fuss, completely disregarding the tension caused by its prejudiced stances in the relations between the super-Powers.

84. The aim of all of this is to ensure Jewish emigration to Palestine, to serve the expansionist settlement plans, at the expense of the Palestinian Arab people.

85. Once zionism had seized all of Palestine and dispersed its people, it committed other acts of aggression, using the false argument of security requirements and self-defence. It launched its treacherous attack against Lebanon on 6 June, an attack which lasted three months, during which it seized southern Lebanon and penetrated far into the country, forcing its way to the capital, Beirut. It used sophisticated American weapons, including cluster and phosphorus bombs. We would have wished the United States delegation to be courageous enough to denounce in the General Assembly the use of such weapons, just as a



few days ago the head of that delegation denounced their use against the Afghan rebels. We would have liked the United States delegation to declare that its Government would stop the shipments of those armaments to Israel, after its violation of the United States law under which it receives them.

86. Israel waged its wicked campaigns against the Lebanese and the Palestinians from the air, the land and the sea. Thousands were murdered and property, projects and farms were destroyed.

87. The Zionist authorities conspired with some agents to carry out a cowardly attack on the Sabra and Shatila camps. With the knowledge of Zionist leaders and in co-ordination with them, they carried out a massacre of Palestinian and Lebanese people. That shocked the conscience of the world, which has condemned that wicked act and its authors. The Zionist invasion of Lebanon was aimed at subjugating Lebanon and imposing a peace treaty on it as a result of the ensuing occupation and the threat not to retreat. Its objective was also to achieve territorial gains around the Litani River and the heights of southern Lebanon, as well as to open wide the gates of trade exchange. This treacherous invasion was also designed to destroy completely the heroic Palestinian resistance in order to eliminate the Palestinian people and impose the doctrine of racial Jewish purity in Palestine.

88. Iraq is convinced that the valiant people of Lebanon will refuse to bargain with its sovereignty and its dignity and will never abandon its Arab ties, regardless of the pressures and difficulties it may face. Lebanon is an integral part of the Arab nation and a leading element of its culture and civilization. It will never renounce the Arab consensus, which aims at a just and lasting peace in the area.

89. As President Saddam Hussein of Iraq emphasized in his message on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People:

“Contrary to the Zionist entity’s position and conduct, the whole world has witnessed with appreciation the Arab stance on the conflict with Israel. It is characterized by a spirit of responsibility and by a genuine desire for peace based on justice. This position was unanimously expressed at the Fez Conference. Therefore, we sincerely hope that all the States of the world, without exception, especially the super-Powers, will be convinced of the wisdom and justice of this position and will work most seriously and forcefully to support it, as well as to achieve its aims.”

90. Proceeding from that Arab premise and within that practical framework, Lebanon, with the support of the Arab people and its friends and under the aegis of the United Nations, can find a way out of its predicament, but this depends upon the political will and the good faith which the United States must display in order to force its ally, Israel, to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from all Lebanese territories and to desist from interfering in its internal affairs, so that its leaders may shoulder their grave responsibilities, staunch the wounds, rebuild the country and promote welfare and stability for its people.

91. As for Israel’s efforts to liquidate the Palestinian people and eliminate the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, undoubtedly

the condemnation by the United Nations and the world conscience of the Fascist-Zionist aggression and the popular resentment against the terrorist Begin-Sharon-Shamir triumvirate, confirm the justice of the cause of the Palestinian people and its right to self-determination, as well as the imperative need to enable it to exercise its inalienable right to independence under the leadership of the PLO.

92. The good people and the lively consciences that praised and supported the struggle of the Palestinian people in Lebanon and its valiant resistance to the Zionist invasion reinforced the determination of the Palestinian resistance and its steadfastness in its struggle.

93. Despite Israel’s designs, the Palestinians have time and again proclaimed from this rostrum—most recently in the statement by Mr. Farouk Kaddoumi, the head of the Political Department of the PLO [84th meeting], their faith in a just peace and their legitimate right to self-determination. That peace and that right are being ignored and violated by Israel, which stands alone among all the members of the international community.

94. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): For decades now, the Middle East has been one of the “hot spots” of our planet. The question of Palestine, still unresolved, is at the root of the constant conflict which periodically erupts into bloody wars. The tragedy of the Palestinian people, deprived of its homeland and subjected to domination and national humiliation, is a striking example of the misfortunes visited upon peoples by the imperialist policy of expansion and aggression.

95. Scarcely more than two months ago, mankind witnessed the terrible aftermath of the fifth consecutive war of aggression in that part of the world since 1948. The cease-fire in Lebanon had hardly come into effect when a monstrous slaughter of the unarmed inhabitants of the Palestinian camps was committed, despite the guarantees given by the United States, through its emissary, for the security of the inhabitants of Beirut and for the Palestinian refugees. That event demonstrates beyond question that Israel is implementing a cold-blooded programme of the physical extermination of the Palestinian people and a “final solution” to the Palestinian question by fire and the sword and by the perpetuation of its power over the Arab lands it has stolen.

96. To the sound of gunfire in Beirut, Tel Aviv intensified its annexationist acts in the occupied territories. It has been announced that eight new settlements will be created by the end of this year, and another 20 in 1983, while the 105 existing settlements will be considerably expanded. According to a spokesman for the World Zionist Organization quoted by the *Christian Science Monitor* of 9 November 1982, a long-term plan has been worked out providing for the settlement in the stolen territories of 1.4 million Israelis in the course of the next 30 years and the forcible expulsion of the indigenous population—that is to say, almost the same number of Palestinian Arabs—from their ancestral homes.

97. It was in that context that at the beginning of September 1982 it was officially announced by the United States that, as a result of the events that had

occurred, the possibilities of a favourable solution to the crisis in that part of the world had increased. That view is logical enough, inasmuch as the bloody events in question occurred with the knowledge and blessing of that country. Within the framework of the strategic alliance with Israel, the Middle East policy of the United States Administration is obviously aimed at the elimination of the PLO and other progressive forces and at the transformation of the whole Middle East and Persian Gulf area into an uncontested American zone of influence.

98. The classic method of "divide and rule", for which the separate agreements of Camp David have become a contemporary synonym, is an essential instrument in the pursuit of this policy. Those agreements prepared the ground politically for the aggressor and enabled it to strike selective blows at Arab States and peoples. The aggressor received from its strategic allies financial and military resources for this purpose. Without the support of its partner across the Atlantic, Israel would not have been able to defy the world Organization so arrogantly and expect that its crimes would go unpunished. It is well known who in the Security Council, by the systematic use of the veto, has been preventing the United Nations from taking action that could bridle the aggressor.

99. The Bulgarian delegation believes that the recently published plan of the United States Government for a settlement of the Middle East crisis is directly contrary to the legitimate rights and interests of the Palestinian people. It is public knowledge that that plan does not provide for the creation of an independent Palestinian State. It demands that the PLO not be part of any peaceful settlement. The Palestinians are to be given imaginary autonomy over the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip. Actually, that plan leaves the solution of the Palestine question at the mercy of the aggressor. The categorical refusal of the authors of this plan to talk with the representatives of the PLO, which is recognized by almost 100 States Members of the United Nations as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, is highly revealing with regard to the character of such an approach to the problem.

100. It is still too early to draw any final conclusions about the events in 1982 in that sorely tried part of the world. At present, the aggressor continues to lay down the law on Lebanese soil. Intensive diplomatic activities are under way. Meetings and contacts have been scheduled. We are awaiting political solutions which will determine to a large extent the subsequent course of events. But one conclusion can be drawn right now—that is, the Palestinian fighters have resisted the violent offensive of the enemy. The international community has once again come to realize that it is impossible to eliminate the Palestinian people, which numbers more than 4 million, just as it is impossible to eliminate its aspiration to independence. The inalienable rights of that people are recognized almost unanimously by the Members of the world Organization—and this is something which Israel and its protectors should bear in mind.

101. The most recent events with regard to the Palestine question serve only to confirm once again our conviction that the true solution to the Middle East conflict does not lie in the various doubtful mediation

missions or in the policy of appeasement of the aggressor by increasing concessions. The only way of bringing about a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem is to enlist the collective efforts and participation of all the interested parties by means of a representative international conference with participation on an equal footing.

102. In that context, faithful to its policy of principle, the People's Republic of Bulgaria supports the realistic and constructive programme for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis, and in particular the Palestine problem, proposed by the Soviet Government on 15 September 1982. That initiative, which has had a very broad international response, is in keeping with the principles adopted by the Arab countries at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez. Just a few days ago, the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, stressed in a telegram addressed to the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, Yasser Arafat, on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People:

"We state once again that a just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem can be achieved solely through the immediate withdrawal by Israel from the Arab territories occupied since 1967, through recognition of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to create their own independent State on Palestinian soil under the leadership of the PLO—its sole legitimate representative—it being understood that the right of all States in the region to a secure and independent existence is guaranteed."

103. In keeping with that unswerving political line, my country will continue actively to support the heroic and just struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of its vanguard, the PLO.

104. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, it is my great pleasure, on behalf of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, to address my warmest fraternal greetings to the delegation of the PLO and to reaffirm the unflagging support of the Vietnamese people for the just cause of the Palestinian people, which is struggling for its sacred national rights.

105. I should also like warmly to congratulate the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and in particular its Chairman, Mr. Sarré, for their tireless efforts in carrying out their noble mandate and for the excellent quality of the exhaustive and thorough report submitted to us on the Committee's work [A/37/35 and Corr.1].

106. Since the beginning of this year, on four occasions the General Assembly has met in emergency special session and considered with growing alarm the question of Palestine, at a time when the situation in the Middle East has been deteriorating in a particularly serious way.

107. Once again today we are taking up this burning issue, when still fresh in our memory is the powerful wave of indignation felt by progressive mankind at the barbaric massacres carried out in cold blood by the Israeli troops of occupation against the civilian

Palestinian and Lebanese populations, in particular in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila.

*Mr. Gökçe (Turkey), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

108. Despite the severe and repeated condemnations by the international community and in defiance of the relevant United Nations resolutions on the question of Palestine and the Middle East, the Zionist régime continues to occupy the Arab territories which it seized by force and to establish new Israeli settlements on these territories in order to annex them permanently. Furthermore, the Israeli Zionists invaded Lebanon and there indulged in acts of repression and bloody massacre in order to destroy the Palestinian people physically and to carry out their expansionist designs against neighbouring countries, thus posing a serious threat to international peace and security in the Middle East and throughout the world.

109. It is public knowledge that, without the assistance and continued support unconditionally provided by the United States, the Israeli Zionists would not be able to take such a defiant and arrogant attitude. That attitude has led them to continue unceasingly to pursue and expand their criminal and belligerent adventures, known to the whole world, but difficult to foresee and prevent.

110. We all know about the considerable economic and military aid, amounting to billions of United States dollars, so lavishly provided for Israel by the United States. Furthermore, Israel invariably enjoys the fullest political support of the United States Administration, whether Democratic or Republican, support which is typified by a repeated and systematic misuse of the right of veto by the United States in the Security Council, an action which several times during this year has prevented the United Nations from taking effective steps to put an end to the manoeuvres and criminal acts of the Israeli Zionists.

111. These facts, among many others, are specific manifestations of the strategic co-operation between Washington and Tel Aviv, which has borne fruit in the aggression and the expansion of the Zionist régime, a policy directly serving American imperialist interests since it is designed to ensure United States domination over the entire Middle East region.

112. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon was the inevitable outcome of the Camp David agreements, because that invasion was designed to create favourable conditions for the United States to impose its preferred solution to the Middle East conflict. That was a premeditated act designed specifically to bypass the United Nations to achieve the criminal aims of that strategic co-operation. The purpose is to use every means available to divide the Arab world, to weaken its solidarity with and its assistance to the Palestinian cause and to end the struggle of Palestinians under the leadership of the PLO to ensure the exercise of their inalienable rights. Thus, in the eyes of the international community and of history, the United States must bear full responsibility for the acts of aggression and the other Israeli-Zionist crimes, for the dangerous deterioration of the situation in the Middle East and for the inability of the United Nations to take effective action in the role which it is called upon to take in accordance with the Charter.

113. The struggle of the Palestinian people for their fundamental national rights is an integral part of the joint struggle waged by Arab peoples of the Middle East to safeguard their independence, their national sovereignty and their territorial integrity, faced with a policy of intervention, aggression and expansion practised by the American imperialists and the Israeli Zionists. This struggle is also a positive factor for peace and security throughout that region.

114. Under the leadership of the PLO, their sole authentic and legal representative, the Palestinian people have waged their just struggle with heroism and self-sacrifice in extremely arduous and difficult circumstances and have thereby won the well-deserved admiration and resolute support of all peoples which cherish peace and justice.

115. Since the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, the United Nations has adopted some very judicious resolutions, on the one hand reaffirming the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and recognizing the legitimacy of their struggle and the authority of the PLO as their sole authentic representative, and on the other hand recognizing that the question of Palestine lies at the core of the Middle East question and that consequently any just and lasting solution of that question must be based on guaranteeing the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the participation of the PLO on an equal footing with other parties in any initiatives, discussions or conferences on the Middle East under United Nations auspices.

116. However, these pertinent resolutions, despite the firm support given to them by the vast majority of the international community and above all by the socialist and non-aligned countries, have remained ineffective. Israel insolently turns of deaf ear, while the United States invariably gives that country its blessing, support and encouragement. In the light of that situation, my delegation believes that the General Assembly will have to take more forceful steps, on the basis of the explicit recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, to overcome the existing obstacles and create favourable conditions for the implementation of the fundamental national rights of the Palestinian people.

117. We believe that such steps should comprise, first, a demand that the United States give up its policy of intervention in the Middle East and end its support and assistance to the policy of aggression and expansion practised by the Israeli Zionists, including the misuse of the right of veto. Secondly, the General Assembly should reaffirm the determination of the international community to insist that Israel implement all the pertinent General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and immediately and unconditionally withdraw its troops from Lebanon, the Golan Heights in Syria, and all the other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. Should Israel refuse to abide by those resolutions, the United Nations must consider applying the sanctions laid down in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

118. Thirdly, in order to guarantee the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people—that

is, their right to return to their homeland and to recover possession of their lands and goods, and their right to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent and sovereign State in Palestine—the Organization must take specific steps to strengthen its support and assistance for the just cause of the Palestinian people.

119. Consequently, my delegation was very gratified that the International Conference on the Question of Palestine will be convened soon, and would like to endorse the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee for that Conference [see A/37/49 and Corr.1], designed to ensure active and universal participation in it, which will undoubtedly help to mobilize even wider international support for the just cause of the Palestinian people and will make a valuable contribution to a just and lasting solution of the question of Palestine in the interests of national independence and of peace and security in the Middle East and throughout the world.

120. The Government and the people of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have always evinced great sympathy for and given firm and consistent support to the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

121. The representatives of the fraternal Palestinian people at the Permanent Mission of the PLO in Hanoi have noted the serious attention given by our leaders to the struggle of the Palestinian people and to the way the situation in the Middle East is developing, as well as the warm feelings of militant solidarity which our people is constantly showing towards this heroic struggle, through a broad mass movement in various towns and regions of the country and in various forms.

122. The official visit to Viet Nam last year of the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO and Commander-in-Chief of the Palestinian armed forces, Yasser Arafat, marked an important stage in the friendly and co-operative relations between the Vietnamese people and the Palestinian people, at whose side we stand firmly in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and expansionism, to bring about independence and freedom.

123. Last September, voicing the indignation of the Vietnamese people at the crimes of genocide perpetrated by the Israeli Zionists in Sabra and Shatila, the President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Truong Chinh, reaffirmed in his telegram addressed to Chairman Yasser Arafat the firm support of our people for the just struggle of the Palestinian people until final victory.

124. And quite recently, in a message sent on the occasion of the commemoration of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Pham Van Dong, stressed the need and urgency for peace-loving and justice-loving forces throughout the world to strengthen more than ever their solidarity with, their support of and their assistance to the people of Palestine and to other Arab peoples struggling for their fundamental national rights and for peace and security in the Middle East and throughout the world. The message also stressed that:

“The people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam reaffirm their constant militant solidarity with and vigorous support for the Palestinian people in their just and undoubtedly victorious struggle for the exercise of their sacred national rights, including the right to self-determination, to return to their native land and, to establish their own independent and sovereign State in Palestine. Equally, we have constantly supported the struggle of the Arab countries to recover all the Arab territories occupied by Israel.”

125. On the basis of this consistent and fundamental position, my delegation is prepared to support any draft resolutions that reaffirm respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and that provide for the most appropriate and effective ways and means of guaranteeing the exercise of these rights, in the context of a comprehensive, lasting and equitable solution of the Palestine question as the key issue of the whole situation in the Middle East.

126. Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The current debate on the Palestine problem, one of the most urgent problems facing the Organization, is taking place in special international circumstances which more than ever call for determined action by the United Nations.

127. The serious state of tension created by the Israeli acts of aggression against Lebanon and against the Palestinian population of that country, acts which affected the security and independence of the peoples of the region and imperiled peace and security throughout the world, and, indeed, the whole development of events over the last 15 years in the Middle East, have strikingly revealed that it is the Palestine problem that is the essential element in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Unless it is solved, there can be no tranquillity in that region, nor can any comprehensive, just and lasting peace be established there. At the same time, it has become quite clear that any delay in solving the Palestine problem creates, because of the consequences of such a delay, an imminent danger of a new armed confrontation, with unforeseeable and increasingly serious effects on international peace and security. The successive wars in the Middle East, in the present conditions of the technology of warfare, have been increasingly destructive. There is no doubt that tranquillity and stability in the area can be ensured only if the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are realized—a people which, like any other, has the right to forge its own destiny and to live in its own independent State.

128. The struggle of the Palestinian people for existence and for the exercise of its inalienable rights is the central element in the Middle East conflict and is therefore of much broader significance, directly affecting the fate of peace in that sorely tried part of the world which, in the course of a single generation, has had four devastating wars. This brings out the need for firm action by the international community to achieve a comprehensive negotiated solution to the Palestine problem and to all the other problems posed by the state of affairs in the region.

129. In our view, the situation in the Middle East, in particular in the current conditions of a general deterioration of the international atmosphere, by its

content and its unusual dimensions involves the political and moral responsibility of all States and the capacity of the United Nations to fulfil its main task—that is, to act in such a way as to ensure the peace and security of peoples.

130. It is precisely on the basis of such responsibilities that Romania has constantly and firmly stressed the need to step up efforts for a settlement of all hotbeds of war and all conflict situations solely by means of negotiations. We take as a point of departure a truth confirmed by life and historical experience, including that of the Middle East—that is, that genuine peace and security cannot be ensured by the use of force, by the violation of the right of other peoples to a free and independent existence. The serious events this year in Lebanon have once again shown that force and war, far from contributing to solving problems, create conditions propitious to further, even more murderous armed conflicts.

131. Over the years, as the plight of the Palestinian people and the general situation in the area and internationally have become more and more grave, efforts have been made and concern has been shown in the United Nations by Member States, including Romania, to solve the whole complex problem of the Arab-Israeli conflict by peaceful means, through negotiations.

132. There is now growing understanding of the fact that the basis for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace lies in withdrawal by Israel from the Arab territories occupied following the 1967 war, the solution of the Palestinian problem by the creation of a Palestinian State and the restoration of and respect for the independence and sovereignty of all States in the area.

133. Recently, a number of proposals and peace plans or new approaches have been put forward, reflecting the wish to move towards a political solution. Such proposals create conditions for the intensification of political and diplomatic activity with a view to bringing about a just and lasting settlement of the Palestinian question and the general situation in the area.

134. The progress achieved towards this kind of approach is an endorsement of the well-known and consistent position of Romania. It is now more clearly understood that the only realistic course is to seek a political solution, and through dialogue and negotiations, no matter how arduous they are, and that they are greatly preferable to a military conflict, even a limited one.

135. As representatives know, since the beginning of the conflict, Romania has come out firmly on all occasions, through its President, in favour of bringing about a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East that would lead to withdrawal by Israel from the Arab territories occupied since the 1967 war, recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, the creation of their own independent Palestinian State where that people can freely organize its life in accordance with its wishes and national aspirations, and the guaranteeing of the independence and sovereignty of all States of the area. Romania supports the overriding need for a just political settlement of the question of Palestine as an aim vital to peace in the Middle East and in the world at

large, and has declared that the Palestinian people, like any other people, has the inalienable right to organize its life in accordance with its national aspirations and to set up an independent State, and that it must be allowed to exercise that right. The President of Romania has, on many occasions, eloquently expressed the unswerving conviction of our country that without the solution, in the first place, of the problem of the Palestinian people, on the basis of its right to self-determination, including the creation of its own independent State, there can be no peace in the Middle East.

136. Faithful to its policy of principle, Romania has also said, and will always maintain, that the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, should participate on an equal footing in the process of settling the question of Palestine and the general situation in the Middle East.

137. In a message addressed to the President of the General Assembly and to the Secretary-General on 29 November of this year, the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, President Nicolae Ceaușescu expressed the conviction “that there is room in the Middle East both for an independent Palestinian State and for the State of Israel, which should eventually establish relations of peace and good-neighbourliness, and that a full settlement of the Palestinian problem, by recognition of and respect for the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, while ensuring the conditions it needs to fulfil its natural aspirations to live in peace and tranquillity in its own independent State, is in the interests of all the peoples of the area and in the interests of peace and security throughout the world”.

138. The Romanian delegation believes that, in accordance with the aspirations and vital interests of the peoples of the area, it is more imperative than ever, in the present international circumstances, to show reason and political wisdom, to face the facts and begin a genuine and sustained dialogue among all parties to the conflict, so as to initiate an effective process for achieving a comprehensive solution of the conflict. Romania, which firmly condemned Israel's aggressive actions in Lebanon and the events that occurred in Beirut, believes in this regard that it is necessary first and foremost to withdraw Israeli troops from Lebanese territory and to ensure the independence and unity of Lebanon and the tranquillity and peace of the Lebanese people.

139. Given the unanimous demand to resolve all existing conflicts by political means and negotiations and to prevent the emergence of new military conflicts and confrontations, Romania believes that we must intensify political and diplomatic activity, including work within the United Nations, with a view to organizing an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of all interested States and parties, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, as well as the Soviet Union and the United States, and other States that can make a positive contribution to settlement of the conflict in the Middle East.

140. To take steps towards a political settlement of all situations of tension and conflict is entirely in

keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the legitimate requirements of States Members of the Organization, of the peoples of the area and of the whole world.

141. The Romanian delegation expresses its firm conviction that the United Nations can and must play an even more active role in efforts to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict and to solve by political means all other situations of tension and conflict in international life.

142. Romania and the Romanian people will contribute to a just and lasting settlement of the problems of the Middle East, to the achievement of comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the area and to the implementation of the legitimate and national rights of the friendly Palestinian people, in the interests of peace, co-operation and security in this area and throughout the world.

143. Mr. BALETA (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): This year the question of Palestine has been discussed several times at the seventh emergency special session. Now it is being taken up at the thirty-seventh regular session. This indicates the seriousness of the problem and the continuing complications that beset its settlement.

144. First of all, it must be said that the tragedy of the Palestinian people took on new dimensions this year. That people, which has been victimized for decades by the Zionist aggressors, was once again the victim of a barbaric war of extermination that Israel imposed upon Lebanon, and of massacres just like those of the Hitlerites in the occupied territories and in their terrible concentration camps during the Second World War.

145. During the operations of the criminal war of the Israeli Zionists in Lebanon and after the formal cessation of hostilities, the Palestinian people, like the Lebanese people, paid a very heavy toll in blood; they lost thousands upon thousands of men and women and saw their respected elders and innocent children perish in the savage and indiscriminate bombardment unleashed by the planes, tanks and guns of the monstrous Israeli war machine. As if that was not enough for the Israeli assassins in their unquenchable thirst for Arab and Palestinian blood, they set upon the Palestinian inhabitants of the half-destroyed refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila, which, after the cessation of hostilities and the entry of the Zionist army into West Beirut, became the scene of a gruesome massacre that aroused the revulsion of every human being of feeling and capable of reason.

146. Again, the Israeli Zionists and their proxies in Lebanon, with criminal callousness and perverted logic, and for their cynical pleasure, hounded defenceless Palestinians and carried out a massacre which will never be forgotten or forgiven. That act, the most recent in the long tragedy of the Palestinian people, is certainly well known to us all, and there is no need to try to describe here all the feelings of disgust and condemnation that it provoked and always will provoke. However, it is impossible for us, as for all the other representatives of democratic countries, to remain silent about these facts, which will always remain the most severe indictment of the Zionist aggressors and their masters, the American impe-

rialists, who aided and abetted them in the crimes against the Palestinian people and who bear a direct, heavy responsibility for the holocaust visited upon the inhabitants of Sabra and Shatila, first condemned by American treachery and then executed by the Zionists and their hired butchers.

147. The events that have taken place this year in Lebanon, the indescribable suffering of the Lebanese people and the Palestinians who had sought refuge in that country after being driven out of their own country at bayonet point by the same Zionist aggressors, show that the Israeli Zionists, far from changing their spots and becoming even a little more reasonable, have become even more arrogant and defiant and have resolved to commit the most heinous crimes to achieve their expansionist aims and to create a Greater Israel, which remains the daydream of Zionism and imperialism in the Middle East.

148. World public opinion and the peoples of the world, particularly Arab public opinion and the Arab peoples, will certainly never be able to banish from their sad memories the hateful acts of genocide perpetrated against the Palestinians recently in Lebanon, and will never be able to accept as a *fait accompli* the unjust and intolerable situation to which the Palestinian people have been reduced during the long years of uninterrupted imperialist-Zionist aggression in the Middle East. No one can forget, either, that in their foul behaviour towards the Arabs, and in particular towards the Palestinians, the Zionist aggressors have always been helped by their imperialist masters, primarily by the American imperialists, and encouraged by a combination of difficult and dangerous circumstances created in the Middle East as a result of the rivalry and bargaining of the two super-Powers. It must also be said that the Israeli Zionists have benefited a great deal from the damage done to the Arab and Palestinian cause by the negative attitude and harmful acts of various reactionary Arab forces throughout the Arab-Zionist confrontation.

149. Recent events show that there has been a new intensification of Israel's aggression and the creation of new dangers for the Palestinian people and all the other Arab peoples. Now more than ever, the Zionists are trying to paralyse and crush by sword and fire all resistance by the Palestinians and the Arabs. They are even trying to break the will of those peoples to rally their forces in the future and to fight for their rights.

150. The Israeli Zionists are acting in close collaboration and in perfect co-ordination with American imperialism. They are using the anti-Arab acts of certain other reactionary forces, and they believe — falsely, in our view — that the time has come for them to reap the fruits of their aggression and to liquidate the Palestinian cause. It is obvious from what they do and say that they are trying to force the Arab countries and the whole international community to abandon all demands that the occupied Arab territories be evacuated and that the Palestinian question be settled by restoring all the national rights of the Palestinian people, and to abandon any hope of this happening.

151. There can be no doubt that the Zionists' increased aggressiveness and growing appetite for the

territory of others and the brutality with which they are trying to gain their expansionist goals and prevent the settlement of the problems of Palestine and the Middle East are extremely dangerous for peace and stability in the Middle East and throughout the world.

152. This dangerous course of events and the very difficult situation which is being encountered by the Palestinian resistance are linked with the deterioration of the international situation in general. They are a direct consequence of the growing rivalry in the Middle East between the two imperialist super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, of their plotting and intrigues intended to gain advantage by playing with the fate and the rights of the Palestinian people, particularly in view of the great difficulties being encountered by the Palestinian resistance in the very difficult circumstances created for it since the Zionist aggression was launched against it and since the Zionist occupation of Lebanon and its capital.

153. The two super-Powers long ago turned the Middle East into a theatre for their fierce rivalry and their wheeling and dealing. The Palestinians had to pay very dearly for that. In particular, they had to suffer the damage caused by the aggressive, anti-Arab policies of imperialism and social imperialism to Arab unity and the co-ordination of the efforts of the Arab countries against the Zionist aggression. I need only remind the Assembly of how a whole series of events that were very dangerous and very harmful to the Palestinian cause occurred successively in the Middle East region during recent years because of the direct intervention and plotting of the United States and the Soviet Union.

154. When the Palestinian people was courageously struggling against the Israeli Zionist aggressors and needed all the solidarity of the countries of the Middle East, the American imperialists succeeded in hatching the Camp David conspiracy. Soon afterwards, the Soviet social-imperialists committed their aggression against Afghanistan and occupied it, thus creating a new source of war and causing new tensions and difficult new problems for the Muslim and Arab peoples. Immediately after that, the two super-Powers provoked the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran and carried out other subversive activities to destroy the Iranian revolution, whose victory gave great encouragement and support to the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people and strengthened the position of the Arab world in the face of Israel's ambitions.

155. Other imperialist and social-imperialist plots and intrigues followed, with the aim of sowing discord among the Arab countries. Finally, having worked everything out very carefully with the American imperialists, Israel carried out one act of annexation after another, to the detriment of the Palestinian people and the Syrian people, attacked Iraq like a bandit and launched its shameless aggression against Lebanon in order to destroy the Palestinian resistance, bury the Palestinian cause and open the way to further occupation and annexation of land.

156. When Palestinian blood flowed through the streets of the towns and villages of Lebanon and the Zionists were killing, burning and destroying as they saw fit, the world saw with bitterness that those

Governments that could act to stay the hand of the assassins did not even lift a finger to defend the victims and end the genocide against the Palestinian people. It should be said that if the Arab peoples and countries had been united it would have been difficult for the Israeli Zionists to indulge in that venture and to launch that piratical aggression against Lebanon. The Arab countries and peoples have their own particular problems, but support for the struggle of the Palestinian people is a major problem that they share and is of particular importance in their struggle against the Israeli Zionists. Therefore, the Zionists and the imperialist super-Powers have always done everything they can to weaken the support of the Arab peoples for the struggle of the Palestinian people, and their solidarity with it, and to that end they have constantly applied the notorious tactic of divide and rule.

157. It is to this same end that all the enemies of the Arab peoples have been working tirelessly since the tragedy in Lebanon and the massacres of the Palestinians in Beirut. The Israeli Zionists and the American imperialists, who have never budged an inch from their hostile positions concerning the Palestinians and who are always and in all circumstances solidly behind Israel politically, militarily and economically, have started a new series of acts of intimidation and trickery in order to consolidate the gains of the aggressors and to force the victims of the aggression to their knees—that is, to make the Palestinians give up their struggle and their national rights. The emissaries of Washington, those hawks of American imperialism, are once more winging their way to the Middle East, as they did during the aggression, just before the massacre in Beirut, in order—they claim—to find solutions to the problems of the area by putting forward alleged plans which are all based on the Camp David agreements and which are anti-Palestinian through and through.

158. The Soviet social-imperialists are also responsible for the suffering of the Palestinian people, for they have always encouraged Israel's aggressive activities by their anti-Arab policies. In what they do in the Middle East in order to thwart American policy they are not in any way motivated by a desire to help the Palestinians and the Arabs. They call themselves friends of the Arab peoples and supporters of the Palestinian resistance simply because that is what best suits their demagogy and their efforts to infiltrate the Middle East, and their hegemonistic designs in that area. But they have in fact stabbed the Palestinian and Arab peoples in the back at all crucial and difficult times in their struggle against imperialist and Zionist aggression whenever they have found themselves in an awkward situation or needed to enter into agreements or to bargain with the United States. The attitude adopted towards the Palestinian cause during the latest Zionist aggression in Lebanon even more clearly unmasked Soviet social-imperialism and demonstrated that it was interested only in having a say in all the imperialist bargainings in the Middle East.

159. The dangers to which the Palestinian people is today exposed are indeed grave and numerous. But this heroic and dauntless people knows how to face up to any enemy and to overcome the greatest difficulties. We are quite certain that, even in their present

extremely difficult circumstances, they will not falter in their struggle or weaken in their resolve to stand up, fight and overcome. The Israeli Zionists, the American imperialists and the Arab reactionaries are quite mistaken if they believe that they can wear down the resistance of the Palestinian people.

160. We remain firmly convinced that the Palestinian people, in persevering in its just and invincible struggle under the leadership of the PLO, its sole authentic representative, will undoubtedly triumph over its enemies. Law and justice are on their side. Their struggle and their just cause enjoy the support of all peoples. The leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, in a statement made before the electors on 10 November this year said:

“Our people has always been at the side of the brother Arab peoples in their just cause, at the side of the heroic Palestinian people. In the future, too, the just struggle of the Arabs and the Palestinians will have the full and unreserved support of the Albanian people.”

161. Mr. MRANI ZENTAR (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): The year 1982 has been marked by a series of major events, some of which have been decisive, as far as the Palestinian problem is concerned, both in the area itself, and in terms of international diplomacy.

162. The development of the struggle of the Palestinian people has indeed taken many forms and it has become so powerful that the international community, including a number of countries normally receptive to Zionist propaganda, have realized that something must be done urgently to stem the tide of the disastrous consequences of Israeli blindness. The international awakening has led to a constructive and realistic attitude, in that a just and equitable solution based upon internationally recognized principles and guaranteeing the fundamental rights of all the peoples of the area is now sought.

163. As for the Israeli leaders, once again they have chosen the course of desperation towards new acts of aggression, fresh invasions, further annexations, and more destruction and massacres.

164. In the occupied Arab territories, repression is becoming ever more ruthless and is directed against young people, universities, elected representatives and the private and public property of the Palestinians.

165. In spite of the wave of Israeli repression, the Palestinian people, doomed to the unjust condition of permanent refugees, driven from their homes or massacred in refugee camps, are nevertheless succeeding, through their fierce resistance and selfless heroism, in asserting their existence as a people possessing inalienable rights, their own identity and the right to a national territory.

166. Those are the facts of the current situation on the basis of which the United Nations has the responsibility of promoting and guaranteeing just and lasting solutions for the benefit of all the peoples of the area, in particular the martyred Palestinian people.

167. The Israeli leaders continue to believe that violence used systematically against the Palestinian people and constant defiance of the international community will enable them to avoid the inevitable,

that is to say, acceptance of the Palestinian reality on Palestinian soil.

168. The policy of aggression against neighbouring Arab countries and the illegal occupation of large portions of their national territories threatened with annexation have resulted in a widening of the gap between Israel, the aggressive expansionist State, and its neighbours, and the justified radicalization of positions on the basic problem, the Palestinian problem.

169. Furthermore, the unilateral proclamation by Israel of the Holy City of Jerusalem as its unified and eternal capital aroused the legitimate indignation of hundreds of millions of Muslims and Christians, whose most intimate feelings were wounded, Al-Quds being the blessed place of God where the most spectacular mysteries of their faiths are manifested, and the Holy City being the site of the most sanctified Holy Places, which are an integral part of their most deeply venerated religious heritage.

170. The pursuit of the policy of implanting Israeli settlements in occupied Arab territories stems from a spirit of conquest that has already been repudiated by the international community, which has totally condemned colonialism as a system claiming to govern relations between peoples. The creation of these islets of armed colonies is criminal provocation, the consequences of which will certainly be clear when the occupier, as it undoubtedly will have to do, has to restore the territory to its legitimate owners.

171. The quasi-annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, an internationally recognized integral part of the national territory of Syria, is a further manifestation of the Israeli propensity to confront its neighbours with *faits accomplis* without any consideration of the fundamental rights of States and peoples guaranteed by the Charter of the United Nations.

172. The invasion of Lebanon has made it possible to reveal at one and the same time the extent and depth of the error of judgement of the Israeli leaders in their appreciation of the true facts of the Palestinian problem and ways of finding a lasting solution to it.

173. It is not by piling up destruction upon destruction, by increasing acts of aggression against the fundamental rights of individuals and States and by engaging in hideous massacres against civilians of both sexes and of all ages, as was the case in Sabra and Shatila, that Israel will succeed in eliminating the Palestinian reality, Palestinian rights and Palestinian identity, which remain strong and vital for the millions of Palestinian citizens in spite of all acts of discrimination and exile.

174. If the disastrous Israeli operation in Lebanon served any purpose, it was to expose to the whole world the aggressive and bloody nature of the current leaders of Israel and the fact that they are deaf to any peace dialogue within a framework of respect for the fundamental rights of peoples in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and international law.

175. The Lebanese operation also demonstrated the high capacity for resistance of the Palestinian people and the maturity, responsible conduct and representativeness of the PLO, which is an essential and



inevitable partner in any attempt to find a just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem.

176. When the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held recently at Fez, took a historic decision concerning the establishment of a just and lasting peace for the benefit of all States in the Middle East, with a Security Council guarantee, the place accorded in that plan to both the Palestinian problem and the role of the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, was so important that it was quite clear that any international attempt to find a solution must obviously take into account this fundamental aspect of the problem.

177. We take pleasure in noting today that the isolation of the Israeli leaders, entrenched in their errors, has never been so great, even within Israel itself, where the voices of courage, wisdom and lucidity are becoming more and more numerous, reminding us that the people of Israel, who have had more than their share of suffering in terms of discrimination and injustice throughout its history, are capable of reacting healthily in indignation against even more heinous crimes committed so brazenly in its name.

178. A just and lasting peace for all entails the guarantee of a life of freedom, with respect for the values, the convictions, the rights and the dignity of all. Israel must, consequently, without pre-conditions, evacuate all the occupied territories, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank of the Jordan, the Syrian Golan Heights, the Arab City of Jerusalem and the whole of the Lebanese territory. The brother country of Lebanon, in particular, must recover its total sovereignty and territorial integrity and must enjoy our whole-hearted support in undertaking and achieving its reconstruction in restored national unity.

179. The historic plan adopted by the Arab Summit Conference at Fez is a basic and very realistic foundation for the solution of the Middle East problem for the benefit of all the States of the area, with the effective international guarantee of the Security Council.

180. The Palestinian people, whose right to a homeland and to return to that homeland has already been recognized, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III), also possesses the inalienable right to self-determination and to establish a sovereign State on its national territory, in accordance with many other resolutions of the United Nations.

181. For the Arab nation, and for almost the whole of the international community, an independent and sovereign Palestinian State established on Palestinian soil must be part of the community of independent States of the region. A reasonable, realistic, just and lasting peace can be brought about only on those terms.

182. Mr. SUBRAMANIAM (Malaysia): Uppermost in my thoughts as I again address the General Assembly are the enormous hopes and faith that peoples the world over attach to the Organization. It is nearly 40 years since the United Nations was first established. Indeed, one of its most significant contributions has been the steady strengthening of the system of international law through the adoption of various treaties, conventions, declarations and reso-

lutions by United Nations bodies. The Organization, in its attempt to preserve peace and stability, has drawn up the basic norms and rules of conduct governing inter-State relations which, if universally accepted, would undoubtedly make the world a better and safer place in which to live. This particular point bears direct relevance to the Middle East conflict as we witness the indiscriminate killing, wounding and imprisonment of several thousand innocent Palestinians, including women and children, perpetrated by the Israelis in Lebanon and the occupied territories.

183. The Government and people of Malaysia have repeatedly condemned these insidious crimes. We have unequivocally condemned Israel's invasion of Lebanon and expressed deep regret over the deprivation and displacement suffered by Palestinians and Lebanese alike through the blatant Israeli aggression. In response to the urgent appeal by the Secretary-General, my Government modestly contributed a sum of 100,000 Malaysian ringgit to these unfortunate victims. The people of Malaysia also contributed to the special fund organized by the Government of Malaysia to the tune of 2 million Malaysian ringgit in spontaneous response to the recent tragedy inflicted by the Israelis upon the Palestinians.

184. The Israeli aggression manifests itself in many different ways. Invoking security considerations, Israel annexed the Syrian Golan Heights and changed the demographic character of the occupied territory, with a view to obliterating its Arab identity. It dismissed the democratically elected Mayors of Al-Bireh, Nablus and Ramallah and replaced them with Israeli civilians and military officials, a move clearly designed to bring those territories eventually under Israeli sovereignty. It desecrated the sanctity of the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, one of the holiest of the Islamic shrines. But what was perhaps most blatant and brutal was its collaboration in the recent massacre which took the lives of thousands of innocent Palestinian men, women and children confined within the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. In the face of these outright acts of aggression, peace in the Middle East will be increasingly difficult to achieve and violence will continue to characterize developments in the area.

185. All these things clearly demonstrate that Israel does not want peace with its Arab neighbours. Such an intransigent policy is indeed dangerous, as it will have the effect of pushing the whole area further towards the brink of conflagration, thereby threatening peace and security not only in the Middle East but throughout the world.

186. The international community has rejected the Israeli action to annex the Holy City of Jerusalem as the eternal and indivisible capital of Israel and to alter the character and status of the Holy City. Similarly, the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights has also been condemned, as it was contrary to the United Nations principle regarding the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war.

187. Apart from their illegality, the actions of the Israeli authorities in the occupied territories are extremely provocative and vicious in nature. The Israeli occupation forces have created new Jewish settlements—a manifestation of the Israeli expansionist

policy. The Jewish settlers have not only been given land forcibly taken from the rightful Arab owners but have also been armed to the teeth to protect them from the legal owners. The creation of new Jewish settlements is an ongoing phenomenon. Even at this moment we keep hearing alarming news of new settlements being established, particularly in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The repeated appeals and decisions of the United Nations on Israel in this regard have been ignored and seem to have given added confidence to Israel, so that it commits more heinous crimes.

188. It is indeed tragic that, in view of these blatant acts of aggression by Israel, the United Nations is paralysed—unable to bring about a rapid, just and equitable solution to the Palestinian problem. The Organization is hampered by the limitations that we, or some of us, have placed on its capacity to act. The Security Council, which is entrusted with the primary responsibility of safeguarding and maintaining peace, has on several occasions vetoed constructive proposals that could have had the effect of moderating the paranoid impulses of Israel. By adhering to this attitude, some members of the Security Council, in fact, acquiesce in and abet the commission of these heinous crimes. They cannot, therefore, be absolved from the responsibility and obligation to compel Israel to cease and desist from its acts of violence and repression.

189. I wish to reiterate that Malaysia has always regarded the Palestinian question as the core of the overall Middle East issue. Peace, therefore, can be attained only when all parties to the conflict address themselves to this question. In fact, the framework for a comprehensive political settlement is already laid out in the numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations. From all these, it is very clear that the key to the solution will have been found once Israel undertakes a complete, total and unconditional withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, restores the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland and recognizes their right to self-determination and national sovereignty. The essential prerequisite for the attainment of a peaceful solution is, therefore, the recognition of the Palestinian question.

190. The United Nations has on many occasions reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. It has also called for the implementation of the comprehensive recommendations made by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. Regrettably, none of those decisions has been implemented. At this juncture my delegation would like to express its appreciation to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for its untiring efforts and valuable contribution in seeking a peaceful and just settlement of the Palestinian problem in accordance with the resolutions and recommendations adopted by this body.

191. Thirty-five years after they were promised a homeland, the Palestinian people continue to be uprooted and their land occupied by Jews, many of whom have been brought from outside. Today, after having been robbed of their homeland, the Palestinians are being subjected to a war of attrition designed to whittle them down to a group threatened with extinc-

tion. But the set-backs suffered by the Palestinians will serve only to consolidate their desire for and commitment to the restoration of their rights and the regaining of their homeland. History has shown that no nation can be occupied indefinitely, and no people can be subdued for long. My delegation is confident that the Palestinians will emerge the ultimate victor in the struggle to regain their freedom and rights. In this, the Palestinians have the unequivocal support of the Government and people of Malaysia.

192. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The discussion of the question of Palestine at this session is special in nature. As was indicated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Andrei Gromyko, in his statement during the general debate "this session of the General Assembly is taking place at a time when ashes have not yet settled in the streets of the ruthlessly destroyed ancient city of Beirut and when the blood of tens of thousands of victims of aggression has not yet been completely absorbed by the soil" [13th meeting, para. 102]. The echo of the tragic events played out this summer in the Middle East has left an imprint on the entire international situation, including the activities of the United Nations.

193. For an overwhelming majority of members of the international community it has long since become an incontrovertible truth that the fundamental cause of the chronic tension in the Middle East has been and remains the unsettled nature of the cardinal questions of a Middle East settlement—and first and foremost their core, the problem of Palestine.

194. The dangerous situation existing in that area is a direct result of the continuing illegal occupation by Israel of the Arab territories it seized in 1967, and its obstinate refusal to recognize the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

195. The Palestinian people, who find themselves on the cutting blade of Israeli expansion, have become victims of open colonial banditry and blunder. For 15 years, the longest period of military occupation in this century, Israel has been drawing the noose ever tighter around the Arab and Palestinian lands it has seized. The leaders of Israel make no secret of the fact that the annexation of East Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights will be followed by that of the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip. Basically everything is ready for that.

196. The dense network of Israeli settlements, whose number is approaching 140, is spreading over Palestinian lands. By means of arbitrary confiscations and expropriations, approximately 60 per cent of the West Bank and Gaza has already fallen into the hands of the Israeli authorities. According to the testimony of a former deputy mayor of Jerusalem, "the Arab cities and villages are becoming a ghetto" pinned between Israeli settlements. There was a recent announcement in Tel Aviv about plans for an abrupt increase in the number of Israeli settlers in the West Bank and Gaza, from 25,000 to 100,000 people by 1986, and to 1.5 million by the year 2000.

197. Hand in hand with the change in the demographic structure and economic "integration" of the occupied territories, the Israeli authorities are escalating their acts of violence and terror against

that population. Murdering of defenceless people, mass repression and arrests, torture and exile have become facts of daily life in the occupied territories. All aspects of the life and activities of the Arab population are regulated by means of orders handed down by the military administration. Having got rid of the local Palestinian authorities, the occupiers are feverishly trying to set up in their place venal puppets and quislings.

198. The purpose of that policy is crystal-clear: to bring the Palestinian people to their knees, to force them to accept Israeli occupation and to impose on them a pitifully meagre Camp David-style "administrative autonomy".

199. A malignant growth that is swallowing the Middle East, Israeli aggression this year has taken the form of a new, unprecedented bloody repetition in the form of a barbarous invasion of Lebanon. A large-scale act of aggression was committed against that country, in which the leading circles of Israel set themselves the task of physically annihilating the Palestinians, first and foremost those Palestinians that are carrying on an organized struggle for their legitimate national rights. Never before have the Israelis acted so cynically and brazenly, ostentatiously disregarding not only the generally recognized standards of international law but also the clearly expressed collective decisions of the United Nations itself. Israeli tanks have trampled over the United Nations flag.

200. Those aggressors have not only trampled under foot the United Nations flag but also arrested 166 staff members of the Organization, the overwhelming majority of whom are still in detention. What is striking here is that those who like to talk a great deal about isolated incidents of lawful detention of individuals in some countries, including people in the United Nations, show total indifference when mass arrests of United Nations staff take place in Lebanon. Clearly, these people are concerned about human rights and the safety of United Nations personnel only when it is advantageous to Western propaganda.

201. The Israeli military machine has utilized the most lethal and destructive types of weapons against Palestinian and Lebanese civilian populations, including weapons directly prohibited under international conventions: fragmentation grenades, cluster bombs, phosphorous shells. Tens of thousands murdered or mutilated, hundreds of thousands dispossessed and made homeless, villages and towns turned into ruins and Palestinian refugee camps devastated—these are the results of the bloody acts of aggression perpetrated by Israel against Lebanon.

202. The culmination of the crimes of the Israeli military machine on Lebanese soil was the monstrous massacre in Palestinian camps in Beirut after its seizure by the Israeli army. That blood bath was no different as a crime from the evil deeds of the Hitlerite Nazis in Babi Yar, Lidice and Oradour-sur-Glane. What Israel did in Lebanon was commit genocide against Palestinians; that was what the Hitlerites committed against Jews and others during the Second World War.

203. But responsibility for those crimes must be borne not only by those in the leading circles of Israel but also by those who placed weapons in the hands

of the aggressor and actually inspired its actions. During the war in Lebanon, the essence of United States policy in the Middle East was clearly revealed. Its purpose is to ensure American hegemony in that area, to place that region under American control and to affirm there an American military and political presence. That is the essence of the "strategic co-operation" between Washington and Tel Aviv, a unique "division of labour" between two partners. Following the acts of aggression by Israel, Washington appears as a "peacemaker", and under the banner of "multinational" forces, is creating new springboards for direct intervention in the internal affairs of States in that and neighbouring areas. That is why the United States Administration really did not even move a finger to bring to a halt Israeli aggression in Lebanon. That is why it did not even try to force the occupiers to leave Lebanese soil.

204. Not only did the United States not reduce its military and economic assistance to Israel, but it did its utmost to impede the adoption of decisions by the Security Council that would have provided for the application of at least minimal sanctions against Israel. Furthermore, the United States even prevented the implementation of those resolutions of the Security Council on Lebanon which were adopted unanimously, that is to say, resolutions for which the United States representative had voted. This is true primarily of the Council's basic resolution, resolution 509 (1982), of 6 June 1982, which unambiguously demanded that Israel "withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally"—and I emphasize that—"to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon". Today the United States delegation would vote for that resolution but tomorrow it would pursue a policy directly opposed to it.

205. In his report on the work of the Organization submitted this year the Secretary-General has correctly stated:

"... resolutions, particularly those unanimously adopted by the Security Council, should serve as a springboard for governmental support and determination and should motivate their policies outside the United Nations... the best resolution in the world will have little practical effect unless Governments of Member States follow it up with the appropriate support and action." [See A/37/1, p. 3.]

Unfortunately, neither element was evident in the position of the United States Administration during the Lebanese crisis.

206. Today it is clear to everyone that the path leading the Israeli occupiers to the walls of Beirut began at Camp David. The separate deal, the basis of which was an agreement between the United States and Israel against the Arab people, was calculated to split their ranks, weaken their resistance to Israeli expansion and undermine their struggle for the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression.

207. Today Washington is pretending that it is trying to find a solution to the Palestinian problem with the assistance of the so-called Reagan plan. But the proposals put forward by the United States are defective in their very essence, because they deny the main requirement—recognition of the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and to establish their own State. Nothing is said about the sole legitimate

representative of the Palestinian people, the PLO, recognized as such here in the United Nations. Thus, the United States "initiative" is nothing other than the old worn-out policy of separate deals at the expense of the vital interests of the Palestinians and other Arabs, now dressed up in new wrappings. This course did not and could not have any future.

208. The selfless dedication and courage of the Palestinian fighters who have so worthily repulsed Israeli aggression in Lebanon have won admiration and sympathy throughout the world. Once again the old truth has been reaffirmed: the will of a people convinced of the justness of its cause cannot be broken.

209. The international prestige and authority of the PLO has increased still further, as has that of its leadership. The Soviet people pays a tribute to the courage and determination of the Palestinian people and supports it in its just cause. As stated in the telegram from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, Yasser Arafat, sent on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People,

"... the Soviet Union will continue with great persistence the struggle to ensure that a just and lasting peace is established in the Middle East, and that the Palestinian people, under the leadership of its fighting vanguard and sole legitimate representative, the PLO, will be enabled to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and to establish its own State."

210. The tragedy in Lebanon, the new suffering and deprivation imposed on the Palestinian people, once again raises the serious question of the urgent need for an immediate solution of the Palestinian problem, not by behind-the-scenes deals and machinations, but within the framework of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict. There is an urgent call for an immediate and responsible start on this question. If we are to talk seriously about moving towards a settlement such as that then we must compel the aggressor to withdraw from Lebanon immediately and to withdraw its forces from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, as provided for in the relevant decisions of the Security Council, and we must attempt to achieve for the Arab people of Palestine their inalienable national rights, including their right to self-determination and to set up their own State.

211. Has the decision of the General Assembly dated 29 November 1947 on the creation of two independent States in Palestine, a Jewish State and an Arab State, been cancelled? On the contrary, beginning in 1974, the General Assembly has adopted a number of important resolutions supporting the legitimate rights of the Palestinians and expressing its support for equal participation by the PLO, as the representative of the Palestinian people, in all international efforts to settle the problem of Palestine. If these decisions have not been implemented yet, and if the just demands of the Palestinians have not been met, the reason for that lies in the aggressive expansionist policy of Israel and the open encouragement given to it by Washington.

212. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it has always supported and will continue to support the just cause of the Palestinian people in their courageous struggle to exercise their inalienable rights. The Soviet Union believes that a genuine solution of the Palestinian problem can be found only within the framework of a comprehensive Middle East settlement and should be based on the widely known decisions of the United Nations on the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the need for the realization in their entirety of the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and to create their own State.

213. The well-known Soviet proposals on the Middle East, dated 15 September 1982, are directed specifically towards reaching such a settlement. We are pleased to say that those proposals do not depart from the basic principles for the solution of the Palestinian problem and for a general Middle East settlement approved at the Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez, or from the positions of many other States.

214. The Soviet Union reaffirms its willingness to work in a practical way for the implementation of these provisions. We are willing to co-operate with everyone who wishes to make a contribution to the establishment of lasting peace in the Middle East. Only by honest collective efforts on the part of all parties concerned, including of course the PLO, can we hope to achieve a genuine solution of the Palestinian problem and ensure a lasting and just peace for all the States and peoples in the Middle East.

215. In conclusion, the Soviet delegation would like to point to the remarkable and valuable work carried out by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. We are prepared to continue to assist the Committee in its support for the struggle of the Palestinian people for their rights.

216. Mr. FONSEKA (Sri Lanka): At the outset, my delegation wishes to thank Mr. Sarré, of Senegal, and the members of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for the valuable work of their Committee and the report they have presented to the General Assembly this year [*A/37/35 and Corr.1*]. The Committee should be congratulated on the work it has accomplished, particularly in informing and enlightening the international community more widely regarding the justice of the Palestinian cause.

217. Delegation after delegation which has spoken in this debate year in and year out has reiterated that the problem before the international community, which constitutes the problem of the Middle East, is the failure to restore to the Palestinian people their inalienable national rights—the right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty without foreign interference and the right of return of all refugees to Palestine—rights which are so often proclaimed and yet for the realization of which so little is done. The implementation of those rights requires, in the first instance, the restoration of a homeland and the establishment of a State for the Palestinian people. If General Assembly resolutions were sufficient in themselves, this vexed problem would long ago have been resolved.

218. The report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People now before us gives a description of the resolutions that have been adopted by the Assembly and the Security Council during the past year and also reveals the frustrations that follow unimplemented resolutions.

219. Sri Lanka's own commitment to the Palestinian cause has been restated by its President, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, who, in his message this week on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, said:

“A just and lasting solution to the Palestinian question should be based on the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable national rights including the right to self-determination and to establish an independent State in Palestine. And a prerequisite for this is the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories.”<sup>6</sup>

220. These sentiments have been repeated time and again by delegations which have addressed this Assembly, whenever the problem of the Middle East has been debated. Sri Lanka for its part gave practical expression to its belief in the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force when it suspended diplomatic relations with Israel as far back as August 1970, that is, three years before the hostilities of 1973. In recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, we welcomed the opening of its office at Colombo in 1976. In April 1982, the Government of Sri Lanka extended to the PLO Mission in Colombo the status of a full diplomatic establishment. Yet it would appear that neither this increasing acknowledgement by the international community of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people nor the recognition of their representative organization, the PLO, has brought appreciably closer the fulfilment of Palestinian aspirations. The problem remains unresolved, and to explain the absence of a solution we need to look elsewhere.

221. The problem of the Middle East is the problem of 4 million Palestinians who have been reduced to the status of permanent refugees. Perhaps half that number were forced into exile during the successive hostilities commencing in 1948. For those who have chosen to stay, the Israeli occupying authority has made life increasingly intolerable. The policies pursued by Israel in violation of the 1949 Geneva Convention have been policies designed to alter radically the demographic structure of the occupied territories, to perpetuate the refugee status of the Palestinians abroad and to reduce those who have remained to the status of second-class citizens. We are disclosing nothing new when we say that even in the shrunken territory of the West Bank and Gaza—which was unquestionably Arab land inhabited by Palestinians—Israel has for the past 15 years executed a policy of establishing and expanding settlements, until today, when there are some 130 settlements. That number, however, only disguises the extent of the settlement, which has more accurately been described as colonization, with the difference that the Israeli colonizer has been more ruthless than his classical counterpart.

222. Israel's attempts to institutionalize what has been widely acknowledged as creeping annexation

through the establishment of a “civilian authority” to “administer” over a million people in the West Bank and Gaza has been barely stifled by the refusal of the international community to accept either its design or its execution. In the process, there has been the most blatant violation of the human rights of the people of those occupied territories. Again contrary to the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,<sup>5</sup> “military orders” have been used in an attempt to supersede the existing law and administration in the territories. The Committee's report makes extensive references to those measures, and Sri Lanka, as Chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, is familiar with the whole range of these policies and the manner of their execution. We must only add our admiration that the most tenacious defenders of their rights have been the Palestinians in the occupied territories themselves, who have resisted and survived in spite of the repression and banishment of their leadership. Perhaps sometimes with reluctance, most of the international community have come to recognize and acknowledge the courage of those people.

223. This year we were witnesses to another episode which demonstrated the same heroism of the Palestinians, I speak of the war of attrition, the invasion of Lebanon and the occupation of West Beirut, when Israel believed it was about to arrive at the “final solution” of Israel's Palestinian problem. In the course of that invasion and military assault, with an overwhelming preponderance of arms, the Israeli Army demanded and obtained the evacuation of the Palestinian fighting men. They then completed that operation by standing aside, if not conniving, while a faction within Lebanon carried out the brutal massacre of unarmed men, women and children in the camps at Sabra and Shatila. As we have come to know, that was no “final solution”, but has become perhaps the nemesis for the Israeli Government's policies. Those whom they branded as “terrorists” have departed, but the problem, though unresolved, appears to have taken a different turn for the Israeli Government itself. The outcome of this phase, we believe, is yet unfolding. In recalling this saga we would pay a tribute to those people of conscience and honour inside Israel itself who have been instrumental in upholding the higher values of their Jewish heritage.

224. For the Palestinian people, these 35 years have been a long night. The Organization has sought to give them some hope with the continuing concern it has shown through its deliberations. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine, to be held next August, is another laudable effort to demonstrate this concern and to focus international attention on the question. We would wish to congratulate the Preparatory Committee for that Conference for the preparatory work undertaken. Yet, as we well know, the innumerable resolutions carried by majorities in the Assembly have not brought the restoration of Palestinian rights appreciably nearer. Our delegation has been part of those majorities to reassure the Palestinian people of the rightness of their cause. But those resolutions are also addressed to those outside the majorities who have the capacity to do

justice. They must know that a State of Israel cannot exist with secure boundaries or in peace without a homeland and rights for the Palestinians. We would only ask them for a recognition and an implementation of those rights of the Palestinian people.

225. Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh): The General Assembly has once again before it the question of Palestine. As the basis for our discussion, we have for our consideration the reports of the Secretary-General [A/37/275 and A/37/525], the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [A/37/35 and Corr.1] and the report of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine [A/37/49 and Corr.1]. I join those who have spoken before me in commending the Secretary-General, the Chairman of the two Committees, Mr. Sarré, and the members of those two Committees for the dedicated and untiring efforts they have made in producing detailed, balanced and incisive reports. We thank them. Theirs has been a heart-rending task, for in spite of all their endeavours and regardless of what we in the Assembly say, recommend and decide, we shall be no nearer to the solution of the question of Palestine unless some effective means can be found to stop Israel from proceeding with its evil intentions and criminal practices.

226. The Government of Bangladesh, reflecting the genuine sentiments of its population of 90 million, expressed its concern and anxiety when Israel launched its uncalled for invasion of the brotherly State of Lebanon, in gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law. Although the world had, one might almost say, become used to such uncivilized behaviour from Israel, the barbaric onslaught against unarmed civilians, including women, children and the aged, together with the wanton destruction of cities, horrified and shocked everyone. We in Bangladesh not only expressed our sympathy with our Lebanese and Palestinian brothers who became its victims, but the Government of Bangladesh very promptly sent a medical unit as its contribution to the gallant resistance being put up by them.

227. We, like the rest of the world, witnessed with utter dismay the ineffectiveness of the United Nations in halting the Israeli invasion, and we have since been watching the consequences of this ruthless Israeli military action with deep concern. We had never doubted that Israel would not succeed in eliminating the PLO, and we felt thrilled and proud to find the gallant freedom fighters emerge stronger than ever. But we knew that Israel's objective was not just the destruction of the PLO, but also the occupation of Lebanon, which it would not leave until it could bring that peace-loving and progressive country to toe the Israeli line. This is exactly what is happening. Perhaps next year, too, we shall be debating the question of Lebanon.

228. Bangladesh's position on the question of Palestine and on that of the Middle East is firm and unequivocal; we have consistently maintained that the situation in the Middle East, particularly the question of Palestine, can only be solved through the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and by restoring the inalienable right of the Palestinian nation

to self-determination and to the establishment of a State of its own in Palestine. Further, the PLO should be accepted as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and it should be a participant in negotiations for a settlement of the situation in the Middle East. Any plan or solution that ignores these basic requirements cannot result in a just and durable peace.

229. This, therefore, is the test and challenge facing this body and the Security Council. Events this year have demonstrated without a shadow of a doubt Israel's expansionist policy, its ceaseless ambition to bring its Arab neighbours under its heel, and its obsessive hatred of the Palestinian people. The international community must make Israel realize that it cannot get away any more with violations of the Charter of the United Nations and that it must implement General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. We in Bangladesh feel that we should study all the proposals for a settlement of the Palestinian problem made during recent months as a possible basis for negotiations. In this connection, we fully endorse the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine and are in agreement that another session of the Committee should be held to take up all outstanding matters. The Government and the people of Bangladesh have time and again expressed their full support for the just cause of their Arab brethren and, in particular, that of the Palestinian people, and they will continue to make every endeavour to secure a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

230. Mr. NAWAZ (Pakistan): The question of Palestine has been on the agenda of the General Assembly as a separate item for nine years, but the basic issues underlying that question have been before this Assembly for a much longer period. Indeed, it can be said that the history of the question of Palestine has been intertwined with the life of the United Nations from the very beginning.

231. In 1947, the General Assembly decided to partition Palestine into a Palestinian State and a Jewish State, and it later affirmed the right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland. Since then, the Assembly has consistently renewed this call, affirming the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and national independence in their homeland. It is indeed a sad commentary on the effectiveness of the Organization and on the political will of those Member States on which the Charter of the United Nations has placed special responsibility that the Palestinian people should continue to be denied their inalienable national and human rights.

232. Oppressed within Palestine by the occupying Israeli authorities and forced into exile, the Palestinians have been waging an unremitting struggle under the leadership of the PLO to secure their inalienable rights. With the passage of time, the ever-increasing support for their just cause has achieved universal dimensions.

233. It should be a matter of deep distress and profound concern to the Assembly that the usurpation of the just and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people by Israel continues with impunity, in defiance

of international public opinion, as reflected in the relevant resolutions of this body.

234. It is a sad blow to the prestige of the United Nations that the continuing violence and savagery against the people of Palestine should have reached its climax during the year of 1982 in the brutal massacre of innocent and hapless Palestinian men, women and children in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. The ground for these massacres was prepared by the wanton Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the merciless blockade of Beirut, which forced the Palestinian defenders to leave the city under arrangements arrived at internationally.

235. The gruesome atrocities committed during that invasion have few parallels in history. The Government of Pakistan joined the world community in condemning the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the atrocities committed against the Palestinians.

236. The perpetrators of the crime committed in West Beirut should realize that the shedding of innocent blood does not go unpunished. The martyrdom and sacrifices of thousands of men, women and children in these camps and in other refugee settlements which bore the brunt of the Israeli invasion have convinced the world as never before of the justice of the Palestinian cause. The international community has been made even more keenly conscious of the need to find an equitable solution to the Palestine problem. The people of Palestine have emerged from their trauma with a renewed faith in their just cause and with a greater determination to pursue their struggle for the realization of their national aspirations.

237. Faced with the invasion of Lebanon, the Arab world, and particularly the PLO, acted with restraint and a sense of responsibility which earned the admiration of the world. A new opportunity for peace emerged from the Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez last September. The Fez peace plan is a major initiative, demonstrating the sincere desire of the Arab countries and the PLO to bring to a dignified and honourable end the grim chapter of the conflict that has shaken the foundations of peace in the Middle East for more than a generation. They have also reacted constructively to similar initiatives by other world leaders for the resolution of the Middle East conflict. It is a matter of deep regret that, obsessed with the desire to hold on to the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, Israel has rejected the Fez peace plan, as well as the proposals by President Reagan.

238. The Fez peace plan, as well as other similar proposals for peace, needs to be considered in the context of the international consensus that exists concerning the elements of a just and lasting solution of the Palestine question. Those elements are: the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty; the participation of the PLO on an equal footing with other parties in all deliberations and conferences on the Middle East; the complete and speedy evacuation of all the occupied territories, including Jerusalem; and the right of the countries of the region to live in peace. These basic requirements for a just solution of the Palestine question were set forth in

the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian people and were endorsed by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session [*resolution 31/20*].

239. A heavy responsibility rests with the United Nations, particularly the Security Council, to bring the tragedy of Palestine to an end. It is a matter of deep regret to us that the Security Council has been prevented from taking the necessary steps in fulfilment of this responsibility. It is our hope that at this session of the General Assembly countries such as the United States, which carry influence with Israel and have a special responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, will join other Member States in calling upon Israel to respect the decisions of the United Nations and respond to the demands of peace, justice and law by reversing its policies of aggression and occupation in the Middle East.

240. While addressing itself to the central issues of the Palestine question, the United Nations has an immediate obligation to protect the fundamental human rights of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. The situation in the occupied territories continues to deteriorate. There has been an alarming increase in repression and violence directed against the Palestinians. The relentless Israeli policy of annexing the Arab and Palestinian occupied territories and establishing settlements there remains a matter of grave concern and an obstacle to peace in the region.

241. The United Nations needs to mobilize its resources to provide assistance to the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, as well as in Lebanon, and at the same time to exert maximum pressure to prevent Israel from pursuing its policies of repression against the Palestinian people and usurpation of their land.

242. Pakistan is proud of its record of unflinching support for the just cause of the Palestinian people. I take this opportunity to reiterate once again our pledge to stand firmly by the side of our Palestinian brothers in their resolute struggle to regain their human and national rights. Their cause is just and its triumph inevitable. We are convinced that the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, to be held in Paris in August 1983, will help in the mobilization of further international support for the struggle of the Palestinian people to secure their inalienable rights in Palestine.

*The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.*

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/14009.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1982*, document S/15421, annex.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/15317.

<sup>4</sup> Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1915), p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.

<sup>6</sup> See A/AC.183/PV.84.