



*President:* Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

*In the absence of the President, Miss Dever (Belgium), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

### AGENDA ITEM 33

#### Question of Palestine (*continued*):

- (a) Report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People;
- (b) Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine;
- (c) Reports of the Secretary-General

1. Mr. MRANI ZENTAR (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): The continuing interest of the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as other bodies of the United Nations system, in the Palestinian problem and in the cause and the rights of the people of Palestine, very clearly illustrates the understanding, sympathy and support of the entire international community for this long-suffering people. This interest is further illustrated by the rejection of Israeli policy in the Middle East, a policy based on the use of force, aggression and denial of the most elementary rights of the populations which have lived in the region for thousands of years.

2. The tragedy which has been visited upon the Middle East, for many decades now, has no other explanation, and indeed we can say at this time that the Palestinian problem is at the very heart of this crisis which increasingly threatens international peace and security.

3. The Assembly has certainly not failed in its obligations by adopting an impressive number of very explicit resolutions on the reality and solidarity of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to their national territory. The Security Council, each and every time that it has had an opportunity to condemn Israeli practices without any reservations, has declared these practices null and void and demanded restoration to the Palestinian people of their rights and the return to the Arab people of the region of all their territories.

4. However, in the face of this broad international support, we have seen Israel continuing to defy the Organization. Far from halting actions that have been disapproved of unanimously, the Zionist State has piled aggression upon aggression, and violence upon violence. The tragic situation of our fraternal country of Lebanon, a peaceful and hospitable country sorely tried by the Israeli invader, offers us clear testimony of the alternative to peace and justice being proposed by the leaders of Israel.

5. Have we, however, forgotten the other Israeli practices in Palestine, as well as in the occupied Arab territories? Have we forgotten Gaza, the West Bank of the Jordan and the Holy City of Jerusalem? And have we also forgotten the virtually total annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights?

6. Behind the dense smokescreen which is rising over Beirut, Sabra and Shatila, the policy of systematic colonization of occupied Arab territories is thus continuing by means of peasant soldiers directly responsible to the army of occupation. The de-Arabization and the de-Islamization of the Holy City of Jerusalem goes on unabated, and we still remember the zeal of the supposedly unbalanced pyromaniacs and other marksmen.

7. Attacks against patriots in the occupied territories are so numerous that we cannot count them all. Even university students and young schoolgirls have not been spared the subtle but always inhuman forms of repression.

8. The form and extent of Israeli military action against refugee camps, particularly in Lebanon, betray the real objectives of Israel designed to achieve the physical elimination of the Palestinians altogether, in order to solve the problem of their rights by simply making them disappear.

9. The United Nations has unceasingly denounced illegal Israeli acts in the form of abusive annexations of territory, expulsion and displacement of population, the imposition of Israeli national laws upon occupied territories, interference in Islamic or Christian cultural and religious affairs, to mention only a few.

10. The Organization has most strongly denounced attempts at acquisition of territories by force on the part of Israel and has rejected the annexation of Arab Jerusalem, wrongly decreed as the "eternal capital of Israel". We have also several times reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of its sole representative organization, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], to return to its territory and to establish an independent and sovereign State in Palestine.

11. Today, the Assembly is called upon further to assure that the Palestinian people receives the support it needs to exercise its inalienable rights in Palestine in order to rebuild and economically to redevelop its country so as to play its role fully in the family of the peaceful countries of the international community.

12. We must, therefore, support with all our strength, the implementation of the practical recommendations adopted at Geneva by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held from 29 August to 7 September 1983.

13. That Conference, which was a resounding success at a time when threats in the Middle East, as well as the tragic events which were then taking place in Lebanon, eloquently illustrated the gravity of the situation with which the Palestinian people were confronted. Let us say clearly that the Conference was a success, owing to the many expressions of goodwill in our own ranks, but also because of the dedication of the various bodies of the United Nations, of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and of its Chairman, Mr. Massamba Sarré, of Senegal.

14. I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm at this time the full support of the Kingdom of Morocco for the just struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of its sole representative, the PLO, until it achieves the exercise of its inalienable right to return to its homeland

and to the creation of an independent State on its national territory in Palestine.

15. My country wishes to reaffirm its total dedication to the cause of the liberation of the Arab city of Jerusalem and the Holy Places of Islam which constitute their shrines.

16. We shall remain the spearhead of this endeavour, for we have had the honour of acting as host to the historic Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, which was held at Fez in November 1981 and September 1982 and which unanimously adopted the Arab plan for peace in the Middle East,<sup>1</sup> a plan which is still relevant, and also because His Majesty, the King of Morocco, is the President of the Al-Quds Committee, which emanated from the Islamic Conference, a dynamic organ embodying the faith and determination of the Islamic countries to work relentlessly for the liberation of Jerusalem and the Holy Places, and the restoration of all the rights of the Palestinian people to their national territory.

17. Mr. KURODA (Japan): The tragic plight of the Palestinian people has recently become even more acute. In the West Bank, there have been numerous reports of clashes between the Palestinians and the Israeli authorities. Moreover, Israel continues to establish settlements in the West Bank, arousing ever greater international public concern. In southern Lebanon, the homes of many Palestinian refugees have been destroyed. Their security is constantly threatened, and many of them have been detained without due cause. In addition, the Palestinians in Lebanon are still reeling from the Israeli invasion of Beirut in June last year.

18. It is extremely deplorable that, at a time of such suffering, confrontations among the Palestinians have developed into fierce fighting in northern Lebanon. It has been reported that the fighting in and around the camps of Nahr al-Barid and Beddawi, where over 30,000 Palestinian refugees were registered by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East, resulted in heavy casualties, especially among civilians. The conflict has spread even to Tripoli, involving innocent Lebanese as well as Palestinian civilians. Fortunately, a cease-fire agreement has been reached, and we sincerely hope that it will hold.

19. It is profoundly regrettable that there are divisions among the Palestinians when it is imperative that they be united. The dispute within the PLO adds to the difficulties and will only postpone the settlement of the Palestinian problem. The Government of Japan earnestly hopes that all the parties to the dispute within the PLO will address the problem from a broader perspective and overcome their differences without delay.

20. In this connection, Japan welcomed the unanimous adoption of Security Council resolution 542 (1983) of 23 November 1983. It is hoped that, in accordance with the resolution and with the cease-fire agreement of 25 November, the parties concerned will strictly observe the cessation of hostilities, refrain from the threat or use of force and settle their differences exclusively by peaceful means.

21. Japan believes that, as a concrete step towards the early solution of the Palestinian problem, it is of utmost importance that both Israel and the Palestinian people make sincere efforts to dispel mutual distrust and foster a genuine will to coexist.

22. From this point of view, Japan regards Israel's policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories as an obstacle to peace efforts. Nor can it condone measures taken by Israel that change unilaterally the status of the occupied Arab territories, such as its

annexation of East Jerusalem. At the same time, Japan strongly appeals to Israel, as the occupying authority, to make special efforts to protect the human rights of the Palestinian inhabitants, in accordance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.<sup>2</sup>

23. I should like to take this opportunity to restate the basic position of the Government of Japan on the Middle East problem, and in particular on the question of Palestine.

24. First, peace in the Middle East should be just, lasting and comprehensive; secondly, such peace should be achieved through the early and complete implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and through the recognition of and respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of self-determination, under the Charter of the United Nations; thirdly, each and every avenue towards the realization of such peace must be explored, with careful consideration being given to the legitimate security requirements of the countries in the region and to the aspirations of all the peoples in the region, including the Palestinian people; fourthly, Japan is of the view that the PLO represents the Palestinian people. Thus, Japan believes that in order to advance the cause of peace in the Middle East it is essential that Israel and the PLO recognize each other's position, and that the PLO participate in the peace process.

25. Various international efforts have been made towards the achievement of a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. I refer, for example, to President Reagan's initiative<sup>3</sup> and the Final Declaration of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference,<sup>1</sup> which were announced in September 1982. The Government of Japan strongly hopes that the parties concerned will take both of these proposals into full account and will, with a realistic, constructive and flexible attitude, make serious efforts to achieve a peaceful solution of the problem.

26. The search for a solution to the question of Palestine is extremely complex and, as has been so amply demonstrated, fraught with difficulty. At this time, the Government of Japan reaffirms its intention to co-operate with efforts towards the attainment of our common goal—the prompt solution of the question of Palestine through peaceful talks and without recourse to the use of force.

27. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): In the past two days, the Chinese delegation has listened attentively to the speeches made by the delegations of Arab and other countries and by Mr. Kaddoumi, the representative of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

28. Please allow me, in the name of the Chinese delegation, to express our deep sympathy to the Palestinian people, who are fighting for the restoration of their national rights, and to pay them a great tribute. At the same time, I would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, which, under the leadership of its Chairman, Mr. Sarré, has done outstanding work in support of the just struggle of the Palestinian people and in the preparation and convening of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine.

29. Since the massive Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June last year, the situation in the Middle East has become more tense and turbulent than ever. Trampling under foot the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and violating the well-known basic norms of international law, the Israeli authorities have stuck to their policy of aggression and annexation and committed

a series of new crimes against the peoples of Palestine, Lebanon and other Arab countries.

30. In Lebanon, the Israeli aggressors have refused to implement Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) and have continued to drag out their stay in southern Lebanon in an attempt to perpetuate their occupation of Lebanese territory. In the occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Israeli authorities are stepping up the establishment or expansion of settlements and intensifying the illegal measures of annexation of these areas by expelling the Palestinians and Arabs and moving in Israeli civilians.

31. They have also resorted to various terrorist tactics in persecuting the Palestinian inhabitants in the occupied territories so as to change the geographical features, demographic composition and historical and cultural characteristics of these territories. Furthermore, the Israeli authorities have implemented the so-called "Basic Law" on Jerusalem and proclaimed Jerusalem the capital of Israel, with a view to altering the character and status of the Holy City.

32. All these attempts by Israel to put the clock back have aroused strong indignation and unanimous condemnation by countries and peoples that love peace and uphold justice all over the world. It should be pointed out that the actions taken by the Israeli authorities are inseparable from the political protection and military and economic support of the United States. At a Security Council meeting last August, the United States vetoed a draft resolution which condemned the Israeli forces for attacking Palestinian civilians and massacring Arab students in the occupied territories,<sup>4</sup> making it difficult for the Council to fulfil its duty in safeguarding international peace and security in the Middle East.

33. Under the leadership of the PLO, headed by Chairman Arafat, the valiant Palestinian people have long waged an arduous and tenacious struggle against the Israeli aggressors, thus adding a glorious page to the history of the national liberation movement. Last year, they fought shoulder to shoulder against the Israeli aggressors in bloody battles, puncturing the arrogance of the aggressor forces and smashing the scheme of the Israeli authorities to wipe out the Palestinian armed forces, and thus won extensive sympathy and support from the international community. The PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It has the full right to participate on an equal footing, as one of the parties concerned, in finding a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question. Any scheme to sacrifice the fundamental interests of the Palestinian people and exclude the PLO is doomed to failure.

34. The international community is deeply concerned about the tense situation that has continued in the Middle East for decades and has come to realize more and more clearly that the question of Palestine, which the United Nations has faced ever since its establishment, is one of the most acute and complex problems of our time and is the crux of the whole Middle East question. Unless the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people are restored, and unless there is a just settlement of the Palestine question, there will be no possibility of peace and stability in the Middle East region. We hold that the United Nations bears unshirkable responsibilities for solving the Palestine question. Since 1974, the General Assembly has adopted a series of resolutions confirming the national rights of the Palestinian people, and the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has also made positive efforts towards that end. Not long ago, the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from

29 August to 7 September 1983, adopted the Geneva Declaration on Palestine<sup>5</sup> and the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights,<sup>5</sup> further contributing to the solution of the Palestine question. Regrettably, however, due to Israeli opposition and super-Power obstruction, the question of Palestine remains unsolved to this day. It is our hope that, out of regard for justice, the present session of the General Assembly will adopt resolutions in clear conformity with the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the people of other Arab countries and take effective measures for the implementation of these resolutions.

35. We hold that the pre-conditions of the solution of the question of Palestine are that Israel must abandon its policies of aggression and expansion; terminate its occupation of the Arab territories; withdraw from the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, including Arab Jerusalem; and recognize the inalienable legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to their homeland, to national self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State in Palestine. On this basis, it will become possible for all countries and peoples in the Middle East region to enjoy genuine independence and the right to existence. And this alone will make possible a gradual realization of peace and stability in the Middle East region.

36. The Chinese Government is ready to work together with all Governments and people that love peace and uphold justice in seeking a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East question and will make its own efforts to this end. We are convinced that, so long as the Palestinian people unite with the people of other Arab countries and persevere in their struggle, they will be able to surmount all the difficulties on the path of progress and achieve the lofty goal of recovering their lost territories and regaining their national rights.

37. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The valiant struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for the exercise of their inalienable national rights and for freedom and independence has won it the sympathy and respect of the whole world. In this struggle, the Palestinian people has achieved considerable success and has enjoyed the solidarity and support of the international community, in the United Nations and elsewhere. Its political vanguard, the PLO, has won broad international recognition as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We warmly welcome the representatives of the PLO to this session of the General Assembly.

38. The question of the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression against the Arab peoples and the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people has become a matter of particular urgency. It could not be otherwise, because it is impossible to enslave or destroy any people and its natural thirst for freedom, independence and social progress.

39. The tragic events in the Middle East have confirmed the fact that, until the Palestinians are granted their inalienable rights, there can be no peace in the Middle East. Nevertheless, the United States and Israel are continuing to oppose this and are relying on force to achieve their imperialist ambitions.

40. As a result of the aggressive, expansionist actions of Israel and the policy of its "strategic ally", the prospects for a Middle East settlement have become poorer and have receded far into the distance. The tension which has been building for years in that region has now reached such a peak as to pose a direct threat to international peace and security.

41. It is a political axiom that the question of guaranteeing the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine is at the very core of any Middle East settlement. It is no accident, therefore, that the Palestinian problem has remained constantly on the agenda of the General Assembly and has been discussed at many other international meetings. This year, for example, five regional conferences were held, as well as an International Conference on the Question of Palestine. Considerable attention was devoted to this problem by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983. In the decisions taken at those meetings, it was affirmed that it was essential to grant the Palestinian people their lawful and inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination and to found their own State. The right of the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine, to participate on an equal footing in the solution of all matters affecting the Middle East was confirmed.

42. However, in spite of these decisions and of the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Palestinian problem remains unsettled. The Arab people of Palestine has been forced to go abroad or suffer the oppression of military occupation in the territories seized by Israel and is suffering physical annihilation in the most brutal form.

43. The report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and other evidence presented to this session all show that Israel is not only failing to comply with the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, but is also continuing to pursue the course of annexing the Arab territories it has occupied, including Palestinian territories. As is pointed out in the Committee's report, "in the course of 1983, the Government of Israel has pursued its relentless policy of establishing and enlarging settlements in the occupied territories despite the illegality of those actions" [A/38/35, para. 19].

44. Israel's current course of action in occupied Arab territories is aimed at totally undermining the economic activities of the Arab population, stripping it of its lands and destroying its cultural heritage so that the Palestinians will forget their national affiliation. Israel is constantly stepping up terror and other repressive measures against the Arab population of the occupied territories and much evidence testifying to this is contained in the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories: "The overall picture . . . reflects the further deterioration in the human rights situation of the civilian population. The treatment of the civilian population continues to get harsher in all respects" [A/38/409, para. 370].

45. Israel's policy in the occupied territories is in flagrant violation of the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,<sup>2</sup> and also of relevant decisions of the United Nations.

46. A natural question arises: why has Israel, in disregard of decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, continued its policy of aggression and brigandage against Arab countries and the Palestinian people? Here is another legitimate question: how is it possible for Israel, whose economy is in a sorry plight, whose level of inflation has reached 150 per cent a year and whose balance-of-payments deficit is approaching \$5 billion, to wage an uninterrupted war against the Arabs? The fact is that Israel's actions fall squarely within the framework of United States expansionist policy in the Middle East.

After all, as everyone knows, Washington's policy is determined by its open ambition to establish over the Arab countries, rich as they are in oil and occupying as they do a strategic position, its own military and political domination; and in this particular case Israel's role is that of carrying out the will of the American imperialists.

47. Only a few days ago, the United States and Israel decided not only to strengthen their "strategic co-operation", but also to expand its military aspect. The United States press has stated "the growing convergence of United States and Israeli interests" and has reported on the creation of a joint military committee. Furthermore, provision has been made for carrying out joint military manoeuvres, the placing in Israel of United States arms and ammunition stores, the use of Israeli ports by the United States Navy, co-operation between the intelligence services of the two countries and joint planning of military operations. They have even gone so far as to agree on "the need to strengthen the Lebanese Government" and on repressive measures against Arab peoples. At the same time, United States assistance to Israel has been increased and in the next financial year it will cost the United States taxpayer more than \$2.6 billion. This is a very dangerous course of events, and we cannot close our eyes to it.

48. The aggressive policy of Tel Aviv and Washington, encouraged by the militaristic ambitions of the Pentagon and the Israeli militarists, is fundamentally inimical to the vital interests of the Arab peoples and of peace in the world at large. We have no hesitation in saying that the fact that the Palestinian problem has not been solved and a Middle East settlement as a whole not yet been reached is the result of the activities of the United States in the Middle East, and the point is not only that Washington is supplying Israel with the most sophisticated and barbarous weapons and giving material assistance to it in its expansionist policies, but also that the United States itself is participating in aggression against the Arab peoples and has blocked a settlement in the Middle East, thus making it impossible to bring about a solution to the Palestinian problem. Separate anti-Arab deals and one-sided proposals on the part of the United States have a directly anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian character, since they are aimed at producing the semblance of a Middle East settlement but actually provide for a denial of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. It is only natural, therefore, that they have found no support either in the United Nations or in the International Conference on the Question of Palestine or anywhere else.

49. The alternative to separate deals is a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East. In the matter of principles, they should amount to eliminating the whole complex of reasons which have brought about the Arab-Israeli conflict. These principles are to be found in the proposals of the Soviet Union,<sup>6</sup> in decisions taken at Fez in September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference<sup>1</sup> and in decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

50. The Soviet plan for a Middle East settlement is based on the need for strict observance of the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory of others by force and recognition and implementation of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the creation of its own independent State on Palestinian soil which should be freed of Israeli occupation, ensuring the right of all States in the area to a secure existence, and to development, in conditions of mutual respect, sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity with appropriate international guarantees.

51. It seems to us that these principles can create an excellent international basis for finally embarking on the practical measures to bring about a settlement to the Middle East conflict. These proposals won widespread support at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983. That Conference adopted by acclamation the Geneva Declaration on Palestine<sup>5</sup> and the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights.<sup>5</sup> An important provision in the Declaration was the decision to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East, as the Soviet Union has long been proposing. The purpose of this conference should be to bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict within the framework of which an independent Palestinian State would be created. This conference should be convened with the participation on an equal footing of all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the PLO, as well as the Soviet Union, the United States and all other interested States.

52. The Security Council and its permanent members could guarantee the implementation of any agreement reached at an international peace conference. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR believes that the General Assembly should approve the results of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, which would be an important practical step towards a Middle East settlement and a solution to the Palestinian problem.

53. In conclusion, I should like to wish the Palestinian people and the PLO unity among themselves and further success in their struggle to bring about a just peace in the Middle East, and to exercise the right to create their own independent State. We shall always stand behind the just cause of the Palestinians and support the cause of those struggling for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

54. Mr. BLUM (Israel): The item referred to as the "Question of Palestine" has become one of the main tools of Israel's enemies in the United Nations in their relentless warfare against my country. The basic reason for the Organization's continuing preoccupation with this topic is, of course, rooted in the core of the Arab-Israel conflict itself—namely, the rejection by Arab States of the State of Israel's existence as well as of its inalienable right to exist; indeed, the unwillingness of Arab Governments to accept and coexist with a sovereign Jewish State, irrespective of its size and boundaries. This was the reason why the Arab States, as well as the Arabs of Palestine, categorically rejected General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947 and initiated hostilities with the express purpose of aborting that resolution and preventing the establishment of the State of Israel. The fact that the Arabs failed in their armed aggression aimed at destroying Israel even before its birth does not and cannot legitimize their violation of international law. At the same time, that armed aggression precludes them from invoking now in any form the benefits of an Assembly resolution which they both rejected and destroyed by force of arms, and which cannot be revived by any amount of diplomatic archaeology in this building. The adamant refusal on the part of the Arab world to recognize Israel's right to exist has always been and remains the core and cause of the Arab-Israel conflict. Everything else is pretext or subterfuge.

55. This refusal to recognize Israel's existence, as well as its right to exist, is the reason why the Arabs have, since 1948, started four major wars against my country. This is the reason why they have developed a ramified series of battlefronts and a vast array of weapons against Israel. These weapons include, *inter alia*, an economic

boycott of Israel, which has been extended into a secondary boycott on third parties trading with Israel. Various countries have been blackmailed into joining this campaign against Israel. A propaganda war of major proportions has been directed for years against Israel and, in total disregard of the elementary canons of decency and parliamentary propriety, the United Nations has been seized upon in all its various organs and agencies as an instrument readily at the disposal of the Arab States in this war.

56. The Arab League States have left us with no doubt that they seek debates such as this one, and the ritualistic incantations that accompany them, precisely in order to prevent any progress towards a negotiated peace. Those States which reject peace with Israel have, after all, been exploiting the question of the Palestinian Arabs for over 30 years to serve their own selfish and frequently conflicting interests. To this end, they have harnessed the General Assembly to assist them. They have used the question of the Palestinian Arabs for various purposes—to draw attention away from the numerous conflicts throughout the Arab world and also to try and achieve a semblance of unity when no such unity exists elsewhere.

57. Despite the unbending policy of Arab rejectionism *vis-à-vis* Israel, my country has successfully survived the relentless Arab onslaught and has emerged as an independent and vibrant nation. At the same time, however, the unrelenting hostility of the Arab régimes towards my country has brought only tragedy for the Palestinian Arabs themselves. Instead of having moved along a course which could have constructively promoted a solution to the problems of the Palestinian Arabs, the self-appointed Palestinian Arab leaders and the leaders of the Arab States have led the Palestinian Arabs from disaster to disaster.

58. The problem of the Palestinian Arabs at its outset was already an outgrowth of deep-rooted inter-Arab rivalry. By focusing their attention on Israel and by deflecting their enmity against a common target, the Arab States sought to cover up their internal discords. Instead of seeking a constructive solution to their divisiveness and many differences, they proceeded along a destructive course, thereby creating another problem—that of the Palestinian Arab refugees. Ever since Israel's rebirth in 1948, the Arab States have perpetuated the refugee status of the Palestinian Arabs as a political expedient, a symbol which would enable Arab régimes to continue the conflict with my country in total disregard of the refugees' plight. Thus, the Palestinian Arabs were the ones who paid the price for the Arab world's unity in hatred against Israel, intended to hide their disunity in all other matters.

59. It has been the misfortune of the Palestinian Arabs to have become the victims of a cynical and opportunistic manipulation of their situation by forces inimical to their interests. These forces are represented by the political leadership of the Arab countries, the fanaticism of the Palestinian Arab leadership and the conspiracy of silence of the Arab intellectual community. Instead of demanding a humanitarian approach within the Arab world and an accommodation with Israel through negotiations, Arab intellectuals have acquiesced in the callous exploitation of the Palestinian Arabs by the Arab Governments. This attitude is especially condemnable in view of the successful effort in Israel to integrate the hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees who had to flee the Arab countries. These former second-rate citizens of Arab lands are today full-fledged members of Israeli society.

60. The Arab States—and their camp followers in the General Assembly—are acting as if nothing has changed this year in the situation of the Palestinian Arabs. Such

behaviour can only demonstrate a total alienation from the real world. The Assembly must surely realize that a striking change has indeed occurred. The need to address the problem honestly and to make a genuine effort to solve it remains as great as ever. What has changed is that this year the course that had been long adopted by the Arab States and their supporters has been vividly shown to be wrong and bankrupt. Although such evidence was hardly needed, it must have become very obvious to everyone by now that the line advocated by the Arab States and their allies, rather than promoting any solution, has brought a deterioration of the problem so clearly evident in recent years.

61. The events in Lebanon last year and the ongoing tragedy of Tripoli have taught us, primarily, two important lessons: first, the Arab States, without exception, prefer cynically to use the Palestinian Arabs as pawns rather than to seek a viable solution to their problems; secondly, the self-appointed Palestinian leadership—a motley of rival terrorist groups—bears not the slightest resemblance to a national liberation movement.

62. Having failed to destroy Israel in their war of aggression of 1948 and 1949, the Arab League States persisted in their unrelenting attempts to achieve that objective through a variety of means, including the unlawful use of force. To that end, they established in 1964 the terror organization known as the PLO. From its inception the PLO was used as an instrument for helping the Arab States exploit the Palestinian Arabs for their own purposes. Chief among these was making use of terror in an attempt to destabilize Israel's security without directly involving the Arab States. Moreover, the PLO was also considered by the Arab States to be a tool in inter-Arab rivalry. In these circumstances, a solution to the problem of the Palestinian Arab refugees was not a matter of great concern to the Arab régimes. Instead, the Arab States, busily engaged in ruthless power-plays with the aid of competing PLO factions, sought to control the entire terrorist organization as an additional trump card in their internal rivalries.

63. For years, Israel has been pointing out these aspects of the inter-Arab struggle, stressing that the Arab-Israeli conflict is but one of many symptoms of Arab disunity. Unfortunately, no one has heeded this reality. The fact that the PLO has been shown up to be expendable is but another manifestation of that power-play.

64. Whenever the terrorist organizations deviated from their role as mere instruments of rival Arab interests, they would immediately be perceived as a source of danger to those interests. On such occasions, the Arab States concerned invariably responded forcefully and without any compunction. The sanguinary results have been witnessed on several occasions, the most prominent occurring in 1970 and 1971, 1976 and over the past year. When, in 1970, the Jordanian forces massacred thousands of Palestinian Arabs, the days of carnage were called "Black September" by the Palestinian Arabs. When, in 1976, the Syrian army of occupation massacred thousands of Palestinian Arabs in Lebanon, the events became associated in everyone's mind with the name of Tel-el-Zaater, the area where the massacre occurred. Seven years later the Syrians are once again pounding terrorists and refugees, as well as Lebanese civilians, this time at the Nahr al-Barid and Beddawi camps near Tripoli, and in the streets of Tripoli itself. This, of course, is the most recent Syrian bid to take over the PLO.

65. The current bloodletting in northern Lebanon has been passively observed by the General Assembly. Not surprisingly, the Assembly is apparently guided by the "family doctrine" propounded by the Arab States, which

considers Arab fratricide, however widespread, to be an "internal Arab affair"—a "family spat"—and therefore taboo for consideration by the Assembly. By the same token, it took weeks for the Security Council even to begin addressing the events in northern Lebanon. It eventually did so last week in a meeting which lasted for a full four minutes and in which it nervously adopted without any debate an anaemic, milk-and-water resolution. Of course, such an approach is not new to the Organization. In just such a manner have the General Assembly and Security Council ignored the ongoing tragedy in Lebanon for the last 10 years, thus allowing the ravaging of that country by the PLO terrorists and by the Syrian army of occupation, the killing and wounding of hundreds of thousands and the devastation of entire Lebanese communities, as well as the turning of more than a million Lebanese into refugees in their own country. Such forms of collective apathy on the part of the two principal political organs of the United Nations—which apparently place a higher value on the "family doctrine" and the sensitivities of certain countries than on human life—demonstrate the Organization's perverted approach towards developments in the Middle East and the by now notorious double standard practised towards my country.

66. Anyone reviewing the business of the United Nations in recent years would be bound to conclude that there are hardly any international crises or threats to peace and security in the world other than the Arab-Israeli conflict. Indeed, from the apparent dearth of emergencies throughout the world, the outside observer might even conclude that the human condition is a happy one. But, as we all know, nothing could be further from the truth. When one looks at the vast assemblage of nations gathered here and tries to compute the sum total of human misery that most of them represent, one is forced to a quite different conclusion. Indeed, as one contemplates the very real threats to the existence of literally hundreds of millions of human beings—the wars, the lack of freedom, the brutal suppression of minorities, the mass death sentences, the persecution and torture of dissidents, the cruelty and the degradation, the disease, the malnutrition and the poverty in the world today—one can only conclude that the lawless majority in the Assembly shamelessly turns its back on the real problems facing mankind by indulging for so much of its time in barren anti-Israel exercises.

67. Indeed, one of the most mind-boggling paradoxes symptomatic of the Organization's surrealistic character is that, while the standing of the terrorist PLO is steadily diminishing, the Assembly and various United Nations bodies are being called upon artificially to expand the United Nations preoccupation with the PLO version of the Palestinian Arab problem. It is grotesque that this kind of preferential treatment should be accorded a vanishing terrorist organization while the very real problems that exist around the world are being given scanty attention or none at all.

*Mr. Illueca (Panama) took the Chair.*

68. The Organization's pathological obsession with Israel, coupled with a strange indifference regarding the real problems that should occupy centre-stage here, have contributed to a decisive degree to the increasing discreditation of the Organization and to the constant erosion of what little has remained of its credibility.

69. The terrorist PLO claims to be a national liberation movement. Nothing could be more ludicrous or more removed from the truth. In PLO parlance, "national liberation" means the annihilation of the State of Israel and its people. What legitimate national liberation movement

has ever based its own *raison d'être* on the declared aim and attempt to destroy another State? Yet, among those who have accepted the PLO's pretence to being a national liberation movement, some had genuinely convinced themselves that this definition was appropriate. During the past few months, they should have certainly had second thoughts on the matter. Today, more than ever before, it has become clear that the PLO is nothing but a collection of terrorist organizations, now rapidly falling apart. The PLO does not represent the Palestinian Arabs and its actions have severely damaged their interests. Indeed, instead of representing the Palestinian Arabs, each of the PLO's rival factions represents a specific Arab régime which sponsors it. Each Arab State thus possesses a terrorist organization of its own, an arm of its clandestine or overt policy in the Arab world. Elimination of opponents through terror and intimidation is a favourite variety of employment assigned the terrorists by their paymasters. The PLO does not exist as an independent body and represents no one. Today, it turns out, the PLO does not even represent itself.

70. The course chosen for the PLO by the Arab States and adopted by the terrorist organization was destructive from the start. Its utterly destructive character persists even in the midst of its own disintegration and the large-scale massacre of civilians in northern Lebanon.

71. The Palestinian Arabs have gained nothing through the murderous activities of the PLO. A stocktaking of PLO "achievements" would include the hijacking of airliners and passengers, the murder of children in nurseries and schools, the slaughter of worshippers in synagogues, the butchery of athletes at the Olympic games, the slaying of fellow Palestinians and other Arabs who have "deviated" from the course dictated by the PLO, and the massacre of civilians in Lebanon, as well as the devastation of that country's communities. Has all this brought the Palestinian Arabs any closer to the solution of their problem? Certainly not.

72. The Palestinian Arabs have themselves become the main victims of PLO terrorism. One of the PLO's unique contributions to the annals of international terrorism has been its meticulous cultivation of a new battle tactic: shielding terrorists behind civilian populations and waging their war from the "shelter" of hospitals, schools and homes. Such barbarous conduct was evident in Lebanon in 1982 and in the Tripoli area in recent weeks. One United Nations official present during the recent fighting in Tripoli told a reporter of *The Daily Express* of London, as reported in that paper on 21 November last: "They are incapable of showing mercy even to their own women and children". That report also noted that one of the terrorists remarked: "All of the inhabitants will be smashed and crushed—but we shall continue to fight". An organization which victimizes its own people by demonstrating utter contempt for their very lives surely does not deserve to be referred to as a national liberation movement.

73. It is, however, not just the PLO and the Arab States that bear responsibility for the current tragedy of the Palestinian Arabs. Countries which thought the problems inherent in their own relations with the Arab world would somehow be solved by according terrorist organizations an aura of respectability must share the blame. Such countries have conveniently ignored the facts which could not be adapted to their erroneous thesis and have based their policies on fantasy. Some of these countries have cynically inflated the PLO for partisan reasons, while others have been misled by illusions of their own creation. All of them should realize by now that their attitude has only impeded the efforts to resolve the problems of the Palestinian Arabs in an equitable manner. Today, more

than ever before, it must be understood that there is no such thing as a "PLO option".

74. Israel's position regarding the true character of the problem of the Palestinian Arabs is well known. It is also well known that over the years this problem has been presented in the General Assembly in a distorted manner. In this regard, I refer the Assembly to the statements made by the representatives of Israel in recent years, both in the general debate and on the item now before us.

75. Israel is not and has never been oblivious to the question of the Palestinian Arabs. But it must be understood and emphasized that there exists a clear distinction between the Palestinian Arabs and the terrorist PLO which claims to speak on their behalf. Israel is not fighting the Palestinian Arabs, nor have we ignored their plight. We seek to live with them in peace, mutual respect and dignity. It was with this in mind that Israel was the first to indicate concrete proposals to lay the groundwork for a solution of this problem. Those who care for the facts will recall that it was Israel which first drafted a fair, reasonable and constructive plan that not only takes into account Israel's vital security interests but also provides for comprehensive and full autonomy for the Palestinian Arabs in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District as an interim step towards an ultimate solution for an intricate and multifaceted question. Israel has committed itself, together with Egypt and the United States, to the Camp David framework accords for peace in the Middle East. Israel remains committed to those accords. But the implementation of such provisions requires partners.

76. The autonomy plan for the Palestinian Arabs, which was proposed by the Government of Israel, now forms an integral part of the Camp David accords. As is well known, those accords are firmly anchored in the carefully formulated Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973)—the only agreed framework for the peaceful solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

77. The Camp David framework sees the solution of the question of the Palestinian Arab residents of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District in terms of granting them full autonomy, for a transitional period of five years, before reaching an agreement on the final status of the areas concerned. To that end, it was agreed to negotiate on a principle of self-government—to be exercised through an administrative council—for the Arab inhabitants of the areas in question.

78. The Camp David framework invites the Palestinian Arab residents of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District to play an active role in shaping their future, by calling on them to participate not only in current negotiations to set up a self-governing administrative council, but also in the negotiations which will determine the final status of the areas they live in, as well as in the eventual negotiations on a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, in which the delimitation of boundaries between the two countries will be agreed.

79. This solution offers the Palestinian Arabs concerned greater opportunities than anything they have ever experienced in their history. It offers them the prospect of governing themselves, of prosperity and of peaceful coexistence alongside their neighbours. It offers them a secure future, free from terror.

80. For six decades and more, the Arab nations have sought to destroy, first, the Jewish national movement and, subsequently, the Jewish State. Has the time not come for them to pause and reflect on the effects upon themselves of these "political" aspirations? Can they not see that all they have achieved in combating my country is tragedy after tragedy for their own peoples,

and primarily for the Palestinian Arabs? Has the time not come for them to realize that, unless there is a change of heart among them with regard to their attitude towards Israel, they will continue to drag their own peoples, as well as the Palestinian Arabs, from disaster to disaster? Has the time not come for them to realize that Israel is there as of right and not on the sufferance of anybody, and that Israel's right to live in peace and security is as axiomatic as that of any other country and not a favour granted by some condescending Powers in the Middle East and beyond?

81. Israel stands ready, now as always, to negotiate with each of our neighbouring countries on all the outstanding issues between us, without any pre-conditions. Let us all remember that at the end of the day, when all is said and done, one basic fact will remain: Arab and Jew will have to live together in the Middle East. We therefore appeal to the Arab countries to forsake the barren path of sterile rhetoric and engage with us in an honest dialogue aimed at achieving long-overdue peace for our sorely tried peoples.

82. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): Hardly ever before has the consideration of the question of Palestine been of greater importance than it is at the present session. The current developments are yet further testimony of the grave consequences of the continuous ambition of Israel to encroach on the freedom and lands of others and of the tragedy of the Palestinian people at whose expense others are attempting to achieve their own interests.

83. The crisis in the Middle East, which is essentially linked to the destiny of the Palestinian people, is acquiring ever more dangerous proportions. In the conditions of growing interdependence in world affairs, this crisis poses the most acute danger to world peace and security. Foreign interference is increasing, aggression and threats by Israel are continuing, and they are coupled with an ever greater concentration of armaments and armed forces in the area. There can be no peace or security as long as peoples are denied their basic rights and the policy of force is being transformed into a rule of permanent behaviour.

84. Israel continues its expansion into the territories of neighbouring countries, continues illegally to establish settlements on Palestinian and Arab land, and continues to violate the resolutions and decisions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. Sixteen years after the adoption by the Security Council of the resolution demanding the withdrawal of Israel from the West Bank, Gaza and Jerusalem, as well as the Golan Heights and a considerable part of Lebanon, they continue to be under Israel's occupation.

85. The whole region is being turned into the most dangerous crisis by the aggressive and expansionist policy of Israel, and that is the main cause of the plight and suffering of the heroic Palestinian people. Their inalienable rights are trampled underfoot; they are being rendered homeless and landless. The Palestinian people are exposed to the most brutal acts of colonization, expulsion and even extermination.

86. The Palestinian people, which has its ethnic, geographic, economic and cultural and historic identity, cannot and will not give up its rights to freedom and independence. The legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people must have the undivided support of all countries and peoples which are committed to freedom, independence and peace, since there is no freedom if it is not enjoyed by all.

87. The Palestinian people have, by their struggle, given a striking demonstration to all that a people fighting for

freedom, for self-determination and for independence will not and cannot remain alone. Both history and present times have shown that those fighting for freedom are stronger than those imposing domination.

88. Aspirations for freedom and the fierce resolve of the Palestinian people to achieve their just goals constitute a firm stronghold for their liberation organization, the PLO. The PLO has been and remains the expression of the sovereign will of the Palestinian people, and its Chairman, Yasser Arafat, has participated in a number of summit meetings of non-aligned countries. It is indispensable now for all to heed the call for respect for the legally elected leadership of the PLO and for a cessation of foreign interference in the internal affairs of the PLO. It is indispensable to strengthen solidarity and unity with the Palestinian people and with the PLO. Otherwise, current developments will continue to work in favour of Israel, which is trying to eliminate the PLO as an independent factor militarily and politically, to prevent the strengthening of Arab solidarity and preserve the positions it has acquired by aggression, expansionism and the policy of *faits accomplis*.

89. Yugoslavia and the non-aligned countries have been faithfully and resolutely supporting the Palestinian struggle. We maintain that solutions for the Palestinian question should be sought within the framework of the United Nations and on the basis of resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly.

90. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine at Geneva was a positive step. The Geneva Declaration on Palestine,<sup>5</sup> adopted at the Conference by acclamation, reaffirmed the consensus in the international community that peace in the Middle East cannot be based on the denial of the rights of an entire people, namely the Palestinian people, to self-determination, independence, freedom and free national and social development.

91. We feel that in these trying days for the Palestinian people, it is necessary for the United Nations and the entire international community to intensify their efforts and take every measure to make Israel comply with the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

92. Such an approach has been reaffirmed in the activities of the Committee on Palestine, made up of eight members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which was set up at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi, aimed at supporting the just struggle of the Palestinian people, in accordance with international law, with the will of the non-aligned countries and of their peoples. The Committee assessed that the continued lack of solution to the Middle East crisis has reached a critical point and that peaceful solution should be found before it is too late.

93. It was pointed out that the negotiating process should begin without delay, bearing in mind two basic facts: the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, and the participation of the PLO on an equal footing in all endeavours and negotiations regarding the solution of the question of Palestine.

94. The current efforts of Yugoslavia and other members of the Committee on Palestine under the chairmanship of India are being made precisely to that end. This is even further testimony to the fact that the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries is the strongest and broadest bulwark of the struggle for freedom and independence.

95. We, in Yugoslavia, are convinced, on the basis of our experience and history, that there can be no freedom if it is not enjoyed by all, and that is an additional reason



why we demand freedom and independence for the Palestinian people. In conformity with its own policy of independence and non-alignment, Yugoslavia has always pointed out that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and that it should participate on an equal footing in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the question of Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict. In our view, the solution can be based only on the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem, as well as on the realization of the Palestinian people's inalienable rights to independence and sovereignty, including the right to their own State. This implies the recognition of the right of all States and peoples in the region to a secure national existence and independent social development, as well as the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homes, and a comprehensive approach to the search for a solution based on the resolutions and decisions of United Nations bodies. Yugoslavia considers that the implementation of these principles should be achieved within the United Nations framework, and we call for urgent measures to be taken to that end.

96. Mr. PAPAJOJGI (Albania): The question of Palestine has for a long time been of concern to international public opinion. It has become a matter for discussion at all regular, and some special, sessions of the General Assembly and at various international conferences and forums, at which many documents have been produced and many resolutions adopted; however, so far no solution has been found. The Palestinian people continue to experience the greatest misery ever known in the history of mankind and one of the most dreadful tragedies of our time. They are living as refugees in tents because they have been robbed of their homeland, which the Israeli Zionists have occupied and are not willing to give up.

97. Less than three months ago, the International Conference on the Question of Palestine was held at Geneva. The representatives of progressive and freedom-loving countries strongly condemned the aggressive activity of the Israeli Zionists and their unprecedented arrogance and cynicism, and expressed their solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people. That Conference adopted the Geneva Declaration on Palestine<sup>5</sup> and also the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights.<sup>5</sup> However the resolutions of the International Conference, like many other United Nations documents and resolutions, are not being implemented. The facts show that during those three months, too, the Israeli Zionists, ignoring all the norms and laws which regulate international relations and disregarding the protests of world public opinion, have been arrogantly and stubbornly following a barbarous policy of physical extermination of the Palestinian people. The cruel crimes, the persecutions and the acts of terror and genocide committed by Israel for decades on end in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories have been intensified and have assumed dangerous proportions. Furthermore, this year, the Israeli aggressors have continued to follow the policy of colonization of occupied territories, taking measures which are aimed at drastically changing the geographic structure and demographic composition of those territories. The Tel Aviv chieftains are persistently pursuing a policy aimed at creating a "Greater Israel". In this context, the Arab peoples and countries, too, have become a target of that policy. Israel continues to provoke the Arab countries uninterruptedly; it continually provokes armed border incidents and shows an uncontrolled tendency to expansion and domination.

98. The events in Lebanon last year, and this year too, the hideous massacre of Palestinians in that country,

particularly those in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila, and the barbarous acts in the occupied territories, are well known throughout the world. They will never be forgotten in the history of mankind and will stand as an indictment stigmatizing the Israeli Zionists as new Hitlerites.

99. The grave situation of the heroic Palestinian people, which is worsening because of the intensification of Israel's criminal policy and activities, cannot be viewed in isolation from the overall tense and menacing situation existing at present in the Middle East. It is a consequence of the expansionist and hegemonistic policy of the super-Powers and other imperialist Powers in the region. In pursuance of this policy, they are trying by plots and intrigues to create an atmosphere of tension and insecurity in order to impose their will on the Arab peoples for the attainment of their ambitions of enslavement.

100. Israel has always served as a base and an instrument of aggression in the hands of the United States and other imperialist Powers in the Middle East, as a threat to bully the Arab peoples and countries. In the existing conditions of the aggravation of the world economic crisis and of the intensification of the rivalry for hegemony between the imperialist super-Powers—the United States and the Soviet Union—the Israeli policy has enjoyed stronger and wider support from the imperialist Powers.

101. In the efforts to preserve untouched its interests in the Middle East and to defend and expand its spheres of influence, the United States views Israel as its main strategic ally not only against the Arab countries and peoples, which oppose the Israeli Zionists and foreign imperialist domination, but also against the goals and ambitions of the Soviet Union in this region of great strategic importance, with its huge oil resources. This co-operation has been given official expression in the American-Israeli strategic alliance, signed two years ago, under the terms of which the Israeli Zionists are acting more freely and becoming more unrestrained and aggressive.

102. The United States is a close collaborator in all the criminal activities against the martyred Palestinian people. It has supplied the monstrous Israeli war machine and instigated it to occupy the Golan Heights, to commit acts of aggression against Lebanon, to carry out subversive activities and to sow discord among the Arab peoples.

103. Israel intensifies the oppression against the Palestinian people, provokes the Arab countries and commits acts of aggression against them whenever the interests of imperialist monopolies in this area are endangered. On the other hand, the main objective of United States imperialism and of the other enemies of the Arab peoples is to plunder and exploit the Arab countries, to share out the spheres of influence and to impede the anti-imperialist struggle for liberation of the peoples. The aim of American imperialism is to keep the Arab peoples enslaved, to intrigue against them and to divide them. They want the Palestinian people never to regain their own lands and never to establish their own State.

104. That is why everyone can understand what a great responsibility falls on the United States for the tragedy of the Palestinian people because of the support that it gives to Israeli Zionists in all fields. It has not failed to express this assistance and support at the United Nations as well by using its veto, thus undermining the resolutions which condemn Israel's criminal policy and practices.

105. In addition to the American imperialists, the Soviet social imperialists also give Israel great help. Although formally they pretend to support the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, in fact they have not failed to stab them

in the back whenever their imperialist interests have made this necessary. There is no doubt that the reason for such a stand is to be found in the aim of the Soviet social imperialists to exploit the situation with a view to strengthening their positions in the Middle East under the pretext of reaching the so-called strategic balance of forces with American imperialism. At present, American and Soviet pressures and rivalry have made the situation in the Middle East more tense. Both super-Powers have exerted much effort to drive wedges between the peoples and countries of that region, to stir up trouble and provoke fratricidal wars like the one between Iraq and Iran, which is still going on and is causing great human and material losses to those peoples.

106. The imperialists, Zionists and other reactionary forces have, in particular, intensified their efforts to set Arabs against one another, to sow discord and to destroy the Palestinian movement, so as finally to crush the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

107. Recent events are clear evidence of the dangers and threats with which the Palestinian people are faced. But they have not reconciled themselves to the situations which the Zionists and the imperialist enemies have imposed on them; on the contrary, they have persevered in their struggle regardless of all the obstacles and difficulties.

108. Shedding crocodile tears, the imperialists, social imperialists and other enemies of the Palestinian people continue to support Israel and to plot against the Palestinians, while at the same time making a great fuss about pretending that they are in favour of the solution of the Palestinian problem and an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The United States imperialists have shown themselves especially active in this respect. Their emissaries have been criss-crossing the Middle East. As part of this effort, various plans have been put forward, but, like so many other plans offered in the past by the United States and the Soviet Union, those now circulating do not serve the purpose of a just settlement of the Palestinian problem or that of the Middle East in general. In fact they constitute dangerous plots the aim of which is to stifle the just struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. The bitter experience of the Camp David accords is still alive for the Arabs. Life and reality have shown that the Israeli Zionists, the United States imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists will not abandon their hostile position nor will they give up their anti-Palestinian and anti-Arab ambitions.

109. As the interpreter of the position of the Albanian people and Government, the Albanian delegation deems it necessary to point out that there can be no just solution to the Palestinian problem without the withdrawal of the Israeli aggressors from the occupied Arab territories and the attainment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, including their right to self-determination and to regain their plundered homeland.

110. The Israeli Zionists and their masters are making a mistake if they think that through terror and genocide, plots and intrigues they will be able to force the Palestinians to lay down their arms and give up their national liberation struggle.

111. The Albanian people, who have always resolutely supported and continue to back the just struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, have full confidence that, by closing their ranks and in unity with the other brother Arab peoples, those people will finally achieve victory over the enemies.

112. Mr. SOMOGYI (Hungary): The United Nations, in accordance with its general mandate under the Charter and with its direct historical responsibility for the

Palestinian issue since 1947, has always considered one of its major preoccupations to be the search for a genuine solution to the question of Palestine. The current debate in the General Assembly is yet another manifestation of the deep concern felt by the international community about this pressing problem, which not only involves the plight of millions displaced and uprooted from their homes and properties but also constitutes the core of the entire Middle East crisis, one of the most protracted and explosive conflicts in international politics today.

113. Indeed, there is still every reason for concern, since the principal causes of the tension that has existed for past decades in that part of the world have remained: Israel persists in pursuing its aggressive, expansionist policy, the major element of which is the stubborn denial of the inalienable rights—and sometimes even of the mere existence—of the Palestinian people.

114. In these circumstances the most fundamental human, political and national rights of the long-suffering Arab people of Palestine are still being trampled under foot. In flagrant violation of the basic norms of international law, the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of relevant international agreements and United Nations resolutions, Israel!—while making systematic efforts to change the demographic structure, geographical character and administrative status of the occupied Palestinian territories—has been attempting to separate the Palestinian people from their historical and cultural roots, undermine their identity, question their national existence and even physically to annihilate them. Thus, the Palestinian people have not only remained homeless or become second-class citizens in their own homeland but are also being subjected to continuous humiliation, harassment, indiscriminate murder and all other forms of subjugation and oppression.

115. While exposing the huge burden of guilt that Israel bears for the tragic plight of millions of Palestinian Arabs and condemning its policies and practices *vis-à-vis* the Palestinian issue as a whole, we should not fail to mention the responsibility of its strategic ally, because it is obviously American support and assistance of many kinds that have always encouraged the Israeli Government to pursue its dangerous political course.

116. The statements that we have heard in this debate have once again reconfirmed the harsh fact that the situation with regard to the Palestinian problem has not improved but deteriorated during the past year and that a solution is no closer today than it was three and a half decades ago.

117. But the international community must not be indifferent when the fate of an entire people is at stake. The injustice being perpetuated against the Palestinian people must not be allowed to continue. Justice should be done without any further delay, and recognition of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine is but the first step. Concrete and effective measures should be taken along the lines of relevant United Nations resolutions in order to ensure the exercise without external interference of all these rights by the Palestinian people: the right to self-determination, including the establishment of an independent and sovereign State of their own, as originally envisaged in General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 1947, as well as the right of return, the right to compensation, and so forth.

118. We fully share the view that massacres, invasions or military occupation can never stop or reverse the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people for their lofty goals, namely, self-determination, freedom and national independence. We also hold that neither terror nor military force aimed at a so-called “final solution”, nor the

imposition of separate deals, can ever bring about a genuine solution to the Palestinian issue. It is our firm conviction that the question of Palestine, which by itself is the key to peace in the Middle East, can be solved only within the framework of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of all the interrelated problems of that troubled region.

119. This kind of settlement requires sincere collective efforts and co-ordinated steps by all concerned, directly or indirectly. In this context, the United Nations and, in particular, the Security Council have a very significant role to play. This is the reason why we, on the one hand, deplore all attempts and manipulations aimed at either abusing or bypassing the United Nations and, on the other hand, support every effort of the Organization to promote the Palestinian cause.

120. Therefore we greatly appreciated, as another step of this nature, the very important International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September this year, which proved to be very successful in realizing its original objectives to increase international awareness of all aspects of the Palestinian issue and to seek more effective ways and means of enabling the Palestinian people to attain and exercise their legitimate rights. At the same time, we wholeheartedly welcomed the Geneva Declaration on Palestine<sup>5</sup> and the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights,<sup>5</sup> adopted at that forum. We think that these documents, together with the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, as well as all other relevant proposals aimed at finding a genuine solution to this problem, can make a great contribution to providing the guidelines for solving the long-outstanding question of Palestine, which has long been a source of ever-increasing tension in the Middle East, threatening international peace and security.

121. It is in the spirit of recognizing the necessity of collective efforts that we reiterate once again our long-standing support for the idea of convening, under the auspices of the United Nations, an international peace conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned, directly or indirectly, including the Soviet Union and the United States. In our view, it goes without saying that the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, must also participate in this endeavour on an equal footing with all the other parties.

122. We are convinced that the comprehensive, just and lasting settlement that we are searching for should be based on the fundamental principles contained in numerous initiatives, proposals and resolutions and reiterated time and again in countless statements pronounced in various international forums. The main elements of such a peaceful solution should be: withdrawal of Israel from all Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; recognition and exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination and the right to establish an independent and sovereign State of their own; and safeguarding of the right of all States in the region to secure and independent existence and development within internationally recognized and guaranteed boundaries.

123. As the past 35 years have clearly shown, the challenge we are facing is an enormous one. A successful solution of the question of Palestine will be possible only if all aspects of today's realities are taken into consideration, if the unity of those most directly involved is restored and consolidated and if the close co-operation of all the forces sincerely supporting the just cause of the Palestinian people is further strengthened. This idea was strongly

emphasized in the message sent on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People by Mr. Pál Losonczy, the Chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, to Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

124. The political will of the overwhelming majority of nations and the ever-increasing determination of world public opinion should finally be translated into positive, effective and conclusive action that would pave the way for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement and result in a solution consistent with the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and with all the relevant norms of international law.

125. We are well aware that there still is a long way to go towards a just solution. Let me therefore conclude my statement by assuring the Palestinian people of the consistent solidarity and support of the Hungarian Government and people in their struggle for their just cause and noble goals.

126. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): In resolution 37/86 D, the General Assembly once again reaffirmed the fact that there can be no comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East without the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and without the attainment and exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination and the right to establish its own independent Arab State in Palestine.

127. Assembly resolution 37/86 E recalled the principles relevant to the question of Palestine that have been accepted by the international community, in particular the right of all States in the region to existence within internationally recognized boundaries and recognition and attainment of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

128. For more than 30 years now, the international community has been trying in vain to resolve the problem of Palestine on the basis of the principles I have mentioned, and yet no solution has been found because of the growing intransigence of Israel and the complacency of certain members of the Security Council.

129. The Palestinian people has been living in a state of "diaspora" since the State of Israel was created in 1948. Ever since that time, the Palestinian people has been claiming its right to return to its own country, Palestine, and to establish the State of its choice. As emphasized in a study by Mr. Sardar Mohammed, having been expelled by the Irgun, 700,000 Palestinian Arabs fled their homeland in 1948. Lebanon took in 80,000, Jordan 400,000, Syria 70,000 and the Gaza Strip 150,000. Some 120,000 Palestinians remained under Israeli control.

130. This state of affairs was exacerbated by the situation which prevailed immediately following the 1967 war after the capture by the Israelis of the Golan Heights, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula, thus placing more than a million Palestinians under Israeli occupation.

131. It goes without saying that the situation in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories has been a source of constant concern. Although Israel boasts that it is a parliamentary democracy and claims that it has high standards of "justice" and "civilization", the populations of the territories that it occupies have seen their most elementary rights constantly violated. The report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories [A/38/409] gives very clear examples of this.

132. In the light of the attitude of Israel to the Palestinians at the time of the occupation of Lebanon, we wonder, like Mr. Reshetov in his article entitled "The Israeli Atrocities" published in the December 1982 issue of the Soviet magazine *International Affairs*, whether Israel is not in fact guilty of genocide under article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, contained in the annex to General Assembly resolution 260 A (III) of 9 December 1948, which defines genocide as acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such. In this context, we recall with sadness the events of Sabra and Shatila.

133. Furthermore, the Israeli practices in the occupied territories, as stated in the report of the Special Committee, flagrantly and systematically violate the relevant provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.<sup>2</sup> As we emphasized earlier, there can be no lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict unless the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are recognized, for the Palestinian question is the core of the Middle East problem.

134. It is in this light that we must understand the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi, which reaffirmed the commitment of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to support the efforts of the Palestinian people to liberate its homeland and recover its inalienable national rights. The Conference also reiterated the fact that the PLO is the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. I]. We therefore venture to hope that that organization's internal contradictions will be resolved independently to the satisfaction of all and bearing in mind that it has a moral, historic responsibility to the Palestinian people.

135. In this connection, we should like to recall the statement made by Mr. Didier Ratsiraka, President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, at the Conference, at New Delhi. He said:

"The PLO, the sole representative of the people, is fully qualified to be the spokesman for that mature, responsible people. We believe that the determination of the PLO would be strengthened if it were assured of our full support and if it were more openly respected by all, particularly by its many friends throughout the world, from both near and far, the most powerful and the most modest alike. This is the best service that we could render to that brave people, which aspires to peace and freedom."

136. Despite its impotence, the United Nations, as the guarantor of international legality, has a special responsibility with regard to the Palestinian question. Since the adoption, on 22 November 1974, of resolution 3236 (XXIX), embodying the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people—namely, the right to self-determination without external interference, the right to national independence and sovereignty, the right of return, the right to regain all these rights by all means and the right to respect as a principal party in the search for a lasting peace in the Middle East—the United Nations has become the only forum in which a viable solution to the Palestinian problem can be found. This has been particularly true since the General Assembly, by its resolution 3376 (XXX), established the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, of which our country is a member and which is presided over by our brother, Mr. Sarré, of Senegal, to whom my delegation wishes to pay a special tribute.

137. In the context of these various resolutions, we wish to reaffirm our satisfaction at the success of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, which was held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983. We fully support the Geneva Declaration on Palestine<sup>5</sup> as well as the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights<sup>5</sup> adopted at the Conference.

138. Similarly, we support the proposal to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East in accordance with the following six basic principles: first, the achievement by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights; secondly, the right of the PLO, as the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate on an equal footing with the other parties in all efforts, deliberations and conferences concerning the Middle East; thirdly, the need to put an end to the Israeli occupation of Arab territories, in keeping with the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force; fourthly, the need to declare null and void all legislative and administrative measures adopted by Israel, the occupying Power, which have modified or attempted to modify the character and status of the city of Jerusalem; fifthly, the need to oppose and categorically reject all Israeli policies and practices in the occupied territories, in particular those concerning the establishment of settlements; and sixthly, the right of all States in the region to exist within secure and internationally recognized boundaries, which presupposes as a *sine qua non* the recognition and enjoyment of the rights of the Palestinian people.

139. The international community has a fundamental role to play in bringing about the realization of the aspirations of the Palestinian people. This is particularly true of the great Powers which, on other occasions, have risen as one man to boycott a country that has dared occupy a territory it considered to be an integral part of its own. We ask the great Powers to impose an economic, financial and military embargo against Israel in order to compel it to cease its aggression against the Arab and Palestinian peoples.

140. For our part we should like to reaffirm the total and complete solidarity of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar with the courageous struggle of the Palestinian people. This constant readiness of Madagascar to support the Palestinian cause was clearly expressed by our President himself at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi, when he said: "We thus solemnly say to our brother Arafat and his comrades in arms: what the PLO wants, we too want, and Palestine will win."

141. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): For some decades now, the 4 million Palestinian Arab people have been suffering tremendous deprivation and experiencing an inhuman ordeal. As a result of Israel's occupation of the ancestral lands of the Palestinians, those people have been stripped of their homeland and forced to wander abroad or suffer the scourge of military occupation. For all those years, the Arab people of Palestine have been waging a heroic struggle for their lawful rights, particularly the realization of their inalienable right to self-determination and to the creation of their own independent State. In the vanguard of that struggle is the PLO, which enjoys widespread support. It is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

142. Today, no one doubts that the lack of a political solution to the Palestinian problem lies at the very heart of the Middle East problem and that it is the cause of the great tension in the Middle East and a threat to international peace and security, not only in that region but

throughout the world. This tension has reached its present peak as a result of the fifth and latest in Israel's series of acts of aggression—this time against Lebanon and the Palestine liberation movement. The tragic events in Lebanon, however, have confirmed the fact that the Palestinian problem cannot be hacked off by the sword or erased from the face of the earth, as the Israeli militarists are attempting to do. Their latest act of aggression has not brought the Zionists either military or political success.

143. Israel has elevated to State policy the use of terror against the Arab peoples of the occupied territories. In this regard, a considerable role has been played by the Israeli settlements. As the former head of Israeli intelligence recently admitted, the Israeli settlements have become "psychological greenhouses" for Jewish terrorist activities. That statement appeared in *The Christian Science Monitor* of 25 November 1983. The creation of the Israeli settlements has been methodically carried out on a planned basis, according to a member of the Israeli Government. He said: "Our efforts to settle Judea and Samaria have been designed to create as soon as possible a situation in which there would no longer be any room for the Palestinian Arab State." The plan is projected up to the year 2010 and provides for the number of Israeli settlers to increase to 1.3 million people.

144. It should be pointed out that the implementation of such criminal plans, which have so often been condemned by the General Assembly and the Security Council, is proceeding apace. At the present time, Israeli settlers control approximately 60 per cent of Palestinian land. Recently, the Israeli authorities announced the intention to evict approximately a quarter of a million Palestinians from the camps in the occupied territories. The Ukrainian SSR vigorously condemns the policy of aggression, genocide and oppression being carried out against the Palestinians and other Arab peoples by the ruling circles in Israel and that country's settlement activities in the occupied Arab territories, along with its crimes on Lebanese soil.

145. As has rightly been pointed out here earlier, it is Israel and the United States that are entirely to blame for the many years of deliberate blocking of a solution to the Palestinian problem and, indeed, to the Middle East problem as a whole. It is precisely the economic and military assistance of the United States that has for so long enabled Tel Aviv to flout and usurp the rights of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples and to disregard the many decisions and resolutions of the United Nations. Underlying this unholy alliance is the community of goals and ideology that exists between imperialism and Zionism. The United States is using its so-called "strategic alliance" with Israel to take over the Middle East militarily and to consolidate its own "vital interests" in that region. If it fails to accomplish this through secret diplomacy, it will then, as they say, be the turn of guns. This is demonstrated by the notorious so-called mediation mission undertaken by American and other troops from countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Lebanon.

146. A new outbreak of violence in the Middle East has aroused the just indignation of all progressive forces in the world and has given an increased impetus to the search for ways and means to bring about a comprehensive peaceful settlement to the conflict. This desire to find a political solution to the problems of the Middle East, including the problem of Palestine, was demonstrated by the Arab countries when they met in September of last year at Fez and put forward a number of principles for resolving these problems.<sup>1</sup> However, a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict has no part in the aggressive

and expansionist designs of Zionism and imperialism. The Israeli Government has rejected all Arab proposals out of hand, and its guardians hasten to provide diplomatic "cover" for their ward. Those who are jointly responsible for the Middle East tragedy pose as peacemakers and have put forward a purportedly new Middle East peace initiative which, if objectively analysed, forces one to the conclusion that the new American plan<sup>3</sup> is nothing but an attempt to impose upon the Arab people capitulation and a continuation of the Camp David policies, the goal of which is to widen even further the breach in the ranks of the Arab countries.

147. A genuine basis for a settlement in the Middle East and for a solution to the Palestinian problem can be found in the principles put forward by the Soviet Union on 15 September 1982.<sup>6</sup> At the beginning of this year those principles were approved by all the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty. They contain carefully thought-out answers to all the key issues in the Middle East problem and are in keeping with the universally accepted norms of international law and the relevant United Nations decisions and resolutions. In essence, they are aimed at restoring to the Arabs all the territories occupied by Israel in 1967, including the eastern part of Jerusalem and all Lebanese territory, at ensuring the practical implementation of the inalienable right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination and to the creation of their own independent State on Palestinian soil, and at guaranteeing the right of all States of the region to a secure and independent existence and development.

148. Such a settlement could be achieved through the combined efforts of all those concerned, including, of course, the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. An effective way of bringing about such a settlement would be the convening of special international conference on the Middle East.

149. Those principles received a favourable response at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, which, despite the stubborn opposition of the United States and Israel and despite the efforts of certain Western countries to subvert it, was held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September of this year, with the participation of 117 countries, 20 observers and more than 100 non-governmental organizations. We share the view that the Conference was an historic milestone in the work of the United Nations to solve the Palestine problem.

150. The decisions of the Conference—the Geneva Declaration on Palestine<sup>5</sup> and the Programme for Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights,<sup>5</sup> unanimously adopted—reflect the unity of will of the international community finally to solve the Palestine problem, which is the very core of the Middle East conflict. No matter how hard the leaders of Israel and the United States try to insulate themselves from the impressive international consensus that emerged in favour of a just settlement of the Palestine problem, their position will, in the end, have to give way to a true understanding of the essence of the problem.

151. Israel and its protectors really have no grounds for asserting that the Conference and the events preceding it were just one more round in the "anti-Israel propaganda" campaign. In this regard, one need only look at the provisions of the Geneva Declaration on Palestine, a carefully pondered document, which proposes that concerted international action should be taken to bring about a comprehensive and just political settlement to the Palestine problem. The Conference recommended the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East to implement the six guiding principles for a settlement that it had approved. Furthermore, it recommended

that invitations to participate in the conference, on an equal footing, should be extended to all the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the PLO, as well as the United States, the USSR and other States concerned. Thus, the international community has proposed a realistic course for resolving the conflict. It is now up to Israel and the United States. If this time they once again reject these proposals, then they will bear full responsibility for that.

152. As a member of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, the Ukrainian SSR took an active part in the work of the Conference itself and in the preparations for it. The Conference was preceded by very serious preparatory work on all continents, and very thoroughgoing, hard work was done at the Conference itself. That is demonstrated by the report of the Conference now before us. The Ukrainian SSR expresses the hope that at this session the General Assembly will approve the decisions of the Conference and take the necessary steps to put them into practice, thus vindicating the hopes reposed in the Organization by, and the just aspirations of, the long-suffering Palestinian people.

153. We wish to state once again our principle of support for the just cause of the Palestinian people, led by the PLO. We note with satisfaction the efforts made to heal the rifts and to restore unity in the ranks of the liberation movement of the Arab people of Palestine. As is well known, division has never promoted success in the national liberation struggle.

154. Mr. ELSHEIKH (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly has once again resumed its consideration of a question that has been on its agenda for over three decades—that is, the cause of the Palestinian people, who have been displaced from their homes and deprived of their legitimate rights. Once again, the representatives of the international community must face the depth of the continued suffering of a people that, unlike other peoples, is deprived of its legitimate national and human rights. I need not emphasize the interest that the international community takes in this cause and its continued concern about the perpetuation of this unresolved situation.

155. The recent commemoration by the United Nations of an International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People was a reflection of its interest in this question. It was a vivid manifestation of the deep support enjoyed by the Palestinian people among the peoples and Governments of the international community, which have unanimously stated that the Palestinian question is the core of the Middle East crisis and that if a lasting and just solution to it is not found, international peace and security will be threatened and the conflict will worsen, with all the grave consequences that could have for that sensitive region.

156. The question of Palestine and the tragic plight of its people have been discussed in this international forum since the very inception of the United Nations. It is truly regrettable that the Zionist entity has persisted throughout these years in defying the will of the international community and disregarding all its resolutions and the principles of the Charter. The policy of expansion, invasion and annexation of land by force has become the hallmark of the policy of the rulers in Tel Aviv. Aggression, the bombing of old people, women and children, the destruction of places of worship, including the Holy Places, the Judaization of the land and the elimination of all the cultural and historical sites of the Arabs and the Palestinians: all this has become standard practice within the

framework of a criminal plan aiming at the annihilation of the Palestinian people and the liquidation of its existence, at the very moment when the Palestinian people have been demonstrating, under the leadership of the PLO, its sole and legitimate representative, its cultural identity and the justice of its cause. Israel knows very well that this cause can never be annihilated and that it will continue to take its strength and significance from persistent struggle and sacrifice. Israel should understand that its inhuman practices towards the Palestinian people will not make them turn their back on their cause and the inevitability of its success in restoring their rights, whatever the price.

157. It is indeed regrettable that this inhuman situation continues and that Palestinians are imprisoned in camps, despite all the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations. This constitutes open defiance of the international will and undermines the effectiveness and credibility of the United Nations with regard to the fulfilment of the lofty goals for which it was established, particularly those of freedom and self-determination.

158. The absence of any deterrent to Israel's acts of aggression and the fact that we have limited ourselves to condemnations and denunciations of Israel's plans have given Israel a free hand to prove that in all its practices it flouts international resolutions and instruments and thereby is leading the Middle East region to the brink of disaster. It has become even more evident that the international community must discharge its full responsibilities and face up to the aggressive policy of Israel, with all its potential for disaster. And Israel intends to perpetuate this policy through military force, including nuclear force.

159. Israel has persisted in its rejection of all peaceful efforts, particularly the Arab peace plan for the Middle East, which was adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference,<sup>1</sup> and which emphasized the keen interest of the Arab nation in the establishment of peace based on justice. Israel's behaviour, which rejects all peaceful efforts, has demonstrated its aggressive policy opposed to peace.

160. In this frustrating atmosphere, in the face of Israeli attempts to impose the peace wanted by its military and political institutions, the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983, provided valuable evidence of the interest of the international community in the solution of the Palestinian crisis. The Conference, through its positive understanding of the various aspects of the Palestinian question, and being based on international legality, represented an important event, thanks to wide international representation and the positive conclusions it reached. The Conference affirmed that the true and durable peace in the Middle East can only be achieved through a just solution to the Palestinian question, which is the core of the Middle East crisis, the full and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, enabling the Palestinian people to determine their future and to return to their homes and properties in Palestine, and to establish their sovereign, independent State on their national soil under the leadership of the PLO, their sole and legitimate representative, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. These objectives will remain a firm basis for peace based on justice, not peace imposed by the force of arms.

161. It is no secret that the collaboration between the Pretoria and Tel Aviv régimes constitutes another threat to the security of the Arab and African regions and to the struggle of their peoples for freedom and independ-

ence. This unholy alliance, which has been repeatedly condemned in various international and regional forums, deserves our full condemnation and denunciation. The international community must also exert more effort to avoid the undermining of the legitimate objectives and aspirations of the Palestinian people and the peoples of Namibia and South Africa.

162. In conclusion, may I convey our thanks, commendation and appreciation to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, under the active leadership of Mr. Massamba Sarré, of Senegal, and to its Rapporteur, Mr. Victor Gauci, of Malta, for the valuable and intensive efforts they undertook before and during the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, and for the efforts they exerted to prepare the valuable report before us. We hope that this sincere and earnest effort will continue in order to realize the hopes and national aspirations of the Palestinian people.

*The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.*

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<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, Washington D. C., Government Printing Office, 1982, vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

<sup>4</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15895.

<sup>5</sup> See *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, Geneva, 29 August-7 September 1983* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I.

<sup>6</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1982*, document S/15403.