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President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

AGENDA ITEM 30

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

1. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the next speaker on the list, I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on agenda item 30 be closed tomorrow at 6 p.m. If there is no objection, I shall consider that the General Assembly adopts that proposal.

It was so decided.

2. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): Much has been said about the people of Palestine but little action has been taken so far to ameliorate their plight. Nothing reflects this fact more than the annual visit of Mr. Kaddoumi, the observer for the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] who comes to the General Assembly to plead his people's case. In the General Assembly hall many words have been spoken about the right to self-determination. But unfortunately there is an inability to stop the increase of what is wrong at the expense of what is right. The displacement of the people of Palestine from their homeland is wrong, immoral, dangerous and unprecedented. The importation of Jews to fill in the gap at the expense of the Palestinians is a crime, unjustified and obnoxious. The resignation by Europeans to a sense of guilt at seeing helpless Jews made to suffer by the Nazis and, on the other hand, their unwillingness to lighten the heavy price the Palestinians have paid is an ugly use of the double standard, and makes a mockery of the tenets and principles of the United Nations Charter. The Palestinians, who had been living peacefully in their homeland, paid the price for the Western sense of guilt. The Palestinians were driven out of their homeland, Palestine, without any qualms of conscience. That was an unprecedented tragedy, carried out by an unprecedented coalition of forces of the left and the right to satisfy the suffering Jews, with total disregard for the wishes of the Palestinians and their right to their homeland. This is the tragedy of Palestine in a nutshell. It was the fate of the helpless people of Palestine to pay for the crimes of others. Justice, as we have always said, should transcend colour, origin, religion and ideology. It has not done so in this case.

The case of the people of Palestine has not yet received the justice it deserves.

3. The powerful Zionist apparatus set up in this great country, the United States, may blur the reality of the problem for a time, but not for ever. The United States can ignore the fundamental issue for a time, but not indefinitely.

4. The Palestinians can retain their faith in world support, but for how long? They have already arrived, as we can see, at the end of their tether and their patience. Some of them are being mauled in their own homeland, others are fighting a desperate battle elsewhere, while the majority are awaiting the annual yet undignified voluntary contributions to bail them out of their daily hardship. Like any other nation in this world they are entitled to self-determination and an independent State in their homeland. That fact has been stated repeatedly. The Israelis rave a great deal about the achievement of self-determination in Palestine, yet they deny the Palestinians the same goal that they acquired by brute force. Nowadays there is a thunderous hue and cry about peace in the Middle East but there is equally the inescapable fact that peace without the Palestinians is elusive—a mirage—unobtainable and impossible. We should not build castles in the air. In the United States there is a lot of emphasis on the right of Israel to exist within secure and recognized boundaries but there is hardly a mention of a Palestinian State which will undoubtedly put an end to Palestinian alienation. The crux of the matter is the people of Palestine. Boundaries, the demilitarization of regions and withdrawal constitute derivatives, or branches, but not the heart of the issue.

5. Those who dream of a peace without a Palestinian State are mistaken. Those who think that the people of Palestine can accept consignment to refugee camps or at best the status of aliens existing on sufferance in other Arab countries are not only mistaken but suffer from incurable delusions. No Palestine State in Palestine means no peace. No peace in the area means destruction for both sides and for others.

6. Dishonest Zionist propaganda has always attributed the absence of peace in the area to the Arab refusal to acknowledge the Israeli right to exist. Nothing is more absurd in meaning and vulgar in tone than this contention. The absence of peace is due primarily to Israel's refusal to acknowledge the right of the people of Palestine to self-determination. Nothing is more obstructive to peace than the refusal of Israel to negotiate the terms of peace with the legitimate representative of the people of Palestine. The PLO, as recent events have shown, is the only authorized spokesman for the people of Palestine. The pretext that the PLO is disqualified from talking about

peace because it encompasses a group of terrorists is simply idiotic because those who raise that point are the most notorious terrorists on this earth. It is sufficient just to read the history of the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Begin. United Nations documents and the reports of Count Folke Bernadotte, the United Nations Mediator, will leave no shadow of doubt as to the history of the man who is now at the helm in Israel's politics. The PLO accepted the joint United States/Soviet Union statement of 1 October on the reconvening of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East in which the rights of all States in the area are guaranteed as well as the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. Naturally, there is a limit beyond which the PLO cannot go. It is absurd to expect the PLO to prostrate itself before the conquerors of its land. The people of Palestine were asked to accept Security Council resolution 242 (1967) unconditionally. That is not only unjust, but also insulting. How can people accept a document that relegates them to the status of refugees?

7. The inalienable right of the people of Palestine to self-determination is the centre of the conflict, as has been emphatically stated. Other issues could be resolved without difficulty if the crux of the matter is settled. The crux of the Middle East conflict is between Israel and the Palestine Arabs and therefore there can be no real lasting peace without them.

8. Western Europe and the United States are out of touch with the reality of the situation if they assume that the passage of time will erode the Palestinians' insistence on a State of their own in Palestine. Their position on "homeland or identity", it has been often said, shows how this group is either unable to overcome domestic difficulty or is incapable of seeing the facts in the area. Attempts to brush aside the Palestinians have already shown the futility of that practice. This enthusiasm for peace and unctuous pronouncements about the rights of the Palestinians are not helpful to the cause of peace, especially when we see Western delegations oppose resolutions based on the United Nations Charter. After all, we should remember that exactly 30 years ago today the General Assembly, in its resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, voted for two States in Palestine, one Jewish and the other Palestinian.

9. What is left in Palestine now for the Arabs is no more than 18 per cent of the original land. This is very little for the Palestinians to establish a State of their own. After all, they lost their properties and their homes, and were evicted from their homeland. The General Assembly allotted them 45 per cent of their homeland in 1947, although at that time they were the majority of the population. Now they yearn for 18 per cent of what is left on which to build their own homeland. Yet even that little portion of their land is denied to them. One should ask, Are these people really subhuman? Are the invaders who took away their land supermen who should be tolerated even at the price of engulfing the area in another savage war? What is the reason?

10. I am reluctant and afraid, yet willing, to say that there is a nagging voice in the back of my mind that says that if the Palestinians had not been Arabs—a people of the third world—the reaction would have been different.

11. This is the problem: the denial by one Member State of the right of another people to self-determination and independence. We cannot and should not tolerate an Israeli veto of the right of the Palestinians. Our policy in Kuwait is whole-hearted support for the people of Palestine until they obtain their right to self-determination and independence. Statehood for the Palestinians is an indispensable element for the achievement of peace in the Middle East. Without this, the area cannot have real and durable peace. Any arrangement that ignores this fact is bound to crumble. The issue at stake is durability and not temporary arrangements that may provide a lull but not real peace. The realistic prescription for peace must comprise withdrawal from territories occupied since 1967 and the establishment of a Palestinian State thereon.

12. Israeli intransigence is a defiance of the United Nations Charter, of its resolutions and of the will of the international community. It is absurd to revive an old affinity with a land on which others have lived uninterruptedly for 2,000 years and to claim that those others have no right at all.

13. The delegation of Kuwait commends the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, Ambassador Fall of Senegal, for his diligent work and dedication with regard to the realization of self-determination for the people of Palestine. Ambassador Fall told us on 27 October 1977,¹ during the debate in the Security Council that, during his visit to the Middle East and to the Palestinian camps, he read posters on which Palestinians had written that they were fighting for love of their homeland and not out of hatred for their enemy. The General Assembly cannot ignore its resolution 194 (III) calling for repatriation and/or compensation. That resolution cannot be brushed aside because of the passage of time. On the contrary, the will of the Palestinians to go back to their homeland has been sharpened rather than weakened by the passage of time.

14. The General Assembly, in adopting its resolution 3236 (XXIX), also voted overwhelmingly for the realization of the inalienable right of the people of Palestine to an independent State in Palestine. The shabby treatment that Western countries have accorded the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People is contrary to their obligations under the United Nations Charter. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in his annual report mentioned justifiably that there is a general consensus that a Palestinian State be established in Palestine. Any argument to the contrary is unrealistic.

15. The new Israeli position that everything is negotiable cannot deceive anyone. We are not much impressed by this position. Fundamental principles are not negotiable. The General Assembly cannot compromise on the principle of the non-acquisition of territory by conquest or force. Likewise, the General Assembly cannot compromise on the principle of self-determination for the people of Palestine. The use of this new slogan that "everything is negotiable" does not cut much ice with us. The General Assembly should not be deceived by such an outwardly moderate yet inherently dangerous posture.

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year*, 2041st meeting.

16. During the debate on the situation in the Middle East last week, we were advised to temper our words with optimism. But what is this optimism they were talking about? The West Bank and Gaza are already abused by Jewish settlers. Palestinians are helplessly watching their properties being taken away to make room for Jewish settlements. Israel's response to the General Assembly resolution on settlements [resolution 32/5] is the intensification of its programme of Jewish invasion of Palestinian land. Yet, we are cautioned to be optimistic. The area is heading for trouble, not only for its peoples, but for everybody on this globe. Nobody will be immune from the consequences, regardless of the distance. It will not be trouble in the conventional sense; tanks, aircraft will certainly be used, but also other means. It will be a battle of despair in which all means will be used regardless of the consequences. What we saw in 1973 will be a picnic on a sunny day in comparison to what is in store.

17. The crux of the matter, as I stated earlier, is Israel's refusal to negotiate with the Palestinians, whose territories it calls "Judaea" and "Samaria". Gaza, of course, is incorporated almost beyond recognition. Under these circumstances, who can blame the Palestinians if they resort to violence? They have placed their faith in an Organization that gives them resolutions; they are supported by developing and other countries but opposed by those who could contribute immensely to alleviating their plight and ordeal. The representatives of the PLO and the Palestinian people come here twice a year to the General Assembly and to the United Nations to talk sense, but they realize, to their disappointment, that sense is meaningless unless it is coupled with force and power. If they employ violence, they are attacked; if they embrace reason, they are ignored. That is their ordeal.

18. I have always stated that the velvet-glove treatment of Israel is not the right course of action. Those who have power to influence events in the region for the sake of peace are either insincere or unable to comprehend the Palestinian aspect. It is sad that every time the General Assembly votes for the establishment of a Palestinian State in Palestine the Western Powers, and the United States in particular, accuse us of prejudging the issue. We are not doing so, but in fact they are attempting to ignore the real issue, thus encouraging Israel in its intransigence instead of discouraging it. This attitude is sheer dilly-dallying, which means finding refuge in unclear language.

19. My delegation supports the conclusions in the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [A/32/35]. Phased withdrawal based on past resolutions of the United Nations means consecration of the principles enshrined in the Charter.

20. The Committee—whose Chairman is Mr. Fall, who merits our admiration—is always being accused of wanting realism. But those who level that accusation are not even interested in bringing in a sense of realism, the absence of which they complain about. They do not answer letters sent to them by its Chairman, Mr. Fall. Who, then, is not realistic? Is it the one who is indifferent, apathetic and negative or the one who tries assiduously to formulate a general framework for the solution of this problem?

21. That attitude underlines the nature of the tragedy of the people of Palestine. The Palestinian people should rely on their sacrifice, daring spirit, struggle, determination and love for their homeland. We in Kuwait have long ago pledged our support for their struggle. They have also the support of all the peace-loving countries and peoples in this world. They should unflinchingly continue their struggle until they obtain their goals and aims in their own homeland, and they should unstintingly give to their cause.

22. Finally, the Government of Kuwait issued a statement the other day in which it reiterated its scrupulous adherence to the decisions of the Arab summit conferences, including the Conference of Arab Heads of State or Government at Rabat in October 1974, that conferred upon the PLO the legitimate right to negotiate on behalf of the people of Palestine. As has been said by PLO representatives, there is no peace without the Palestinians and no Palestinians without the PLO. Kuwait endorses that sentiment.

23. Mr. PETRIĆ (Yugoslavia): Thirty years have elapsed since the time when our Organization was first seized of the question of Palestine, after the termination of the former League of Nations Mandate. The United Nations thereby assumed responsibilities towards the Palestinian people, who have been suffering for many years as a result of the denial of their fundamental national rights.

24. For a long time the Palestinian question was reduced to a problem of refugees and, consequently, the efforts of the international community were directed more towards its mitigation than its solution. The question of Palestine was not dealt with adequately within the context of the Middle East problem. When we speak of a just and lasting peace today, we have in mind primarily a peace providing for a just solution of the Palestinian problem. There is no longer any uncertainty about the question of Palestine being the core of the Middle East conflict. Any comprehensive solution must provide for the realization of the national rights of the Palestinian people, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

25. By adopting resolution 3236 (XXIX), the United Nations General Assembly has redressed an injustice by determining that the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people is essential for the solution of the question of Palestine. That has provided the international community with a proper perspective on the problem and has enabled it to deal with this question in its true dimensions. Although some countries did not vote for that resolution, they have, like all the others, accepted the irrefutable fact that the question of Palestine cannot be solved without satisfying the national rights of the Palestinian people, and notably its right to self-determination. The inalienable rights enjoyed by all the peoples of the world under the United Nations Charter were recognized as belonging to the Palestinian people.

26. By its resolution 3376 (XXX), the General Assembly established the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People; Yugoslavia is one of its members.

27. Last year we examined the report of that Committee, and this time we are considering its progress report. The

Committee is the first United Nations body to have elaborated and defined the concept and essence of Palestinian rights in a comprehensive manner, and this will certainly prove important in the search for a solution of the Middle East and Palestine questions. My delegation commented on the recommendations of the Committee in some detail last year;² for that reason we shall deal only with some of their basic elements on this occasion.

28. First and foremost is the withdrawal of Israel from all the territories it has occupied since 5 June 1967. The Israeli occupation is unjustified and illegal; as such, it should be terminated forthwith. The Palestinian people should be enabled to decide its own fate in peace and freedom.

29. Second is the right of return of Palestinian refugees and displaced persons. In addition to other relevant resolutions, the Security Council unanimously adopted, on 14 June 1967, resolution 237 (1967), whose principles have repeatedly been reaffirmed in various United Nations decisions, and which

“Calls upon the Government of Israel to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the areas where military operations have taken place and to facilitate the return of those inhabitants who have fled the areas since the outbreak of hostilities”.

30. Third is the right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty, including the right of the Palestinian people to establish their own State. The legal basis for that right is found both in the Charter of the United Nations and in many United Nations resolutions, especially Assembly resolutions 181 (II) of 1947, 273 (III) of 1949 and 3236 (XXIX) of 1974. All the adopted resolutions are equally valid and consequently no one has the right to proclaim some of them to be relevant and others irrelevant. Similarly, one cannot accept the logic according to which the same resolution would apply to some peoples only and would not apply to others. The denial by Israel of the right of Palestinians to their State is unacceptable, because—according to United Nations resolutions—the legal basis for the establishment of both the Israeli and the Palestinian States was the same. The right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty has its political basis in the fact that the international community as a whole, except Israel, has recognized the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. It is impossible to conceive legitimate rights without the right to self-determination.

31. The main arguments that one wishes to impose on the international community for the purpose of denying the rights of the Palestinians are the need for secure borders and the alleged danger threatening Israel owing to the close vicinity of the Palestinian State. However, these arguments are unfounded. They are motivated by Israel's policy of annexation. There is no such solution that could guarantee Israel's security as long as Israel continues to hold any of the territories occupied by it in the 1967 war. The best guarantee for Israel's security is respect for the security and territorial integrity of its neighbours. The continuation of

the occupation can only create new disturbances and lead to new conflicts in the region. Security can be attained only through the creation of conditions liable to promote mutual trust, and this can be achieved primarily through the ending of the occupation and acceptance of the establishment of an independent Palestinian State. We consider that the Government of Israel should demonstrate a sufficient degree of wisdom and adopt, as soon as possible, appropriate decisions which will help to achieve a just and lasting peace, thus enabling all the States and peoples in the region to live safely in peace and security.

32. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People quite rightly draws attention, in its report, to the need for disseminating information on the work of the Committee and on the place and importance of the Palestinian problem with regard to the settlement of the Middle East crisis. My delegation is in full agreement with the Committee's conclusions regarding the necessity for world public opinion to be acquainted with the rights of the Palestinian people, with the obstacles standing in the way of their realization and with the importance of the question of Palestine for peace in the Middle East and in the world at large. The information services of the United Nations should play a significant role in this respect, and we hope that appropriate steps will be taken towards that end.

33. On this occasion I should like to emphasize in particular the role that the PLO is playing in the struggle for the realization of the rights of the Palestinian people. In view of the fact that all the Palestinians pursue a single and common aim, regardless of where they are—that is, the establishment of their own independent State—they have decided to rally under one banner, the bearing of which has been entrusted to the PLO. No attempts aimed at limiting or preventing the participation of the PLO in all peace negotiations could meet with success. Only the PLO is the genuine and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. In that capacity it has become a permanent observer at the United Nations and a full-fledged member of the non-aligned movement, whose full support it enjoys. In this connexion, I should like to recall the decisions adopted by the conferences of heads of State or government of non-aligned countries. Since the coming of the PLO to the United Nations, the question of Palestine has been considered and discussed in a qualitatively different manner. The PLO has been playing a constructive role in the United Nations and has made an important contribution to the work of our Organization in many of its bodies. It has participated through the United Nations system in the search for a settlement in the Middle East on equal terms with other elements. Having this in mind, we cannot visualize any negotiations on a comprehensive, just and lasting peace without the presence of the PLO and its active participation in negotiations, together with the other parties concerned, on an equal footing. In this sense, it is indispensable to ensure the full participation of the PLO at the Geneva Peace Conference and in all other negotiations on the peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem and the solution of the question of Palestine.

34. For 30 years now, before the eyes of the entire world, the Palestinian people have been subjected to various trials and tribulations, facing the “right” of the mighty and the

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 71st meeting, paras. 57-70.

power of weapons, exposed to wars, occupation, persecution and exile. Although subjected to occupation and aggression, the Palestinian people have never been subdued or assimilated. Scattered all over the world, they are inspired by the unique aspiration and desire to enjoy freedom and independence in their own State. In their suffering, the Palestinians have been stoical and dignified. Even when it seemed that they were in a hopeless situation, new Palestinian fighters arose like the phoenix from the ashes, firmly resolved to fight for the realization of their objective—freedom and independence. Such a people is worthy of respect and is, in the end, bound to succeed in the same way as the resolute, the persistent and the brave have always prevailed. The Palestinian people will finally achieve their long-overdue freedom.

35. We expect that this year too, the General Assembly will fulfil its responsibilities and adopt appropriate resolutions reaffirming the inalienable rights of the Palestinians and the right of the PLO to participate in all efforts exerted towards the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

36. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*translation from Chinese*): While the question of Palestine is being considered in the plenary meetings of the current session of the General Assembly, I would like, in the name of the Chinese delegation, to extend first of all our high tribute to the Palestinian people, who are engaged in heroic struggles.

37. The Palestinian people are a great and dauntless people with an anti-imperialist revolutionary tradition. Since they fired the first shot in their armed struggle against Israeli-Zionist aggression and expansion on 1 January 1965, the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, persevering in unity and struggle, defying brute force and advancing wave upon wave, have withstood severe tempering and tests and are constantly pressing forward in the midst of struggles. The just struggle of the Palestinian people is closely bound up with the cause of the liberation of the entire Arab people and the struggle of the people of the third world against imperialism and hegemonism. The Palestinian liberation movement has become an important revolutionary force in the struggle of the people of the Middle East and the whole third world to combat imperialism and hegemonism and to win or safeguard national independence. The Palestinian people have won ever more extensive international recognition and support for their national rights.

38. The question of Palestine is an important and integral part of the whole Middle East question. We have always held that, intricate and complex as it is, the Middle East question is, in essence, the aggression and expansion by Israeli Zionism and the rivalry between the two super-Powers for hegemony in the Middle East versus the struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab people against aggression and hegemonism. At the same time, the Palestinian people's struggle to regain their national rights is closely linked with the struggle of the people of Arab countries to recover their lost territories, and they support each other. It is their unity and struggle that have promoted the further development of the Middle East situation in a direction favourable to the Palestinian and Arab people and unfavourable to Zionism and hegemonism.

39. However, the present situation in the Middle East remains tense and turbulent and is pregnant with potential new military conflicts. Since the Likud group came to power last May, Israel has become more flagrantly arrogant in its desire for aggression and expansion. It has repeatedly clamoured that the occupied Arab territories are "liberated Israeli lands", flagrantly applied Israeli laws and regulations to the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip, established a large number of Jewish "settlements" in the occupied territories, and stepped up its counter-revolutionary atrocities. At this very podium, the Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan even declared not long ago that:

"The heart of the problem is the Arab refusal to recognize the right of Israel to national sovereignty in the ancient, historical land of the Jewish People". [*27th meeting, para. 211.*]

This is downright gangster's logic and the height of arbitrariness and truculence. To date, the Israeli Zionists are still occupying large tracts of Arab territories and refusing to recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people. Their intransigence and criminal acts have aroused strong opposition and indignant condemnation by the Palestinian and other Arab people and the people of the rest of the world.

40. Pursuing the militaristic policy of aggression over a long period, Israel is facing seething discontent among its people and is beset with troubles both at home and abroad. Under these circumstances, the handful of Israeli Zionists dare to run amuck and do all kinds of evil, persistently making themselves the enemy of the 100 million and more Arab people, primarily because they have the backing of the super-Powers. Motivated by their respective global strategy of seeking world hegemony, both super-Powers want to control the Middle East. Hence each of them is supporting and abetting the Israeli Zionists from different angles and by various means, while at the same time using different methods to exert pressure on the Arab States and the Palestinian people. Over the years, one super-Power has kept on giving blood transfusions to Israel economically and militarily, supporting, abetting and shielding Israel in various ways. It has repeatedly asserted its "commitment to the security of Israel", subjecting the Palestinian and Arab people to open intimidation and threats. The other super-Power, which styles itself the "natural ally" of the Arab and Palestinian people, ostentatiously "condemning" as it does Israeli Zionist aggression, has been colluding with Israeli Zionism in many ways, overtly and covertly. In the name of "friendship" and "support", it is carrying out control and expansion. It uses the supply of military "aid" as a means to ask for military bases and privileges from the Arab States, to interfere crudely in others' internal affairs and to subvert their Governments. Changing tactics frequently, it deliberately creates disputes and even spares no effort to provoke conflicts in order to profit therefrom. Recently, it has been very active in exploiting the temporary differences among the Palestinians and the Arabs and has done its utmost to sow dissension among them and disrupt their unity in an attempt to fish in troubled waters, using the Palestinian people's cause as a bargaining-chip in making dirty deals with the other super-Power in its rivalry over the Middle East. At present, each of the two super-Powers is trying to outdo the other in clamouring for

"a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question." This is in fact one of the tactics they employ in their intensified rivalry. In their hearts, neither of them wants a genuine settlement of the Middle East question. They fear the emergence of a strong united Arab world and a stable, prosperous Middle East. What really interests them is the maintenance of a turbulent situation of "no war, no peace" under the smoke-screen of a "comprehensive settlement" in order to facilitate their rivalry, in which each of them hopes to weaken the other, thereby placing the Middle East under its own control. And all this is predicated upon the sacrifice of the fundamental interests of the Palestinian and Arab people.

41. As the Chinese saying goes, "a wicked person is bound to bring destruction to himself". The perverse acts of the super-Powers have educated the Arab and Palestinian people by negative example, enabling them to realize ever more clearly that super-Power rivalry is the root-cause of the prolonged failure in achieving a settlement of the Middle East and Palestinian questions. Hence they are further combining the struggle against Israeli zionism with that against super-Power hegemonism.

42. Following the Egyptian Government's decision last year to abrogate its "Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation" with a super-Power and the Sudanese Government's expulsion of the military "experts" of this super-Power last May, the Government of Somalia has recently taken the bold action of abrogating the "Treaty of Friendship" with that super-Power, expelling all its "experts" and ordering the immediate removal of all its military installations in Somalia. These just and determined actions have dealt powerful blows at this super-Power's wild ambition to control the Red Sea area and dominate the Middle East. They also manifest the Arab people's strong determination to further get rid of super-Power control and take their destiny into their own hands.

43. The United Nations has been discussing the questions of Palestine and the Middle East for three decades. Over a long period, as a result of manipulation and obstruction by the super-Powers, many United Nations resolutions, including the well-known Security Council resolution 242 (1967), described the question of regaining the national rights of the Palestinian people as a so-called "question of refugees". The Chinese delegation has always been firmly opposed to such a position, which is biased towards the Israeli aggressors and most unfair to the Palestinian and Arab people. Although the General Assembly, at its twenty-ninth and thirtieth sessions, adopted resolutions recognizing the national rights of the Palestinian people, these resolutions have thus far remained unimple-

mented as a result of the wilful resistance of Israeli zionism and the support and abetment given it by the super-Powers. The Palestinian people's struggle to regain their national rights is inseparable from the Arab countries' struggle to recover all their lost territories. The final solution of these two questions can only rely on the persistent unity and struggle of the Palestinian and Arab people with the support and assistance of the people of various countries. At present, the super-Powers are deliberately sowing discord and causing contradictions in an attempt to demoralize the just struggle of the Palestinian and Arab people and undermine the unity among the Arab countries. In these circumstances, it is even more important for the Arab and Palestinian people to increase their vigilance, take to heart their over-all interests and eliminate their differences for unity against the enemy. We believe that the Palestinian and other Arab people will further do away with super-Power meddling and interference for the general objective of combating Israeli zionism and super-Power hegemonism and continue to strengthen and consolidate their own unity and carry through to the end the struggle for the recovery of the lost territories and the restoration of national rights. In the final analysis, it is the Palestinian and all other Arab people, and not the one or two super-Powers, that will decide the destiny of the Middle East. All the super-Powers' conspiracies aimed at creating internal differences among the Palestinians and Arabs, undermining the Arab unity, sacrificing the fundamental interests of the Palestinian and Arab people, and nullifying and emasculating the national rights of the Palestinian people are doomed to failure.

44. The Chinese Government and people have always stood unswervingly on the side of the Palestinian and Arab people, and we firmly support their just struggle against Israeli zionism and super-Power hegemonism and for the recovery of the lost territories and the restoration of national rights. We strongly condemn Israel's crimes of aggression and the super-Powers' rivalry in the Middle East. We firmly maintain that Israel must withdraw from all its occupied Arab territories and that the Palestinian people must regain their sacred and inalienable national rights. The struggles of the Palestinian and Arab people are just and have won the profound sympathy and powerful support of all the countries and people that uphold justice. Although their struggles remain complex, protracted and tortuous and there will be difficulties of one kind or another on their road of advance, victory finally belongs to the great Palestinian and Arab people who persist in unity, uphold principles, dare to struggle and are good at waging struggles. This is certain and unquestionable.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.