



*President:* Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA  
(Zambia).

**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 Secretary-General**

1. Mr. MOUNKEILA (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): Hardly had the General Assembly finished its consideration of the contemptible system of *apartheid*, which is desperately striving to perpetuate its illegal domination of Namibia and its theory of separate development in South Africa, than it turned to another challenge: that of zionism in all its arrogance and in all its unjust, unacceptable and intolerable manifestations.

2. Like Pretoria, Tel Aviv has been defying the international community for nearly 40 years. More than 200 resolutions have been devoted to this question, resolutions which are the product of many years of reflection, effort, dedicated and painstaking work and perseverance, but which have led to frustration and shattered hopes. That is the impression we got from the Secretary-General's statement before the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983, in which he said that the question of Palestine was among the problems which had been before the United Nations virtually since the creation of the world Organization and that we had not yet been able to resolve it.

3. This impression of powerlessness is given also by the report of the Secretary-General [A/39/130 and Add. I], in which he informs the General Assembly about his efforts within the framework of resolution 38/58 C regarding the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, aimed at achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, one essential element of which would be the creation in Palestine of an independent Palestinian State.

4. I would reassure those who have that impression: the powerlessness of the United Nations to settle the question of Palestine—and those of *apartheid* and Namibia—is felt by the Government and the people of Niger to be an insult to the Palestinian people, an affront to the Arab people and a challenge to the peoples of the entire world.

5. There is no need to lose hope. The road may be a long one, but it inevitably leads to the final goal: the creation in Palestine of an independent and sovereign Palestinian State. Just as Namibia's victory over South Africa is inevitable, it is true too, as stated by the Head of State of Niger, President Seyni Kountché, that: "The march of history is such that situations which are characterized only by a lack of progress always yield ultimately to the might of justice, the force of the rule of law, or the sword of freedom."

6. Let us hope and persevere. In a Sahelian country like Niger, those two words are full of meaning. Confronted every day with the hostile environment of the Sahel, where we manage to wrest our meagre daily bread, we have learned from history and nature to hope and to persevere, carefully to watch the horizon and beyond in the hope of glimpsing a small cloud bearing the rain of salvation. But although our eyes are riveted on the horizon, we do not ignore—quite the contrary—the scant ground water and underground sources we find at our feet.

7. Similarly, with regard to the question before us today, we shall persevere and continue to focus our gaze and our hopes on the international community, principally on certain States Members which have the power—but, even more, the international responsibility, as defined in the Charter of the United Nations—to put pressure on Israel to comply with the law and with international morality so that the Palestinian people may find justice. But just as with the waters and rains of the Great Sahel, our trust and hope in the international community must in no wise prevent us from looking around us and seeing that the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] exists as the sole representative of the heroic, struggling Palestinian people and that it should enjoy our full support. In this connection, my country's unequivocal position was stated before the General Assembly on 3 October 1984 by Mr. Idé Oumarou, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation:

"At this stage, I would assure the martyred Palestinian people and battered Lebanon, as well as all the brother Arab countries of the battlefield, of the unswerving and active support of the Government and people of Niger. Niger, as is well known, spares no effort to ensure the triumph of justice and right in that part of the world." [19th meeting, para. 206.]

8. It is the responsibility primarily of the United Nations to resolve the present situation in that part of the world, as has been true since 1947 when it took on the mantle of the League of Nations in this regard. Member States have the duty in law to assist in this task by supporting the adoption and implementation of relevant resolutions on the question on the basis of the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition

of territory by force. Israel should unconditionally withdraw from Palestine and the Arab territories occupied since 1967, in conformity with Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982).

9. In the meantime, as the *de facto* administering Power in those territories, Israel should comply with international law, particularly by refraining from modifying the ethnic and demographic character of the local population or its culture and civilization. Above all, Israel should comply with the various Geneva conventions on humanitarian law, particularly the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.<sup>1</sup> The multi-ethnic and multi-religious status of the Holy City of Jerusalem must be preserved, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 35/169 E.

10. In the sphere of humanitarian issues and human rights, we cannot understand how the Israeli Government, which claims to represent one of history's most long-suffering peoples, can behave in a manner as intolerable as that of those who, about 40 years ago, were vowing that people's extermination. The disastrous living conditions of the populations of Palestine and the other occupied territories bear eloquent witness to this. Thus it was that the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories pertinently concluded its 1984 report by saying that:

"the situation in the occupied territories suffers from continuing deterioration in the level of respect for the human rights of the civilian population . . . and affects all sectors . . . from the civil and political, to the economic, social and cultural sectors. On the other hand, the hundreds of thousands who are outside the occupied territories are still denied the right to return while their property is being taken over for the establishment of Israeli settlements." [See A/39/591, para. 338.]

11. A new element that is a source of major concern for my country is the appearance in Israel of a form of violence carefully structured into a kind of movement. The French weekly, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, of 16 November 1984, under the title "I fear for Israel" and with the subtitle, "How, by exalting anti-Arab terrorism, a madman exposes his country to the worst kind of threat", reports the comments of the Israeli writer Amos Kenan, author of *The Road to Ein Harod*, on the racist methods of the Kach movement, which means "thus", whose emblem is a closed fist against a yellow background, which signifies "this is what must be done with the Arabs". This rational structure of repression, directed by a certain member of the Knesset, has nothing to learn from certain notorious organizations of the past.

12. This is an abomination, an insult to the international conscience which demands action before it is too late.

13. Aware of this shameful, scandalous situation in the settlements, we call upon the Western countries and friends of Israel, which are often our friends and partners, to realize the danger and to take the necessary steps. We know that they have the means to do so; that with their respect for the human person and dedication to democracy they have the moral duty to do so; and that some of them, as permanent members of the Security Council, have a legal responsibility for international peace and security.

Action should be all the easier today in that, according to certain information provided by the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories,

"within Israel itself, movements have arisen and gained ground against this situation. The Special Committee has noted in particular information reflecting the increase of such protests by organizations such as that known as 'Peace Now'." [Ibid.]

14. We therefore feel that it is high time for a comprehensive, just and lasting political settlement of the question of Palestine. All our efforts must be aimed in that direction. This settlement should of course be based on the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, which recognize, among other things: the inadmissibility of the occupation of territories by force and thus the need for unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem; recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to return, to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent, sovereign State in its homeland, Palestine, under the leadership of the PLO; and the full participation of the PLO in any peace process. As President Seyni Kountché stated:

"We emphasize that any approach that would prevent the Palestine Liberation Organization from playing its part would run the risk of being neither just nor rational and would thus constitute only a provisional solution, that is to say, of being in no way final."

15. We call upon all States parties to this question to show a spirit of understanding and the political will necessary for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, as recommended in General Assembly resolution 38/58 C and in the Geneva Declaration on Palestine adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva in 1983.<sup>2</sup> The two principal great Powers, in view of their interests in the region and above all in view of their responsibility as permanent members of the Security Council, the main and only organ charged with the maintenance of international peace and security, have an important role to play in the preparation, conduct and success of that conference. They must shoulder their historic responsibility in fact and in law as the principal architects of the famous resolution 273 (III) of 11 May 1949, which decided "that Israel is a peace-loving State which accepts the obligations contained in the Charter and is able and willing to carry out those obligations."

16. Thus, we appeal to the international community to deal with the consequences of this ingratitude and this challenge so that justice may be done to the Palestinian people. All the States Members of the United Nations should help in this noble task of the eradication of the greatest act of injustice of this century.

17. It would be ungrateful of us not to commend all the governmental and non-governmental organizations that have worked in one way or another to contribute to the search for peace and justice.

18. We thank especially the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to achieve a consensus on the convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East.

19. Our gratitude and congratulations go also to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and especially to its Chairman, our friend and brother Massamba Sarré, whose dedication to the Palestinian cause is measured by his faith in justice and peace.

20. Niger, for its part, is ready today, as it has always been since its accession to sovereignty, to make its own honourable though modest contribution to the solution of this problem. As an African Muslim country, its traditions and its faith require it always to respond whenever and wherever justice, dignity and the flowering of the human spirit are at stake.

21. Mr. AL-SABBAGH (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On 29 November 1984 we commemorated, as is our custom, the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, in accordance with the objectives determined by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. The Palestinian people are struggling to regain their legitimate rights and to establish their independent State on their national territory.

22. In the General Assembly, the international parliament which represents the overwhelming majority of the world community, we have been discussing this humanitarian question for more than three decades. Many resolutions have been adopted in order to try to end the explosive situation in the Middle East region and win recognition of the right of the Palestinian People to self-determination and realization of its legitimate interests. On a number of occasions the General Assembly has emphasized the need for a comprehensive settlement of the question of Palestine. The General Assembly and the Security Council, in many resolutions—in particular Security Council resolution 242 (1967)—have clearly stated the need for Israel to withdraw from the Arab territories occupied since 1967. We should be mindful of the historic responsibility which is legally incumbent upon the United Nations for a solution to be found to this extremely complicated question. On 29 November 1947, the General Assembly adopted resolution 181 (II), concerning the partition of Palestine and the creation of two States in Palestine: a Jewish State and a Palestinian State. Today, despite the complexity of the situation and the fact that it is deteriorating, and despite the deadlock in which we now find ourselves, the annexation by Israel of Palestinian territory for its political, strategic and military reasons, under the pretext of maintaining Israel's security, remains inadmissible.

23. Israel's occupation of Lebanon under the pretext of maintaining the security of its northern borders revealed that this pretext was false and empty. The situation in Lebanon has become more complicated. Israel was obliged to withdraw from Lebanese towns and to regroup in the south after having suffered very severe blows from the heroic Lebanese resistance. Thus the theory of Israeli security has fallen flat. We hope that the occupation of southern Lebanon will not last for long and that the Lebanese will themselves reach agreement on how to effect their national reconciliation and resolve their problems.

24. Israel is today carrying out a policy of establishing settlements. The Arab peoples, including the Palestinians, who have struggled for many decades for their national liberation from all dependency and

from any form of colonialism, will never bow to this new aggressive policy of expansionism. They will confront it with determination, as they confronted colonialism in its most heinous form in the past.

25. Israel has adopted a policy of arbitrary oppression in an attempt to deprive the Palestinian people of its identity. It carries out a policy of repression and mass extermination and has not hesitated, when deemed necessary, to have recourse to shedding blood and introducing terrorism and violence in the Middle East.

26. The Palestinian people, which has suffered for a long time, will always have a powerful and strong will, for it is a people that believes in the justice of its cause and is prepared to make any sacrifice to recover its freedom and its national independence. We believe that Israel will never succeed in undermining the identity and the personality of the Palestinians, just as it will not crush their hopes, which are embodied in the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Zionist plots and propaganda will all come to naught.

27. A just settlement of the question of Palestine is at the very basis of any solution of the Middle East problem. The cause of the conflict in that important region of the world—which is under constant tension—resides in the failure to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people, whose aspiration is to return to their usurped country and to enjoy their full rights.

28. The entire world has recognized the rights of the Palestinian people, a heroic and courageous people, a people which has won international solidarity. But these aspirations have to be transformed into specific actions which will help the Palestinians to exercise their right to self-determination and the creation of their own independent State, and to recover their inalienable rights. It is extremely regrettable that numerous resolutions, decisions and recommendations of the United Nations on this question have so far failed to allow them to recover their homeland or to exercise their inalienable rights. It is not enough to make recommendations and adopt resolutions without international implementation and commitment.

29. World public opinion has supported the implementation of the rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people, but it appears that it no longer wishes simply to listen to eloquent and lengthy statements made in international forums.

30. There is now a growing international awareness of the claims put forward by the Palestinian people and of the necessity of achieving a comprehensive and just solution taking into account the aspirations of the Palestinian people. The question of Palestine has now been considered in the United Nations for more than three decades and the international community must now succeed in creating the State promised to the Palestinians. It is not enough that we stand behind the Palestinians and understand their problems. We must find a political solution to this question, because it is an issue which concerns an entire people and a nation and is not simply a matter of refugees. It is therefore up to the major Powers concerned to listen to the Palestinians and recognize their rights to self-determination and the creation of a Palestinian State, and to save this region, which is experiencing constant tension, from the scourge of war. Otherwise, the security and safety of the region will be further endangered, and the entire situation could explode.

31. It is hardly necessary here to repeat what Israel's policies are—to annex occupied Arab territories and to continue their policy of colonization after the exodus of the population and after confiscating their lands, as in 1981 when the Golan Heights and East Jerusalem were annexed. The important thing is to ascertain how we can put an end to Israeli occupation and to this escalation of a policy of aggression against the unarmed Palestinian people.

32. This session of the General Assembly, like previous sessions, will undoubtedly adopt resolutions in favour of the Palestinian people. And Israel, as it has done in the past, will reject all these resolutions and all the appeals made by the international community asking it to withdraw from occupied Arab territories. International law prohibits the acquisition of territory by force, but, through force and *faits accomplis*, Israel has spurned all international decisions. For that reason, it is up to all States that support Israel economically and militarily to put an end to that support and to exert pressure on Israel to abide by international resolutions, those of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Only then would the Middle East become a region enjoying both peace and security.

33. The readiness of the Arabs and the Palestinians to accept a peace based on right and legitimacy has clearly been shown in the Final Declaration adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference.<sup>3</sup> It expressed the desire of the Arabs, including the Palestinians, to reach a peaceful and just solution in the Middle East. All hopes are now placed in the possibility of an international peace conference being held, with the participation of all parties concerned, in order to find a solution to the Palestinian problem in accordance with the principles underlying the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva in 1983. It is up to the United Nations to assume its historic responsibilities and organize that conference, on which will hinge the future of peace in our region.

34. In conclusion, the Palestine National Council, which met recently at Amman, has reaffirmed that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

35. Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The question of Palestine, the question of questions of the century, is the problem of a people, the problem of a homeland, a problem of regional peace, a problem of international peace, a question of human rights and of homelands, a problem of frontiers and neighbours, a question of the deceit of an ally and the treachery of a friend, a problem of usurping the wealth of a people and of destroying the future of a nation, a problem of attacks on sacred places and of violation of places of worship. It is the quintessence of all the problems of the century. They brought it to the altar of the United Nations in order to slay it, but it was stronger than the knife they wanted to slay it with. But truth will overcome every falsehood.

36. I should like to express our appreciation and gratitude for the efforts of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. Its objectives and activities represent an enlightened dimension of the work of the Organization in its efforts to promote the implementation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations at a time when it is discovering the extent to which

some countries that signed the Charter have violated its text and spirit. There is no choice for the United Nations and for the world but to secure the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. It is the only way to avoid further deterioration of the situation in the region and the world.

37. While we are today discussing the question of Palestine for the thirty-eighth year in succession, some might ask, if they are unaware of the facts: What is new about the problem of Palestine that it is continually discussed at the United Nations? The question in itself has the implicit and adequate answer for the inquirer.

38. The story begins in the General Assembly in 1947, when Great Britain, the State that after the First World War was entrusted by the League of Nations to administer Palestine and guarantee the rights of the Palestinian people, referred the problem to the United Nations. Great Britain had by then, within a period of 30 years, allowed 600,000 Zionist immigrants into the country from various parts of the world. The United Nations, under tremendous political pressure well known to those who were then present, had allocated unjustly, and amazingly, a part of the country under its administration to those immigrants who had entered during the 30-year period under the protection of the foreign occupation Power, and who owned only 6 per cent of the registered land of Palestine. Imagine such an unjust verdict emanating from a body that was asked to restore the rights of the victims of injustice and aggression, but instead committed the crime of attempting to eliminate the legitimate party. What an oppressive judge, and what a bad verdict!

39. That was the beginning of the problem in the United Nations 38 years ago, when the Organization was deceived and all sorts of political pressures were used to secure a majority of votes to recommend the partition of the Arab country of Palestine and the establishment of a Zionist State on part of it. They succeeded in passing that dubious resolution in the General Assembly.

40. The partition resolution [*resolution 181 (II)*], which was founded on corrupt premises, will remain subject to controversy and will be a threat to those living in Palestine or its vicinity if the situation is not rectified and a solution found that preserves the legitimate rights of the people of the country. Here we are again after 38 years, witnessing the continuing importance of the question concerning which the United Nations was misused for the purpose of committing the ugliest of injustices against a people in its own land, and witnessing the oppression increasing in complexity, while the criminal is at large, wreaking havoc in the region.

41. One glance at this farce, through which an attempt was made to determine the destiny of a whole people, coupled with an understanding of the composition of the United Nations today in comparison to that period, demonstrates how inadequate was the capacity of the General Assembly then to represent all the peoples of the world in a real sense and to express the opinions of all those peoples.

42. Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations was clear when it stated that one of the objectives of the United Nations is: "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples". That is what the Charter states. What was the destiny of

the Palestinian people? And what were the real positions of the peoples of the world then, at the time of the adoption of the partition resolution, when most of them were under the domination of foreign Powers against their own will?

43. The fact that, in 1947, the United Nations represented the peoples of the world by a ratio of only one to three is one of the main reasons for the tragedy of today. The 102 States that have become Members of the Organization since 1947 and that are now sitting among us expressing the free will of their people, have transformed the General Assembly from an exclusive club of 51 States to a truly international Organization which sees the light and is guided by it. If voting on the resolution on the partition of Palestine were to take place today, when the United Nations far better represents peoples enjoying full independence, the resolution would be defeated by a majority of at least 100 votes. In 1947, it was passed unjustly by a majority of 33 votes in the name of present States Members of the Organization that could not then vote on it. Thus, after 38 years, the question of Palestine remains before the United Nations, while the ferocity of Israeli aggression against the heart of Palestinian Arab society and against the demography of the various parts of the country continues to increase, spreading its evil to the neighbouring Arab countries after having engulfed the West Bank and Gaza. The danger of the Israeli adventures for regional and international security are also greater than ever before. This dangerous situation worsens every day, with each successive day revealing more clearly the malevolent intentions and dangerous schemes threatening the security of individuals and peoples and the peace of the region and the world.

44. After a great deal of suffering the Arabs rightly put forward a peace proposal, which was adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference,<sup>3</sup> with a view to stabilizing the situation which would make it possible to avoid the danger of the continuance of this perilous conflict. That plan was rejected by all the parties and institutions of the Zionist entity. Here I must ask whether the Zionists really want security, really want peace. If they did, they would have hastened to accept the Arab proposal. They do not want peace and are against security and safety. Their deeds testify to this and their pronouncements confirm it. They say that they want secure borders, but they refuse to define those borders. Where are those borders that they speak of? It is the duty and the right of the General Assembly to challenge the Israeli entity to give us details of the borders that it wants to protect. Or is it that Israel does not want any borders at all, so that the Arab East may remain a quagmire, with open frontiers and sky, where aggressive Zionism can run in any direction it wants? The Zionists will have to recognize—probably after it is too late—that their course of action is the swiftest formula for destruction and ruin.

45. The Zionist claim was founded on deception and falsehood, first in Jewish circles and then in international circles, and this has not changed. They deceived the Jews of the world, leading them into believing that the road to Palestine was paved and the distance short. They deceived the world when they said that Palestine was a land without people for a people without a land. Some of the Zionist documents of that period even referred casually to

“the presence of some population in the land of Palestine from tribes that lack the characteristics necessary for political existence in the country and represent distant waves of immigration from the Arab world to Palestine, which makes them ineligible for any rights”. Today, the Assembly sees the truth of the matter and the extent of the deception the Israelis have practised and continue to practise in order to reach their goals.

46. That is how the Zionist thinking was established in the minds of the adherents of Zionism, who were scattered throughout the world before they succeeded, thanks to foreign imperialism, in securing a foothold in Arab land. It was established on the basis of propaganda and political theories based on deception, conspiracy and trickery. Once they had secured a foothold in the country, the Zionists began to practise terrorism of all kinds everywhere and at all levels in order to establish an unjust colonialist entity in the heart of the Arab land.

47. This is a scenario carried out by the Zionists while they usurp a place in the heart of the greater Arab nation and in the centre of the Islamic world, attacking the rights and the sacred shrines of the Arab people from a position of strength imported from outside and supported by Powers that are in all ways foreign, a place that is temporary in nature, no matter how long it may last. It is inevitable that the Arab and Islamic world, through the preponderance of its population, its great numerical superiority, its vast strategic capacity and its accelerated scientific and technological progress, will gain the upper hand one not-too-distant day. Two million Zionists coveting Palestine, or a million Zionists convinced that they can impose a *fait accompli*, are not enough. The last word is with those who really have the right. Violent aggression against their country, their people, their rights and their holy places, the holy places of Muslims and Christians, will only increase the attachment of Arabs and Muslims to their legitimate rights.

48. The Zionists now occupy the whole of Palestine and are controlling Al-Quds and parts of the neighbouring Arab countries. They are also threatening all the Arab and Muslim countries that are not their neighbours. Here we must reflect on the city of Al-Quds, where there is the Al-Aqsa Mosque, whose sanctity they are attempting to defile. They are attempting to change the physical nature of the city and its demographic composition. The Zionists do not care about these traditions. The world outside the Muslim world is not aware how dangerous this attempt is for the security of the region. We take this opportunity to tell the world clearly how serious the Zionists' action in Al-Quds is. They are challenging the sentiments of 1,000 million Muslims concerning this city, and their devotion to it, for it is dear to the heart of every Muslim and every Christian. They should know that the depth of the Islamic world's devotion to Al-Quds will not be influenced by attempts to create Zionist *faits accomplis*, no matter how hard the Zionists try. Moreover, the whole world will see that these attempts will, God willing, work against the achievement of their objectives. I should like to draw the attention of those that support Zionist aggression from afar to the dangerous consequences of the crime against the whole Islamic world in which they are participating. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and all the Islamic States have alerted

the world to the grave repercussions the Zionist schemes in Al-Quds would have.

49. The Arab people of Palestine began their struggle 65 years ago to preserve the identity of their land, their security and the sanctity of their holy places, and to build an independent State in their historical homeland, Palestine.

50. Those that have the right, the Arab people of Palestine, under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, have risen up today to demand once again that the international community fulfil its commitments while they, supported by the entire Arab and Islamic world and all the peoples which uphold justice, are struggling to preserve their rights, because justice is a force in itself and a power that cannot be defeated. Experience has shown that rights that have not been abandoned can never be lost. The Palestinian people will never cease their struggle until they enjoy their legitimate rights in their own land. They are supported and aided in this struggle to the fullest extent by the whole Arab world and the whole Islamic world, as well as by those that uphold justice and right everywhere in the world. We give this advice to those that are bargaining with the Palestinians over those rights and those that are giving unlimited support to the Zionist entity: they must realize how serious is the accumulation of injustices suffered by the Palestinians over the years; yet the Palestinian people and the Arab and Islamic peoples have only become more devoted than ever to the legitimate rights of Arabs and Muslims in Palestine. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the other Arab and Islamic countries, as well as all the peoples of the world which support justice, have no hesitation in fulfilling their responsibility to support Arab and Islamic rights in Palestine until those rights are restored to their true owners.

51. It is more necessary than ever before for the General Assembly to forge a peace based on a clear and exemplary framework and restore to the Palestinians the rights which it participated in violating when its will was alienated. The great Powers, in particular, must realize that the present day is different from that of 29 November 1947, the day the partition resolution [*resolution 181 (II)*] was adopted. As for Zionism, after all its experience in violating the rights of the Palestinian Arab people, it is only exposing its entity to danger if it does not respond to the call for what is right. The right of the Palestinian people will inevitably be restored.

52. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): The comprehensive solution of the Middle East conflict is one of the important international tasks of our time, and the key to it is undoubtedly a just settlement of the question of Palestine. This problem is highly topical. The enjoyment of their legitimate rights by the Palestinian people remains central to a peace settlement in the Middle East. The dangerous developments under way in the region show that the main obstacle to peace and security in the Middle East is Israel's continued aggression.

53. By using brutal force and perpetrating acts of terror, the Israeli rulers are stepping up the entrenchment of the occupation régime in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Syrian Golan Heights and southern Lebanon. Every day new crimes are added to the innumerable ones committed against the Palestinian people. The world will never forget the bloody massacres at Sabra and Shatila and the act of terror

against the Palestinian refugee camp of Ein el-Hilweh. The aim behind the intensified terror is to intimidate the Palestinian population, destroy its communal and social institutions and thereby expel it from its soil. In this way, *faits accomplis* are to be created that will enable Israel finally to incorporate the Palestinian territories.

54. In the Final Communiqué adopted by the Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October this year, the Ministers and Heads of Delegation quite rightly

“expressed their opposition to the continued violation of the rights of the indigenous Arab inhabitants, their forced dispersion and other policies aimed at changing the basic character and legal status of these territories. They affirmed that these practices and policies run contrary to international law and relevant resolutions of the United Nations and were declared on many occasions and in various forums null and void, confirming that Israel is non-peace-loving and should be treated accordingly.” [*See A/39/560, para. 55.*]

55. It is therefore only too understandable that this significant communiqué also contains the demand that measures should be applied against Israel under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

56. The German Democratic Republic is in agreement with the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations in resolutely condemning once again Israel's continued policy of aggression and occupation.

57. There is growing awareness all over the world that the attitude of the main imperialist Power based on the striving for hegemony is the main reason why, despite the great efforts undertaken by the United Nations and the majority of States, it has not yet been possible to force Israel into ending its policy, which endangers peace, and to restore the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

58. The United States not only ignores the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people but, through its course of confrontation and arms buildup, involving as a major component the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, encourages the Israeli leadership to perpetrate new acts of aggression against Arab States and ruthlessly to enforce its plans for territorial expansion.

59. There can therefore be no doubt that the strategic alliance between the United States and Israel remains a constant threat to peace and to the existence of the Arab peoples. That is why it is now more essential than ever before that all forces that are seriously interested in maintaining international peace and security redouble their efforts in order to expose the objectives of the fateful strategic alliance and to force Israel into abandoning its policy of aggression and occupation and implementing the United Nations resolutions on the question of Palestine.

60. In the communiqué on the meeting of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty States, held at Berlin on 3 and 4 December 1984, the following is stated:

“The States represented at the meeting condemn the imperialist policy of force and manifest their solidarity with and support for the peoples fighting for their freedom, the strengthening of their inde-

pendence and socio-economic progress.” [See A/39/763, annex.]

61. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva in 1983, reaffirmed that the right to the establishment of an independent State is the central problem in implementing the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. There is no way to disregard the Palestinian people or to ignore the exercise of its right to self-determination, to the establishment of its own independent State, to return and to compensation. Attempts to reach separate deals or have negotiations without the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the PLO, are incompatible with the interests of the Palestinian people. Guided by this awareness, the overwhelming majority of States is actively committed to ensuring the speediest implementation of the Geneva Declaration on Palestine and the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights, adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine.<sup>2</sup>

62. In the light of the anti-peace and aggressive course pursued by Israel and its allies, it is imperative to intensify collective efforts in order to resolutely counter the dangerous developments in the Middle East. In this connection, the German Democratic Republic attaches great importance to the principles and approaches for a Middle East settlement proposed by the Soviet Union on 29 July 1984 [see A/39/368] and fully endorses them. It reiterates from this rostrum its sympathy with and high appreciation of the courageous struggle waged by the Palestinian people. It regards the preservation of the unity and cohesion of the Palestine resistance movement and the creation of a close fighting community of all patriotic Arab forces as a condition for the victory of the just Palestinian cause.

63. In a message sent by the Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, to the Secretary-General on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, commemorated on 29 November 1984, the German Democratic Republic reaffirmed its principled position on the Middle East problem and the question of Palestine, as well as its solidarity with the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine:

“To the German Democratic Republic the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People is a fitting occasion to assure the Palestinian people of its firm solidarity in the struggle for its legitimate rights under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The German Democratic Republic advocates a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict. This requires that the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to the establishment of an independent State, be assured. Israel must without delay withdraw from all territories it has occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem. It is only in this way that peace, security and the independent development of all States and peoples in the region can be ensured.

“The German Democratic Republic emphatically supports the demand of the overwhelming majority of States for the early convocation of an international Middle East conference with the participation of all interested sides, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole, legiti-

mate representative of the Palestinian people. Israel and the United States must no longer be allowed to scorn world public opinion and to continue blocking the convening of such a conference.”

64. Mr. AL-KAWARI (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The question of Palestine has been considered by the General Assembly since the creation of the United Nations and has been present on the agenda of every session. Many resolutions have been adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as by other United Nations bodies, regarding the question of Palestine. Despite that, all of those resolutions have remained a dead letter.

65. Nevertheless, the continued consideration by the United Nations of the question of Palestine has not been in vain. The pursuit of this question and the attempt to find solutions to all of its aspects is a moral and historic obligation for the Organization. In fact, to return to the source of the problem it is necessary to go back to the League of Nations, to which the United Nations is heir. The Organization had to play the same major role, and it conferred on the question its new image and form when the General Assembly adopted resolution 181 (II) on 29 November 1947, a resolution which gave the green light to the resort to force for the usurpation of the larger part of Palestine. It is that brute force, unfortunately, that prevails today in that cherished part of our Arab world.

66. For these reasons and because this situation continues to threaten international peace and security, it is the duty of the United Nations not to lose sight of the question of Palestine for even a moment until a just and comprehensive solution is found that will right the wrongs, respect the right of peoples to self-determination and enable peace to return to this region that has suffered for so long from the scourge of war.

67. The State of Qatar supports and endorses the ceaseless struggle of the fraternal Palestinian people to obtain its legitimate national rights. We stand side by side with this heroic people and its legitimate representative, the PLO, in all efforts to find a just settlement by every means available to it, until such time as the heroic Palestinian people can exercise its legitimate rights and benefit from the rights enjoyed by all peoples of the world, namely, to self-determination and to the establishment of a State of its own on an equal footing with other peoples.

68. The long struggle waged by the Palestinian people against usurpation, aggression and brutal oppression, and the determination of this people to recover its national rights have enjoyed broad international support, manifested each year by the observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, as well as by the great majority endorsing the resolutions that have been adopted condemning the Zionist entity and calling for the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Moreover, many international conferences have adopted resolutions supporting the rights of the Palestinian people. The latest was the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva in 1983, which adopted the Geneva Declaration on Palestine and the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights,<sup>2</sup> two important instruments which could serve as a basis for a just solution to the question of Palestine. Noteworthy

was the proposal to convene an international conference on peace in the Middle East in which all interested parties would participate, including the PLO and the permanent members of the Security Council. Most countries of the world supported that proposal. My country hopes that if it is adopted at the present session, everyone will welcome it so that the long-awaited peace in the Middle East can be achieved.

69. We wonder what enables the Zionist entity constantly to defy the international community and its resolutions. The answer to this question is clear to all: it is the unlimited support afforded by certain parties, without regard to its failure to observe the will of the international community and the resolutions of the United Nations.

*Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the Chair.*

70. *The New York Times* of 14 October 1984 published an article which emphasized the feeling of security enjoyed by the Zionists. It said:

“At a dinner here in his honour Tuesday night, Mr. Peres told a story that revealed much about Israel’s dependency. He recalled that when former Prime Minister Levi Eshkol was Minister of Agriculture, an aide came to him saying, ‘There’s some bad news; there’s a drought.’ Mr. Eshkol asked, ‘Where? In Israel or in the United States?’ When the aide said, ‘In Israel,’ Mr. Eshkol sighed with relief and said that as long as it was not in the United States, Israel could manage without trouble. Mr. Peres then went on to say that he was glad it was raining in Washington because the economy in Israel was ‘dry.’”\*

71. The time factor has become so important that we cannot continue to delay serious and effective efforts to find a solution to the question of Palestine as soon as possible. The international community cannot stand idly by as an observer any longer in the face of the unchecked attempts by Israel to liquidate the question of Palestine by creating settlements, confiscating land and modifying the demographic structure of Palestine and the conditions of life in the occupied Palestinian territories; this only encourages Israeli terrorist organizations to try to force the Palestinians to leave their territory and their homeland, as well as the attempts to face the world with a *fait accompli*. Through these actions, Israel is defying the resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council with complete impunity. This is why the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva in 1983, rightly emphasized the importance of the time factor and the need for a just and speedy solution to the question of Palestine.

72. The international community must reaffirm to the Zionist entity that it categorically rejects the acquisition of territories by force and cannot allow a people to be deprived of the right to live on its own land. Whatever attempts Israel may make to erase the Palestinian presence in Palestine, they will not be crowned with success. The lessons of history show this and their meaning is clear. The plundering of lands by armed aggression does not confer any rights upon the aggressor. The denial of the rights of a people through repression and terror cannot force that people to forget or to give up its rights. Peace and security cannot be founded on force. Justice and equity are the sole means of ensuring the security of peoples.

73. My country, like all peace-loving countries that support the rights of peoples, hopes that all States will realize the gravity of the situation resulting from the paralysis surrounding the question of Palestine and the need to find a just and speedy solution. The time for talk is past. It is high time that we acted decisively, without further delay.

74. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): For 37 years, generations of Palestinians have been born under foreign rule and domination or have experienced the plight of refugees. The Palestinian people, like other peoples, are born to be free but are denied their basic rights both as individuals and as a nation.

75. During all those years, we have called for and supported the exercise of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establish their own State. During all those years, the main issue has remained unchanged: the right to self-determination, to national independence, to protection from the acquisition of foreign territories by force, to return to one’s own home and to the establishment of one’s own State. For years it has been clear that the exercise of these rights by the Palestinian people is the prerequisite for a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

76. This has become a test of the conscience of the United Nations that cannot be evaded any longer. The ideals of self-determination, of national independence, of freedom have become an inspiration and a support for the endeavours to bring about a new, better and more stable world.

77. In the course of contemporary history there have been few examples of a people’s suffering for so long and struggling with such determination for their right to exist as is the case with the Palestinian people.

78. During all this time, the Israeli policy of expansion and domination has been an obstacle to the solution of this issue and of the crisis in the Middle East in general. This policy not only inflicts suffering on the Palestinian people but perpetuates the process of mistrust, instability and conflict in the Middle East and beyond. The responsibility of all those that are supporting the policy of expansion and domination, either actively or passively, has become greater with the passage of time.

79. There is a growing consensus that peace in the Middle East cannot be built around the denial of the existence of an entire people or around the denial of the right of the Palestinian people to exist.

80. The international community has become even more determined in its opposition to the use of force and to the acquisition and expansion of foreign territories by Israel. The *faits accomplis* of that policy have never been accepted, nor have the temporary successes of aggression, expansion and the acquisition of territories by force. This would not only be contrary to the basic norms of international law, but also would run counter to the aspirations of peoples to freedom and independence.

81. The West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Jerusalem, the Syrian Golan Heights and part of Lebanon remain under Israeli occupation. Israel continues to establish illegal settlements on Palestinian and Arab lands and to disregard decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. It persistently attempts to resolve the question of Palestine by terror and war. Only recently, it once again sowed death among Palestinian students and youth in the West Bank. It is

\*Quoted in English by the speaker.



constantly threatening peace and security in the Middle East and beyond.

82. Palestinians have their ethnic, historic and cultural identity, as well as a political entity expressed through the PLO, its sole and legitimate representative. They are constantly showing their resolve not to give up their right to freedom and self-determination and not to be brought to their knees.

83. The Palestinian people have been dealt with without mercy. They are still being chased from their land, but they have maintained their unity and resolve in the most adverse conditions.

84. They are well aware that history abounds with testimony that those fighting for freedom are stronger than those imposing domination and that nothing attracts the support of other peoples more than determination to persist in the fight for right against the policy that might is right.

85. All those who support the just cause of the Palestinian people were heartened by the recent meeting at Amman of the Palestine National Council. The Palestinian people, through their representatives, reaffirmed once again their unity. They have served warning once again that all attempts to eliminate the Palestinian people, and the PLO as its sole legitimate representative, are bound to fail. They have shown their determination to maintain the independence of their institutions, and they have expressed again their full independence and their full confidence in the PLO and in its leadership, headed by the Chairman of its Executive Committee, Yasser Arafat.

86. It is appropriate to recall at this point the important and substantial work that has been done for the Palestinian cause by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, of which Yugoslavia is a member. The Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Massamba Sarré, of Senegal, leads that Committee in a dedicated manner and an imaginative way, and the Committee strives consistently to increase the international community's support for the cause of the Palestinian people.

87. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries continues to be the firmest and broadest stronghold of the struggle for freedom and independence of all peoples and countries. From the time of the first Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade in September 1961, more than two decades ago, the non-aligned countries have been steadfast supporters of the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination.

88. In their desire to render more effective support to the legitimate struggle of the Palestinian people in accordance with the will of the non-aligned countries, they established the Non-Aligned Committee of Eight on Palestine, of which Yugoslavia is a member. This was done in the light of an urgent need to take renewed and concrete steps within the United Nations aimed at resolving the issue of Palestine and the Middle East crisis as a whole.

89. On 3 October 1984, the Committee of Eight, chaired by India, met at the ministerial level. The meeting called for renewed efforts to ensure the convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations. It should be recalled that such a conference was envisaged in the Geneva Declaration on Pales-

tine, adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva in 1983,<sup>2</sup> and endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 38/58 C. It was felt that such a conference should bring about the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and that it would be the best framework for finding a comprehensive, just and lasting solution.

90. It is encouraging that an overwhelming majority of Member States have pronounced themselves in favour of convening such a conference. It should be stressed again that everything should be done to convene that conference and that it is the responsibility of all international factors to display stronger political will in that regard.

91. The Secretary-General should be supported in his own ongoing efforts aimed at convening this conference.

92. The peoples of Yugoslavia are rendering full support to the proud Palestinian people in its struggle. In conformity with its own policy of independence and non-alignment, Yugoslavia has always considered 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 on the Arab-Israeli conflict. The solution to that question 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 and the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homes. It must be based, too, on a recognition of the right of all States and peoples in the region to secure national existence and independent social development.

93. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam): The question of Palestine has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for almost four decades. Four decades is indeed a long time for the Palestinian people, who have overcome all hardships and difficulties to wage a heroic struggle for national salvation and for the past, present and future of a peaceful and diligent people. It is Israel that has taken their land, thus forcing them to seek refuge and shelter in foreign countries. It is also Israel that has massacred them in cold blood. The killing of 254 innocent Palestinians at Deir Yassin in April 1948 was only a curtain-raiser. It was followed in July 1948 by the massacre of 580 Palestinians at Dawaymeh. This was recently exposed by *Hadashot*, an Israeli newspaper. Sabra and Shatila will surely not be the last. So long as an independent Palestinian State has not been established in Palestine, there will still exist the displacement of people, the annexation of territory and genocide-like massacre of Palestinians.

94. We have already had the opportunity to express our views on the question of the Middle East. Superficially, that is the question of the Israeli-Arab conflict. But lying at the heart of that conflict is the question of Palestine. Anyone familiar with the situation in the region can see it, and numerous resolutions of the United Nations and of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, reaffirm it.

95. The essence of the question of Palestine is the war of aggression and annexation waged by Israel against the Palestinian people and, logically, the latter's struggle for national liberation and for the establishment of an independent State of its own in Palestine. In the last four decades, these people have been held hostage to perfidious intrigues; they have become the most direct victims of Israel's Zionism and expansionism. Zionism resorts to violence and sheer force of arms to impose its will on other peoples, first and foremost the Palestinian people. Violence has become a pattern of Israel's expansionist policy towards achieving the ultimate goal of setting up a "Greater Israel". The Israeli authorities want to annihilate the Palestinian resistance forces under their juggernaut of war; they wish to terminate the existence and identity of the Palestinians as a people. Therefore, within days of Israel's birth, over one million Palestinians were uprooted and forced out of their land. Subsequent wars have scattered them further, from Africa to Europe, and to other Arab countries. These wars also serve a subsidiary purpose: the Israeli authorities mean to threaten the Arab countries into ending their help and assistance to the Palestinian people, for the message is clear that Israel will use violence against those countries that give refuge and shelter to the Palestinians.

96. In recent years, Israel has stepped up the establishment of settlements in the areas under its occupation. These settlers are protected by Israeli armed forces and they themselves are allowed to carry firearms and to kill the Palestinians at will. Newspapers have reported recent killings of students and peaceful demonstrators against Israel's policy of settlements and its attempts to destroy East Jerusalem, a sacred site for all Muslims. We denounce and condemn in the strongest terms these criminal acts by Israel and demand that it put an immediate end to its inhumane practices against innocent people.

97. The United States must also bear responsibility for Israel's acts. We are not going to rake up old scores, from its hasty recognition of Israel only hours after the latter's birth, or its connivance as an accomplice of Israel in the wars against the Palestinian and Arab people, to the presence of its armed forces in the region and in adjacent areas. We simply refer to its strategic alliance and its devotion to Israel's fate. The United States has provided Israel with billions of dollars and all kinds of modern weapons. Its financial support, military aid and political protection have enabled Israel to step up its wars of aggression and annexation, to speed up its settlements in occupied areas and to be more aggressive and obstinate in its defiance of United Nations resolutions and international law. In its role as the regional gendarme, Israel has rendered service to the United States global strategy.

98. Yet the United States and its most important ally in the Middle East have never achieved their goals. Their attempt to sow division among Arab countries has failed. The Palestinian resistance forces cannot be annihilated as they expected. The Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, their sole authentic and legitimate representative, have enjoyed the firm and concrete support and assistance of the Arab and international communities in their intensified struggle against the Israeli aggressors. The Palestinian fighters are admired and respected for their endurance and heroism in their resistance against Israel's forces in Beirut, in Tripoli, in the

Bekaa Valley and elsewhere. The struggle of the Palestinian people has now taken on new dimensions and has gained even more support and sympathy.

99. The international community has really shown deep understanding and has made great contributions, particularly in the fields of education, health services and humanitarian relief, in order to alleviate the sustained suffering of these people. But no matter how great and important these generous activities are, they are only palliatives that cannot solve on a long-term basis the central issue of the Middle East conflict, that is, the question of Palestine. The root cause of the deadlock in the situation in the Middle East and in the settlement of the Palestine question, and hence the prolonged tension in the region, is the United States policy of aggression and intervention, either directly or with Israel as its instrument. It is clear that the United States "peace plans" can never solve the problem; the process of Camp David can only lead to deadlock. There will be no breakthrough; there will be no peace and security in the Middle East so long as the question of Palestine has not been solved. To do so, Israel must stop its policy of state terrorism and territorial annexation. It must respect the fundamental national rights of the Palestinian people, their right to self-determination, including the right to return and to establish an independent State of their own in Palestine. The two entwined questions, that is, the question of the Middle East and the question of Palestine, should be settled through a peaceful comprehensive solution which ensures Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and respect for the legitimate interests of all countries in the region—and Palestine must be one of those countries. Such a solution can be achieved only through the convening of an international conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all parties concerned on an equal footing, including the PLO, the United States and the Soviet Union. Such a conference has been envisaged in the relevant resolutions of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly and by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in 1983. The proposals by the Soviet Union of 29 July 1984 [see A/39/368] serve as a good basis for the conference on the Middle East, for they have settled the principles and modalities for the conference, thereby enjoying the support of public opinion. So far, the only obstacle to the convening of such a conference is the negative attitude and reaction of the United States and Israel, and we must condemn them for that.

100. The delegation of Viet Nam once again commends the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to bring about the convening of an international conference on the Middle East. Special credit should also be given to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for its efforts to mobilize world public opinion and solidarity with and material support for the just cause of the Palestinian people, and for its exhaustive report and up-to-date information on the situation concerning the plight of these people. We fully support the strict implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which, among other things, call for the total boycotting and isolation of Israel and an end to any form of relations with Israel. We support the Geneva Declaration on Palestine and Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights,

approved by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine,<sup>2</sup> held at Geneva last year. We are pleased to say that we have joined the list of co-sponsors of the draft resolutions which the Committee has worked out in detail.

101. In conclusion, I would like to quote from the message of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, addressed to the Secretary-General and to the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, commemorated on 29 November of this year:

“The people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam constantly and resolutely support the just struggle of the Palestinian people for its sacred, inalienable national rights, including the right to self-determination and the right to return to its homeland and to establish a sovereign, independent State of Palestine. The proposal put forth recently by the Soviet Union on convening an international conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all parties concerned, including the PLO, is a reasonable and practical proposal aimed at finding a proper solution to the Middle East and Palestine question.”

102. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey): Another year has elapsed since the Assembly last debated the question of Palestine without as yet any significant change in the situation for the better.

103. Another year has elapsed with Israel persisting in its policies of occupation, annexation and the systematic establishment of new illegal settlements.

104. Another year has elapsed with Israel tightening its oppressive grip over the civilian Arab population of the occupied territories, in disregard of the relevant international conventions.

105. Another year has elapsed, only to remind us that the question of Palestine has been and still remains unquestionably the most striking and costly failure of the United Nations since its inception.

106. My delegation, in speaking this year, too, does not simply wish to reiterate the firm support of the Turkish nation and Government for the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian Arab people, who for decades have been looking to the United Nations for the elimination of the unwarranted barriers preventing them from exercising their inalienable rights, including their right to self-determination and to establish their own independent State. We wish to underline once again that more than enough time has been consumed and sufficient suffering has been endured in the Middle East, particularly by the Palestinian Arab people, for the parties directly or closely involved in this dispute to think about respecting each other's existence and legitimate rights—an unavoidable prerequisite in order to achieve a realistic, comprehensive and viable peace in this important region of the world.

107. The Turkish people and Government, which admire the determination of the Palestinian Arab people to maintain their national rights and identity against all odds, are convinced that there is no sensible alternative for the people and Governments of the Middle East. To choose confrontation to the end and to further bear the manifold political, material and moral burden inevitably resulting from the ongoing state of affairs would not benefit any party, including Israel, in the long run. As a neigh-

bouring country of the region, we strongly believe that this state of affairs can be changed for the better if only realism, political courage and mutual respect prevail over mutual distrust, fanaticism and shortsighted considerations.

108. In this connection, we are of the opinion that it is incumbent upon the Israeli Government, first and foremost, to reassess the situation in its proper historical and political perspective, with a forward-looking approach, and to heed the repeated and unequivocal calls from the United Nations for Israel to withdraw to and live in peace and security within its pre-June-1967 borders.

109. We believe that Israel owes a forthcoming attitude both to this world body, to which it owes its original existence, and to the future generations that will cohabit the Middle East. We are not prepared to admit that any Government on earth can think itself empowered to condemn, if it so chooses, its society and, moreover, neighbouring societies, to inhaling fear and exhaling hatred indefinitely. We are not prepared to admit that any Government can have enough reasons to throw its weight behind the continued exacerbation of explosive tensions when peace is certainly not beyond its reach.

110. It is with this understanding that we call on Israel to quit its intransigent stand and consider, with vision instead of prejudice, the opportunities that an international peace conference on the Middle East, as foreseen by the Geneva Declaration on Palestine,<sup>2</sup> adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva in 1983, and called for in General Assembly resolution 38/58 C, can indeed offer to Israel, on the one hand, and to Arab States and the PLO, on the other.

111. It is in the same frame of mind that we would like to add our voice to the voices of those delegations that have urged the other parties concerned which have not yet expressed their readiness to participate in the peace-making process, as outlined in the Geneva Declaration on Palestine and resolution 38/58 C, to reconsider their respective positions and give new and favourable thought to the holding of the international peace conference on the Middle East.

112. The core of this problem is the question of Palestine, which, particularly during the last 17 years, has been rendered even more acute and complex, both politically and socially.

113. The Turkish Government is of the opinion that any flexible attitude by one of the parties directly involved must be reciprocated by the other parties concerned, including, of course, the PLO, which is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The beginning of such a trend not only would be conducive to putting an end to the ordeal of the Palestinian people and pave the way for a comprehensive Middle East peace, but also would be an achievement with which the United Nations could crown its 40 years of existence.

114. We would like to add that other initiatives susceptible to bringing a just and honourable peace to the Middle East would also enjoy Turkey's firm support and encouragement, provided that they encompassed the basic principles enunciated repeatedly in the United Nations resolutions pertaining to the question of Palestine. We should like to recall in this regard the Arab peace plan adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Con-

ference.<sup>3</sup> We have been following with interest the recent political activity in the region. In this context, we are of the opinion that the proceedings of the meeting held at Amman and the ensuing decisions taken by the PLO constitute positive steps in the Middle East scene. The problem has acquired such dimensions over the years and the plight of the Palestinian Arab people is so tremendously embarrassing for humanity as a whole that, in our view, particularly, those who prefer not to offer new ideas at this stage should at least consider, without prejudice, the merits that initiatives taken by others may well have. The fact should not be lost sight of, also, that time, which some may be construing to be on their side, may prove not to be a reliable ally. As we stated on 27 November [74th meeting], in the debate on the situation in the Middle East, we believe the time is now ripe to give a fresh impetus to the search for a lasting peace in the Middle East.

115. Mr. BENJELLOUN (Morocco) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The question of Palestine has been the focus of interest of the General Assembly since the United Nations was created. The unhappy reality is that the Organization is responsible for the present situation obtaining in Palestine, an unparalleled responsibility in the history of all contemporary issues. Despite the serious error that was committed by the General Assembly in 1947 against the rights of the Palestinian people and its rights to its own territories and property and to sovereignty over its own land with its wealth and resources, we appreciate the efforts that have been made by the United Nations recently to correct the errors of the past and to restore those rights to the Palestinian people.

116. The great interest shown by the international community in the question of Palestine is ample proof of its full awareness of the injustice of which the Palestinian people are victim and of the necessity of supporting the restoration of its rights and its determination to struggle to recover them fully. The opposition of the international community to Israel's aggressive policy, which is based on brute force, displacement of populations and denial of the most elementary rights to the peoples who have lived in this region for thousands of years, is a sign of a positive change that has taken place in the attitude of the international community towards the question of Palestine.

117. The question of Palestine, which is the very heart of the Middle East tragedy, is a matter of justice and of the denial of justice and right; it is a problem of a people which has been expelled from its lands, driven into exile by brute force, and even in its exile subjected to attempts to annihilate it physically and politically. The massacres of Palestinians at Sabra and Shatila, in Lebanon, are striking proof of this. For about 40 years this people has known trial after trial; it still waits for the international community to assist it in correcting the errors of the past, permitting the recovery of its usurped rights and creating conditions which would make possible a return to its homeland and the establishment of its own independent State.

118. We are gratified to note that the General Assembly has once again embarked upon the path of justice and law. In 1974 it adopted its historic resolution 3236 (XXIX), in which it reaffirmed the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, and its undeniable right to independence, to sovereignty and to form its own independent State in its

own territory. At successive sessions of the Assembly, those inalienable rights were further confirmed, and recognition was also given to the right of the Palestinian people to be considered a principal party in any efforts aimed at establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

119. The Security Council, which is responsible for maintaining international peace and security, has also assumed its role by condemning Israeli practices in Palestine in all their aspects, particularly the policy of creating settlements, which is aimed at altering the demographic composition of occupied Palestine. The Security Council has also frequently requested that the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people be restored and that their lands be recovered.

120. Despite this widespread international support for the Palestinian people, Israel continues to scorn the resolutions of the United Nations and to persist in its policy of occupation, annexation, terror, collective punishment, removal of elected officials, profanation of holy places, burning of harvests and destruction of houses: all these are practices which have been condemned by international law. This is the challenge which Israel has thrown down to the international community, capped by its annexation of the Holy City of Jerusalem, the cradle of revealed religions, which it has declared to be its capital in perpetuity. This challenge was to be seen clearly in the measures adopted to Judaize this holy city and to modify its historic and cultural sites in order to obliterate all traces of the past attesting to the Arab nature of the region and the fact that it belongs organically to the Arab communities who have always lived there and who have embraced both Islam and Christianity.

121. It is strange to see the leaders of the Zionist entity continuing to seek to justify their policies of annexation, expansion and terror against the indigenous population by obsolete historical arguments. We still hear them speak of the need to set up a greater Israel and the third kingdom of David, as if time had stopped 4,000 years ago. While Israel puts forward its historic rights to justify what it calls the right of Jews to return to Palestine, it arrogantly denies those same rights to the Palestinians who were driven from their land and their homes only a few years ago.

122. In order to entrench this tragic situation, Israel persists in its policy of threats and terror and is stockpiling destructive weapons in the region of the Middle East, thus threatening the security of the region and international peace and security. This policy could also cause a fifth war, the consequences of which would not be confined to the Middle East.

123. We can deal with this dangerous situation only on the basis of international law, equity and justice and by restoring the rights of the Palestinian people, in accordance with the many relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations over the years.

124. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held last year at Geneva under the auspices of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, gave a further opportunity for the international community to call anew for the speedy implementation of the relevant resolutions adopted by various international bodies. In this context, we would request the United Nations, whose responsibility it is to protect international law, and all States that are concerned for peace

and security in the region, to shoulder their responsibility and work to ensure respect for the resolutions, in particular the provisions calling for the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

125. The Palestinian people, whose historic past has shed a cultural and religious light, is an authentic people which will never give up its inalienable rights. The aspirations of the Palestinian people to freedom and its determination to throw off the Zionist yoke and fully to recover its rights are legitimate aspirations recognized by international bodies and by the international community. The PLO is the defender of these aspirations, because it is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It is entrusted with the fulfilment of the hopes of the Palestinian people and of its political will. That is why that organization is the main and only negotiating partner in all questions relating to the Palestinian people in general.

126. The Kingdom of Morocco had the honour of hosting, at Fez, the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, which adopted unanimously, on 9 September 1982, an Arab peace plan—better known as the Fez plan<sup>3</sup>—to settle the question of Palestine and the Middle East. Also, at the beginning of this year my country welcomed at Casablanca the Fourth Islamic Summit Conference. King Hassan II, who is Chairman of the Al-Quds Committee of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, has asked me to take this opportunity to reaffirm his total and unconditional support for the just, legitimate and heroic struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of its sole authentic representative, the PLO, to recover its inalienable rights, return to its homeland and establish an independent State in the land of Palestine.

127. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Observer of the League of Arab States, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 477 (V).

128. Mr. EL-FARRA (Observer, League of Arab States) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Another year has elapsed and the question of Palestine is still included on the agenda of the General Assembly. Another year has elapsed and the renewed debates and continued stumbling efforts to settle this question serve only as striking proof of the inability of the international community to establish a just peace in our world and enable this people struggling for freedom and dignity to regain its right of self-determination. Another year has elapsed and the question of Palestine remains without a solution, even though it is the core of the conflict in the Middle East. The dimensions of that situation have spread and branched out to threaten the peace and security of the peoples not only of the region but of the whole world.

129. I will not recapitulate here the events relating to the question of Palestine that have occurred during the past year. I will refer only to the principal realities that those events revealed, for in this way we may be able to shed light on the necessity and importance of convening an international peace conference and thereby show that any delay in convening such a conference will impede the achievement of peace and security in a region which is one of the most volatile in the world, and the recovery by its people of their inalienable rights, of which they have been deprived.

130. The first reality is that Israel does not in any way want a peace based on international legitimacy. Israel has rejected all initiatives aimed at the estab-

lishment of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in our region. It has become clear that this rejection is connected with the substance of these initiatives, not with their form. By rejecting the principles which this international body has established, basically, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and of rewarding the aggressor for its aggression, Israel denies the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people, the owner of the land.

131. Israel has taken measures, which have been denounced as illegal, to annex Jerusalem and proclaim it the "eternal capital" of Israel and to annex the Syrian Golan Heights. The General Assembly is thus clearly aware of Israeli efforts to prepare the necessary conditions for annexing what remains of the occupied territory in perpetuation of the occupation and the imposition of a *fait accompli*.

132. One of the clearest manifestations of those practices, which constitute the real reason for Israel's opposition to all peace initiatives and make it oppose them so fiercely and work against their implementation, is the expulsion of the inhabitants and the confiscation of their lands to achieve the objectives of Zionism.

133. The occupied Arab territories have been and remain the scene of continuous oppression of the Palestinian people through the proliferation of terrorist organizations established by the Israeli settlers, with the protection and support of the Israeli occupying authorities, in order to create a material and psychological situation that compels the Palestinian citizens to leave their lands. Those terrorist organizations conducted acts that are considered to be, in scope and severity, proof of a new campaign similar to the one that accompanied the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. Israeli laws have been applied to the Israeli settlers in the occupied Arab territories and this has created a state of duality between the legal situation of the natives and that of the settlers.

134. Moreover, the colonial settlement movement has intensified in the Arab lands that have been confiscated. Through coercive Zionist practices, the Israeli occupation authorities are seeking to Judaize Palestinian territory, destroy its Arab heritage, expel its inhabitants and distort its history.

135. The confiscation of water resources in the occupied territories constitutes one of the most dangerous manifestations of these practices and one of the main reasons for the intensification of tension in the region. Israel's continued effort to monopolize the water resources with the aim of exploiting them in the service of its colonial settlements has always been an incentive for its aggression and expansion.

136. In this respect, the Israeli terrorists who massacre peaceful civilians, including women and children, are an army whose task is to commit terrorist acts not only on the land of Palestine but throughout the Arab lands. The injustice suffered by the Palestinian people with respect to their right to return and to independence, the daily practices against them in their towns and villages or in their camps, and the air, sea and land raids which are being carried out in the region and by means of which Israel threatens all Arab countries—all are taking place because there is a bridge connecting Israel to the United States and supplying the necessary financing to protect its conquests and underwrite its military operations, as well as the arms needed to launch its attacks and create destabilization and trouble in the region.

137. Such practices and injustices could come to an end if the United States used its financial leverage to put pressure on Israel to stop practising terrorism and to participate in the structuring of a just peace in the region.

138. I wish to point out that the United States bears direct responsibility for the failure of efforts towards a just peace in our region because of Israel's rejection of all the peace initiatives and its obstinacy in its contempt for the international will. The United States, through its special relations with Israel, which it has developed extensively in the past few years, has chosen complete alignment with Israel. The most conspicuous development has been the agreement on economic assistance to Israel and on strengthening American-Israeli co-operation and co-ordination in the military and strategic fields, not to mention the unlimited political support enjoyed by Israel in its acts of aggression against the Palestinian people and the Arab States.

139. The Charter of the United Nations has given the United States, as a great Power, special responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security; yet, as a permanent member of the Security Council, the United States is preventing the United Nations from playing its role in achieving peace. In his report, the Secretary-General draws attention to the letter from the representative of the United States to the President of the Security Council, dated 13 January 1984, in reply to his invitation to the United States to participate in an international peace conference on the Middle East. The reply was as follows: "The United States considers the recommendation of a Middle East Peace Conference in General Assembly resolution 38/58 C to be ill-considered and harmful." [A/39/130, annex III, appendix.]

140. The total American alignment with Israel, an occupying, expansionist and terrorist force, has curtailed the capacity of the United States to participate, as a mediator, in the achievement of a just settlement in the Middle East and further diminishes the chances for peace in the region. Real peace, with all its elements of justice, permanence and comprehensiveness, will not be achieved with this imbalance. We ask the United States—which gave the world Presidents such as Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson and Eisenhower, who, through their struggle, exemplified the values of freedom and equality—as a great Power with special interests that it needs to defend, to take big and courageous steps to correct the imbalance in its current relations with the parties to the conflict in the region. This is the only way for it to regain the credibility and effectiveness that would enable it to fulfil its role; and it is the only way to increase the opportunities for success of the efforts exerted towards settling the conflict that has been going on in our region for several decades, and to remove the current elements of instability and complexities in the region.

141. I wish also to point out that the Arab countries, with the Palestinians in the forefront, have proved beyond doubt that they are calling for peace. They have done this through the many initiatives they have proposed or accepted. The Arab countries, including the Palestinian people with the PLO as their sole legitimate representative, unanimously specified in the decisions adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference,<sup>3</sup> their concept of the peace process, based on international legitimacy and in harmony with the

international will as reflected in United Nations resolutions. Those resolutions have taken into account the realities of the situation in the region and have included the principles that constitute an objective starting-point for the establishment of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the region, such as the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of a sovereign State in their homeland.

142. The Arab countries and the PLO have declared their acceptance of the Geneva Declaration on Palestine, adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva in 1983,<sup>2</sup> and have said that they are ready to participate in the international peace conference which the General Assembly has recommended to settle the situation in the Middle East. Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, in his speech at the opening meeting of the latest session of the Palestine National Council, stated that: "The PLO supports the idea of holding an international peace conference on the Middle East attended by all parties concerned, on the basis of United Nations resolutions and the resolutions of the Arab Summit Conference at Fez."

143. This belief in the need to establish peace in the region is not surrender. The Arab countries and the Palestinian people would never give up their freedom or dignity or their conviction of the need for peace itself and for achieving the rights that the international community has acknowledged to be legitimate.

144. Despite all the efforts exerted by Zionism prior to or after the establishment of the State of Israel to destroy the Palestinians' national identity, to erase their feeling of belonging to the Arab homeland and nation and to deny them their rights, the Israelis have not destroyed the will and hopes of the Palestinians for a life in freedom and dignity, nor their capacity for resistance and struggle, which they continue to demonstrate in order to preserve their identity and their right to self-determination. In the occupied Arab territories there is daily testimony to their sacrifices.

145. The Palestinian resistance in the occupied Palestinian territories and the Lebanese struggle in southern Lebanon are living proof of the fact that the forces of resistance will never accept a *fait accompli* or any other situation that is not in keeping with a just, lasting and comprehensive peace; nor will they lose faith in the inevitability of the attainment of such peace through their struggle and refusal to surrender. This is the lesson we have learned from the experience of all peoples that have struggled for their sacred rights and which today constitute the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations.

146. Finally, any peaceful settlement of the conflict in the region requires that we take into consideration the following elements in achieving a just, lasting and comprehensive peace. These elements are the outcome of a long struggle and various peace initiatives based on international legitimacy and the relevant United Nations resolutions.

147. First, peace cannot be achieved through expansion. He who seeks peace must abandon a policy of occupation, colonization, aggression and expansion. This means that any peace that does not encompass withdrawal from all the occupied lands,

including Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, would be unsuccessful.

148. Secondly, security cannot be achieved through expansion, for expansion, aggression and the denial of the rights of other peoples are the basic source of the threat to peace and the increase of conflict. The security of one party can never be achieved at the expense of the other, nor can security be achieved through aggressive terrorist practices and through depriving the Palestinian people of their legitimate rights.

149. Thirdly, the rights of the Palestinian people in their homeland and country are sacred and inalienable. First among these is the right to self-determination and the right to establish their own independent State in Palestine. Attempts to deny those rights have always been the major reason for all the tensions, conflicts and disputes that have characterized the region for many years.

150. Fourthly, the people of Palestine have their own organization, the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, which is the expression of their free will and to which and to the leadership of which they remain loyal. The PLO, despite all the acts of aggression and the challenges aimed at it and the attempts to paralyse it, is still capable of absorbing all those challenges and attacks because of the clarity of its strategy and the democratic system which governs relations among the various forces and political trends represented within it. The challenges facing the PLO have only strengthened its determination and its cohesiveness, its insistence on its objectives and its struggle to achieve them. The Palestine National Council, at its recent session, provided the best evidence of the way it has been working towards these goals.

151. A revolution which functions openly and is capable of holding meetings of its national council in the presence of television cameras, journalists and foreign delegations, and which is willing to discuss its problems frankly before its people and only a few kilometres away from its enemies—such a revolution

has proved its ability fully to shoulder its responsibilities.

152. Lastly, it is essential that an international conference on peace in the Middle East be convened as soon as possible. The PLO, as the sole legitimate representative chosen by the Palestinian people, must participate on an equal footing with all other parties in that conference and in any settlement of the situation in the region that is aimed at achieving a just, lasting and comprehensive peace.

153. These facts, summaries and results are very clear to any observer of the situation in our region today. They require us to pool our efforts and take firm stands in support of international legitimacy, in an effort to maintain the credibility of the United Nations and avoid any additional suffering and disasters in our region that has suffered for so long.

154. In conclusion, I wish to recall something Mahatma Gandhi once said:

“There were once many tyrants, oppressors and killers who for long appeared to be so powerful that they could never be defeated. But in the end they fell. Let us always remember this: throughout history, honesty and love have always triumphed.”

Yes, that was the doctrine of Mahatma Gandhi, which summed up the experiences of man throughout his long history. That today is also the Palestinians' concept of their cause, their hopes, their rights and their future.

*The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.*

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

<sup>2</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>3</sup>See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510, annex.