

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records



**91st
PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 7 December 1984,
at 3.10 p.m.

NEW YORK

**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. The PRESIDENT: Four draft resolutions have been submitted under this item [A/39/L.37 to L.40].

2. Mr. NDONGO (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): Since the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, many countries and peoples, one after another, have achieved freedom and dignity.

3. The same does not hold true for the Palestinian people, which still today does not enjoy its inalienable rights. Indeed, without consultation with the Palestinians and in contradiction of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, according to which "The wishes of [the] communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory", Palestine was put under a British Mandate. Moreover, five years before that Mandate, Great Britain had committed itself to promoting the establishment of a "national Jewish homeland" in Palestine, a country with which the Zionist leaders claimed a "historic tie".

4. After the revelation of the Sykes-Picot agreement by the Soviet Union and the contradictory statements made by the British Government, including the Balfour Declaration, the Palestinian Arabs energetically opposed the Mandate. At the end of the Second World War, acts of violence were carried out by the Jewish community.

5. Alleging that the Mandate imposed contradictory obligations on it, Great Britain, after 25 years of administration in Palestine, put the issue before the United Nations—which had just been created—proposing the division of Palestine into two independent States: one a Palestinian Arab State and the other a Jewish State, the City of Jerusalem being internationalized. Peace was not restored and Palestine continued to be in a state of upheaval. Thus a war broke out in the Middle East which was halted only through United Nations intervention. One of the two States envisaged in the partition plan, having proclaimed its independence under the name of Israel, during a series of wars proceeded to expand its control over all of Palestine.

6. The Arab State of Palestine never saw the light of day, and since that time the Palestinian people has never ceased struggling to regain its lost rights. Successive wars and acts of destruction, in particular since 1948, have forced millions of Palestinians to embark upon the road of exile and the United Nations to seek a solution to the Palestinian problem, which constitutes "a grave danger for international peace and security".

7. Abused by the expansionist and Zionist régime of Israel, wandering from country to country and shunted off into refugee camps—such is the sad plight of the Palestinian people.

8. But that did not suffice. For mendacious reasons of security, in 1967 the Israeli Zionist régime decided to annex some areas of neighbouring Arab countries in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan.

9. Nor was the Holy City of Jerusalem spared; the occupying force has declared it the capital of Israel. As we are all aware, the problem of Palestine lies at the heart of the tragedy of the Middle East.

10. The difficulty of finding a just, equitable and satisfactory solution to the problem of Palestine is compounded by the fact that, in defiance of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,¹ and the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land,² and despite numerous resolutions of the General Assembly, the Commission on Human Rights, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, Israel is pursuing with impunity its policy of collective and individual retaliation, criminal acts, intimidation, arbitrary arrest and imprisonment without right to counsel.

11. In proceeding to expel populations from various regions, the occupying force is trying to destroy the demographic and geographic unity of the Palestinians, thus trampling underfoot General Assembly resolutions 194 (III) and 513 (VI). There is no need to recall here that, despite its arrogance and unjustified stubbornness, Israel has an obligation to respect the rules of the international community and in particular the Charter of the United Nations. It is obliged to do so for it has itself suffered and it owes its very existence to a General Assembly resolution. Hence it is hardly fitting that it should force the Arab people to suffer those very atrocities to which its own people fell victim.

12. As some can see, this Zionist policy is based on the theory of a régime which intends to pursue the application of colonialism through settlements and a frenzied expansionism which believes that the use of terror is the best means for achieving its sordid plans.

13. It is perfectly clear that no progress can be made until Israel ends its policy of annexation and occupa-

tion of Arab and Palestinian territories and its habitual behaviour of violating the rights of the population of those territories.

14. The problem of the Palestinian refugees flows from the Israeli occupation of Arab territories. At present we see the emergence of the fourth generation of Palestinian refugees of the diaspora. The Israeli authorities, not satisfied with pursuing their policy of uprooting populations, have added to this saga of persecution acts of aggression and raids against refugee camps and even massacres such as those of Sabra and Shatila.

15. In each case those acts of oppression are alleged to be the result of the struggle—the legitimate and permanent struggle—waged by the Palestinian people. Is it not a law of nature that any occupation by force, any invasion, brings in its wake resistance to it? Thus the Congolese delegation can only encourage and support those peace-loving people in their will to reconquer their lands.

16. For this reason we pay tribute to the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people, for the heroic struggle it is waging, despite the difficulties it has always encountered on the road towards its final objective—the liberation of its people. The Congo condemns any attempt to divide and weaken that organization through fratricidal struggles. More than ever, the Palestinian people places its hopes in a PLO which is ever strengthened by its cohesion, unity and commitment.

17. The Congolese delegation supports the idea put forward by the United Nations of convening an international conference on the Middle East, at which all parties in conflict would be represented, including the PLO, and in which the two great Powers would take an active part.

18. The time is more than ever ripe for the international community to deal resolutely with the implementation of General Assembly resolution 194 (III), which guarantees the return of the Palestinian refugees to their country, for those who have been forced to leave occupied Palestine have only one desire: to return to their native land and to live in peace, dignity and respect for their national identity.

19. My delegation would like to repeat here the terms of 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 1984. In that communiqué, the Ministers “condemned any agreement or treaty which violates or infringes the rights of the Arab nation and the Palestinian people as recognized by the Non-Aligned Movement, and in accordance with international law, the United Nations Charter and its relevant resolutions and which prevents the liberation of Jerusalem and the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories and the full exercise of, and attainment by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights.” [See A/39/560, para. 50.]

Finally, the Ministers “recalled that the summit conferences had called upon the Security Council to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and facilitate their achievement” [*ibid.*, para. 52].

20. As long as the occupation of Arab territories continues and as long as the Palestinian people is unable to enjoy its inalienable rights—its right to

self-determination, its right to return and its right to the establishment of a sovereign State—my delegation will have no choice other than to denounce and condemn the atrocities perpetrated against that peace-loving people.

21. Mr. Mbye (Gambia): The central factor in the complex question of Palestine concerns the fundamental principle of self-determination and human rights. Stated simply, it concerns the rights of the people of a given territory—Palestine—to decide for themselves their own political destiny. It is to my delegation a source of pain that the Zionist State of Israel and its backers continue to behave as if the people of Palestine were not deserving of enjoyment of the same rights as others and at times to pretend to make a specific exception of them.

22. Thirty-seven years after the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 181 (II), which provided, *inter alia*, for the creation of a Palestinian State, the people of Palestine still remain without a State. They have instead been collectively reduced to the status of refugees, a whole generation of whom have grown up in camps, dispersed in various States of the Middle East.

23. The land of Palestine is a geographical and historical fact that is not easily erased. Good parts of it are to be found in the West Bank and Gaza, which Israel has occupied illegally since 1967. It is in those territories that the most poignant chapters of the Palestinian tragedy are being enacted. There Israel has embarked on a process of progressive absorption, aimed at nothing less than the ultimate annexation of those territories. To that end, the most ruthless methods of coercion have been employed to scuttle Arab businesses and to expropriate lands owned and farmed by Palestinians for generations. On top of such totally unwholesome activities, Israel has cynically and deliberately set about the task of transforming the demographic composition of the illegally occupied territories.

24. Gambia condemns the odious settlement policy being pursued by Israel, a system that is literally designed to inundate the area with colonial settlers. We cannot but be struck by the similarities between its policy and that adopted by another pariah régime to the vexatious issue of population statistics. I refer, of course, to the diabolical racist régime in South Africa and its heinous policy of bantustanization.

25. The ominous trend of events in the West Bank over the past year has clearly highlighted the gravity of the circumstances in which the sons and daughters of Palestine are compelled to exist. These events are epitomized by the series of terrorist outrages perpetrated against a variety of Arab individuals and institutions. In the past, the Israeli authorities have tried to dismiss such atrocities as the random work of mentally unstable persons. However, the planned grenade attack upon the Dome of the Rock Mosque in January and the narrowly averted bomb attack on Arab buses in Jerusalem last April have demonstrated beyond doubt the existence of an underground Jewish terror network rejoicing in the sinister acronym TNT (“Terror Against Terror”). It is more-over evident that this terrorist network enjoys close ties with extremist settler groups. My delegation therefore views with the gravest misgivings the election to the Knesset of Rabbi Kahane, whose racist “Kach” group has openly advocated the mass

expulsion of all Palestinian Arabs from the occupied territories.

26. It will, of course, be recalled that Jewish settlers, in their relations with the Arab population of the occupied territories, have always been encouraged to take the law into their own hands. This has conveniently tied in with official attempts to eradicate any and all manifestations of Palestinian nationalism on the part of the Arab population. Thus, the perpetrators of the 1980 car-bomb attacks on the three West Bank mayors have yet to be identified. Similarly, even where Jewish settlers have been apprehended *in flagrante delicto*, they have tended to receive only the mildest punishment. The wave of bombings and other terrorist outrages which we have witnessed in the recent past is, then, attributable to the passive indulgence that Israel has maintained towards crimes committed by settlers. This indulgence, incidentally, was acknowledged in the Karp report, issued earlier this year.

27. Not even this ordeal of terror, however, has succeeded in quenching the ardent yearning of the Palestinian people for its birthright. Instead, it remains committed to the cherished ideal of an independent Palestinian State. In this regard, my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the PLO and to congratulate it on the recent successful meeting at Amman of the Palestine National Council. Our heartfelt congratulations go also to Chairman Yasser Arafat for graciously accepting the verdict of the Palestinian people that he should continue to be at the head of the courageous struggle for their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

28. My Government fully supports the praiseworthy efforts being exerted by the Secretary-General in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 38/58 C on the convening of a Middle East conference, under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all parties directly involved in the conflict, including, of course, the PLO, which must be involved at all stages as an equal partner.

29. On the fundamental question of Palestine, we must reiterate that only the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people, can negotiate for that people. If a durable peace is to be achieved in the Middle East, there must be an independent Palestinian State, through the restitution of the Palestinians' ancestral lands, usurped by Israel.

30. I cannot conclude without paying a tribute to the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and his colleagues for the valuable contribution they continue to make to the drive to secure a just settlement of the Palestine question.

31. Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): This year marks a decade since the General Assembly adopted resolution 3236 (XXIX), appropriately elevating the cause of the Palestinian people for self-determination and independent statehood to an issue of major concern to the international community in its own right. In a concomitant decision [*resolution 3237 (XXIX)*], the Assembly accorded recognition to the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, by granting it observer status at the United Nations. The establishment of the Committee on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People the following year completed the process of bringing the question of Palestine into full focus. As a result of those historic decisions, the question of the national

rights of the Palestinian people was removed from the rubric of humanitarian concerns, under which it had been subsumed, and was recognized as the very core of the Middle East conflict.

32. Through the ensuing years and in consecutive sessions, the United Nations has considered this issue in that proper perspective. The convening at Geneva, from 29 August to 7 September 1983, of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine was yet another high point in the reflection of this fundamental reorientation. The Conference, attended by the vast majority of Member States, once again showed international solidarity to be firmly on the side of the struggle of the Palestinian people for national independence, for peace and for human dignity. The Geneva Declaration on Palestine and the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights, adopted at the Conference,³ set in motion a broad and far-reaching initiative to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East. Subsequently, at its thirty-eighth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 38/58 C, endorsing the proposed peace conference and thereby bringing the universal authority of the United Nations to bear on establishing a rational framework towards a solution.

33. Despite the overwhelming concurrence of Member States, and of the PLO itself, with this approach, the diligent efforts of the Secretary-General to make progress towards convening the peace conference have run up against what has always been an insurmountable obstacle to a negotiated settlement—namely, Israel's obstinate refusal to respond positively to any proposal for peace. We have noted with sincere regret that the United States has also responded negatively to this proposal, and we should like to join others in appealing for a reconsideration of its position, for it has been clear all along that the active participation and support of both super-Powers is essential if this process is to have any chance of success.

34. At every instance when the United Nations has sought to embark on a fresh initiative to establish a structure for comprehensive negotiations, Israel has consistently frustrated those efforts by persisting in its policies of terror and oppression of the Palestinian Arabs in the occupied territories and of aggressive expansionism against its neighbours. Time and again, Israel has consciously chosen belligerency over diplomacy and stubborn reliance on policies of force over efforts for peace.

35. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, in its report [*A/39/35*], has graphically detailed these Israeli policies and practices of blatant aggression and repression, as well as Israel's systematic attempts to destroy the PLO politically and physically, in the vain hope of extinguishing the fire of Palestinian nationalism and obliterating Palestinian national identity.

36. Without going into further detail, my delegation would only wish to highlight the fact that in the occupied territories Israel has stepped up its illegal settlements policy, which by its own admission is aimed at achieving 100,000 Israeli settlers by 1987 and a projected figure of 190,000 by the year 2010. In pursuit of this objective, the Tel Aviv régime has intensified its ruthless measures to render life unbearable for the Palestinian Arabs, with the sole intention of eventually forcing them out of their

ancestral homeland. More recently, the Palestinians in the occupied territories have been subjected to attacks by gangs of armed Israeli settlers who enjoy the tacit encouragement, and even the connivance, of the occupation régime. Israel's appalling record of brutality against the indigenous Palestinians is clearly directed towards nothing less than the permanent denial of their national rights, thus exposing also its goal of ultimately annexing the occupied territories.

Mr. Adjoyi (Togo), Vice-President, took the Chair.

37. Israel's contemptuous rejection of all peace initiatives is further reflected in its unceasing hostility towards the United Nations itself, which, ironically, is the very Organization that gave birth to that State. In fact, Israel has gone so far as to blame the United Nations, accusing it of fanning the flames of the conflict by adopting "unbalanced resolutions". However, the incontestable truth is that the United Nations response to Israel's aggression and its violations of the human and national rights of the Palestinians can in no way be considered biased, as all relevant United Nations resolutions scrupulously and consistently defend international norms and principles.

38. Therefore, the reason why today Israel is regarded as a renegade State is to be found in its own actions and policies, not in any decisions taken by the United Nations. It is isolated because its attitudes and policies are anathema to the eyes of the world community, for it has rejected virtually every cardinal principle enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

39. Israel has sought to portray its aggressive and annexationist policies as somehow conforming to the dictates of national security and self-defence. The death and destruction wrought upon the Palestinian and Arab peoples throughout the long and savage years of Israeli aggression, oppression and foreign occupation, however, have opened the eyes of most of Israel's ardent supporters to the utter falsity of that claim.

40. In contrast to Israel, which is in a position of isolation, the PLO today enjoys the recognition and support of the international community, which has closed ranks with it in the efforts to ensure the realization of the Palestinian people's inalienable right to a sovereign State of its own. The PLO has earned this respect and admiration because few other national liberation movements have so heroically withstood for so many years the merciless onslaught of their enemy. Moreover, its strength and viability were reaffirmed most recently by the successful outcome of the Palestine National Council meeting held last month at Amman. Thus, it is beyond question that the PLO has a legitimate and indispensable role to play as an equal party in all efforts and any negotiations leading to an enduring peace in the Middle East.

41. My delegation has consistently supported the call for a peace conference, as was reflected most recently in our statement on the situation in the Middle East [75th meeting], when we affirmed our full backing for the Secretary-General's continuing efforts to bring about the convening of the conference. We agree with him that the United Nations is duty-bound to persevere in trying to devise, within the overall context of the international peace conference, a negotiating process or structure acceptable to all concerned.

42. Indonesia is convinced that at the present stage the peace conference proposal offers the only promising avenue to a comprehensive, just and lasting peace: comprehensive in the sense of simultaneously resolving all the interrelated aspects of the Middle East conflict, with the question of Palestine and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from Arab lands as its essential elements; just, by ensuring respect for the rights and security requirements of all parties to the conflict, in accordance with the tenets of international law, morality and human dignity; and lasting, by eliminating the major elements of tension in the region by removing their root causes.

43. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): For 40 years, the Middle East has been one of the most dangerous hotbeds of international tension, and the situation has not improved in recent years. On the contrary, it has deteriorated further owing to the increasingly aggressive nature of Israeli policy and brutal imperialist interference in the internal affairs of States of the region.

44. It is generally considered that the question of Palestine always has been and continues to be at the core of the Middle East problem.

45. We deeply regret that yet another year has been added to the 37 years of the tragic history of the Palestinian people without any real progress having been made in efforts to settle the question of Palestine. Today, the tragedy of the Palestinians is eloquent proof that the imperialist policy of expansion and aggression brings only misfortune to peoples. It is as a result of that policy that an entire people, a people with a long history and a rich culture, has been deprived of its right to a homeland and condemned to live in exile.

46. In the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, the Israeli aggressor has consistently applied a policy of cruel terror, massive repression, national oppression and genocide. These territories have been the target of mass colonization of unprecedented magnitude. New military settlements are constantly created, and existing ones are expanded and consolidated.

47. Those in the Tel Aviv ruling circles not only do not hide their aggressive intentions regarding the occupied territories, but declare them as openly as possible. To illustrate their plans in this regard, suffice it to cite the study on Israel's policy in the West Bank, prepared by a commission presided over by a former mayor of Jerusalem and published in *The New York Times* of 25 April 1984, which concluded that the annexation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip was only a matter of time.

48. This policy of rampant aggression, whose guiding principle is amorality and expansion through brute force, is absolutely contrary to the principles of contemporary international law and to the relevant decisions of the United Nations. In spite of the expressed will of the international community, Tel Aviv persists in this adventurist policy, the most recent example of which is the barbaric invasion of Lebanon.

49. The memory of the monstrous crime perpetrated against the Palestinian refugees in the Sabra and Shatila camps will live for ever in the memory of the world community. The mass extermination of the peaceful inhabitants of those two refugee camps—an example *par excellence* of genocide—has been

equalled only by the crimes of the Hitlerite Fascists during the Second World War.

50. The results of Israel's large-scale aggression in Lebanon, now in its third year, are well known: more than 20,000 Lebanese and Palestinians dead and more than 30,000 wounded; one third of the territory of Lebanon still under Israeli control; immense material losses suffered by Lebanon. On Lebanese soil, Israeli militarism applies on a wide scale the sinister experience it gained in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights.

51. The brutality of Israel's policy and the active assistance given it by Washington have not been sufficient to enable it to attain its major objective: the destruction of the Palestinian movement of national liberation, the removal of the question of Palestine from the agenda of the United Nations and of other international forums, and the eradication of the question from the spirit and conscience of mankind.

52. The tragic events of the last few years have demonstrated more clearly than ever before that there is no force capable of stifling the aspiration of the Palestinian people to freedom and independence. Its determined struggle to achieve its inalienable national rights daily increases the sympathy and respect of the peoples of the whole world.

53. The huge international consensus on the principles and the sole means of justly resolving the question of Palestine has been expressed in numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during the last 15 years. Among them is the important resolution 38/58 C, in which the Assembly endorsed the Geneva Declaration on Palestine,³ adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva last year, and reaffirmed the proposal to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East. That consensus was also supported in the Final Declaration of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982;⁴ in the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983;⁵ and in the Political Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, issued at Prague on 5 January 1983.⁶

54. Against this backdrop, it is natural to wonder why the question of Palestine still remains unresolved, given the clearly expressed will of the international community.

55. It is as clear as daylight that Israel would never have been able to carry out its brazen policy in the Middle East without the unreserved and total assistance given by its "strategic ally", if the United States did not systematically use its right of veto in the Security Council to block any possibility of equitably resolving the question of Palestine and of applying effective measures against the aggressor. United States assistance to Israel within the context of that well-known "strategic alliance" is based not on moral considerations but on the objectives of military policy. The development of events in the Middle East has revealed the true nature of the separate agreements announced by their authors, with much fanfare, as a "road to peace". Immediately after the signing of the Camp David agreements, there were far more casualties than during the Israeli aggression of 1967, the situation in the region became even

more explosive and the danger to international peace even more serious.

56. Thus the great majority of States Members of the United Nations, as well as the Palestine National Council, are right to declare that they are against the attempts to revive the American "plans" for a settlement of the problem of the Middle East that do not take into account the legitimate interests of all the peoples of the region.

57. Experience has shown that peace and stability in the Middle East can be assured only through collective efforts and with the participation of all the parties involved, including the PLO, not through separate agreements and dubious missions of good offices.

58. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has more than once stated that it favours a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the conflict in the Middle East. An integral part of such a solution is the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish its own state on the soil of Palestine and under the leadership of the PLO.

59. While reaffirming its full solidarity with the heroic Arab people of Palestine, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to give its active support to the just struggle which that people is waging against aggression and national oppression, the final objective of which is the enjoyment of its legitimate right to live in its own independent, sovereign Palestinian State, in peace and co-operation with all peoples of the region.

60. The People's Republic of Bulgaria firmly believes in the just cause of the Palestinian people and in the triumph of that cause.

61. Mr. MOUMIN (Comoros) (*interpretation from French*): The Israeli-Palestinian conflict constitutes the major source of tension in the world, and the failure to settle this problem constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security; just as it frustrates the various measures that have been adopted by the United Nations to preserve peace in the world.

62. The Palestinian question emerged from the conflict between zionism and the Arab people of Palestine, but it also constitutes the axis of the Arab-Israeli conflict—in short, the key to the crisis in the Middle East.

63. The essence of this problem is the fact that, since 1948, a people driven from its land and dispersed throughout several countries has been struggling to exercise its fundamental rights and establish its own State in accordance with the right of peoples to self-determination.

64. The fate of the Palestinian people arouses feelings of profound sympathy and fraternal support from other peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America in particular. No one today can contest the justice of the Palestinian claim; no one can deny the legality of that claim under international law.

65. The Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, since its arrival on the international scene, has never failed to proclaim loudly and clearly the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent and sovereign State on the Arab soil of Palestine, which has been occupied arbitrarily by Israel.

66. For very nearly 40 years, the United Nations has endeavoured, as set forth in Article 1 of the Charter:

“To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, . . .”

67. All these efforts of the United Nations to ensure that the spirit and the letter of that Article are respected unfortunately come up against the intransigence of the Zionist State. We are therefore entitled to ask how the United Nations can be the craftsman of peace if Member States do not abide by its Charter.

68. The Israeli State, warmongering and expansionist by nature, is continuing to defy the international community and flagrantly violate the various resolutions that have been adopted by the United Nations to promote friendly relations among peoples. The continuance of the illegal occupation of Arab territories of Palestine, their militarization and the barbarous massacres carried out against the Palestinian people, as well as the base acts of destabilization against the Arab people of the region, are but further obstacles that lessen the chances of success of United Nations efforts to establish peace in that part of the world.

69. My country admires the dynamism with which the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People is discharging its heavy and complex mission. My delegation would like to avail itself of this opportunity to extend its deep gratitude to the Committee and in particular to its Chairman, Mr. Massamba Sarré, for their tireless efforts on behalf of the Palestinian people. I should like to pay a tribute to this people for its courage and firm determination to regain its ancestral land that has been unjustly occupied by the force of arms.

70. Despite the various trials used to pit Palestinian against Palestinian, despite indiscriminate massacres and physical liquidation, the Palestinian people remains devoted to its national unity.

71. My country appreciates the role that is played by the PLO, the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people, to preserve the national unity of this people that has been dispersed in various countries.

72. Last month's gathering at Amman of the Palestine National Council constitutes the best example of this unity. My country is most gratified with this success, which will be able to dash divisionist speculations.

73. The Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros is proud of the heroic struggle that is courageously being waged by the Palestinian people. That is why my delegation would like to take this opportunity to reiterate its unswerving support for their just cause.

74. We would like urgently to appeal to all the fraternal Arab countries to stand behind the PLO, the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people. Any attempt to divide that historic movement does nothing other than redound to the benefit of the Zionist enemy.

75. Mr. KURODA (Japan): The situation in the Middle East continues to be volatile and is a source of concern to countries of the world. In particular, there is still no sign of a solution to the question of

Palestine, which is the core of the Middle East problem. The bloodshed and suffering in the Middle East will continue until a just and lasting solution to the question of Palestine is found. Regrettably, efforts towards a solution have not been fruitful. Indeed, the plight of the Palestinian people has recently become even worse.

76. Since I already stated the position of the Government of Japan on the question of Palestine in the debate on the situation in the Middle East, on 27 November [75th meeting], I will not repeat it here. I wish at this time simply to say that Japan has consistently maintained that, in order to solve the question of Palestine, it is essential that Israel and the PLO recognize each other's position and that the PLO participate in the peace process.

77. We hope that, in order to realize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of self-determination, the unity of the PLO will be restored and that it will consolidate its position as an integral party in the search for peace. In this connection, we intend to follow what course the PLO will take subsequent to the recent meeting of the Palestine National Council.

78. Moreover, Japan believes it is of utmost importance that both Israel and the Palestinian people make every effort to dispel mutual distrust and foster a will to coexist. From this point of view, too, Japan cannot condone Israel's policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories, nor Israel's measures unilaterally to change the status of the occupied Arab territories, such as the annexation of East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. At the same time, Japan strongly appeals to Israel, as the occupying authority, to make special efforts to protect the human rights of the Palestinian inhabitants of those territories in accordance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.¹

79. At present, the peace process is at a stalemate. The Government of Japan strongly hopes that the parties concerned will carefully consider past international efforts, such as President Reagan's initiative of 1 September 1982,⁷ and the Final Declaration of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982,⁴ and, with a realistic, constructive and flexible attitude, will make serious efforts towards the achievement of genuine peace in the region.

80. There is, of course, no easy solution to the Middle East problems, but the Government of Japan reaffirms its intention to co-operate with all efforts towards the early attainment of our common goal—a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, achieved through a process of negotiation and without recourse to the use of force.

81. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the heart of the struggle between the Arabs and Israel, which enters its fourth decade in the region of the Middle East, lies the question of Palestine, that of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, in the refugee camps, in exile or in the diaspora.

82. A sound historic approach to the question of Palestine shows that it is no longer acceptable or logical continually to scorn the right to independence and existence of the Palestinians as a people which wants respect for its legitimate rights, foremost among which is its right to self-determination.

83. The Palestinian nation, which is a distinct and strong entity, has a national consciousness around which its people rallies. It therefore wishes to be recognized and not scorned, to be taken into account and not ignored. On this basis, Egypt appreciates the importance of the session of the Palestinian National Council at Amman from 22 to 29 November 1984, which confirmed the independent nature of the Palestinian decision and the freedom of the Palestinian will. Herein, Egypt finds a conscious choice with regard to a just peace and an enhancement of the legitimacy of the Palestinian people and the victory of Palestinian rights and interests.

84. The objective, comprehensive and democratic dialogue between the Palestinian people and its legitimate leadership in the PLO, as well as its struggling contingents, reaffirms the vitality of that people, its unity of purpose and its unflinching determination to continue the struggle for the exercise of its national and legitimate right to return and to self-determination.

85. There is no perspective more significant or more profound than the comprehensive perspective based on principle from which Egypt views the unity of the Palestinian people and their continuing struggle within the framework of the unity, cohesion and solidarity of the one Arab nation.

86. This was manifested in the meeting of the Palestine National Council at Amman. It was explicit in President Mubarak's statement before the Egyptian Parliament on 2 December 1984, when he welcomed the Jordanian monarch, King Hussein, during his visit to Egypt. President Mubarak stated:

"The events unfolding around us make it necessary for me to dot the i's and cross the t's. I listen to the one Arab voice, the voice of one Arab nation, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulf, calling on all Arab leaders to turn to the new page on which our future history is written. This is our historic responsibility towards the coming generations.

"Accordingly, we greeted the Palestine National Council, which met in the capital of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. That meeting is an indication of the Arab capacity to overcome artificial barriers and of the fact that the will to unity and solidarity is far stronger than division and dissension."

The Egyptian President added:

"Egypt will never abandon its vanguard role in the service of Arab causes and will never falter in carrying out its duty, however violent the storms and waves. It is a firm strategy of Egypt's policy to champion the Palestinian cause."

87. Day after day in the occupied Arab territories there are numerous examples of colonization, *de facto* annexation, coercion, duress, the seizure of lands, expropriation of property, unjust exploitation of resources and continuing arbitrary practices, the most abhorrent of which is the imposition of a dual legal system that discriminates between the Palestinian inhabitants, who are the rightful owners of the land, and the Israeli settlers. All this has led to a vicious circle of occupation, followed by resistance, then oppression and then yet more resistance. Occupation has led to what we see today in the way of obnoxious fanaticism and organized terrorism perpetrated by intruding settler groups.

88. In spite of all these material conditions which have been imposed, and in spite of arbitrary prac-

tices, an enlightened reading of all these events shows that power, domination, the bonds of military occupation and structural or demographic changes can never quell the desire for national existence of an authentic people which has lived hundreds—nay, thousands—of years on its land in Palestine. This is not the position of the international community alone, but is indeed the voice of reason among peoples that cherish peace and justice, a voice now beginning to echo within Israel itself.

89. Israeli policies in the occupied Arab territories stem from a false assumption and therefore lead to the wrong results. Israel's non-recognition of the applicability of the Geneva conventions to the occupied Arab territories and its non-compliance with its responsibilities as a signatory to those conventions in its capacity as an occupying authority can never impart legitimacy or legality to any measures—recent or old—emanating from those arbitrary policies, based on *faits accomplis*.

90. The establishment of new illegal settlements and the expansion of existing ones are illegal. The original settlements and the proliferation of settlements are also illegal.

91. Above all, the annexation by the Government of Israel in 1980 of the City of Jerusalem is an illegal act. This legal and political position was reaffirmed by the Security Council in resolution 478 (1980).

92. It is incumbent upon the international community to take deterrent measures to prevent the loss of the Holy City of Jerusalem through the action of Israeli forces within the framework of Israeli sovereignty over and occupation of the Arab territories.

93. The international community is called upon to take the necessary measures to preserve the security of the Holy City, which is a source of inspiration for all those who believe in divine revelation and is a place of fraternity and tolerance, and to prevent Israel from imposing its will unilaterally on a historic, unique city which the whole world regards as special.

94. Egypt's position of principle is unswerving: it rejects Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem. Egypt insists that Jerusalem is part of the occupied Arab territories and subject to the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, as well as to the Geneva conventions. No change in its demographic, geographic or administrative nature can be regarded as legal or in any way serve as a precedent.

95. The Holy City of Jerusalem must remain Arab and must be protected from all regional conflict and from Israeli domination. It must remain a city of peace and love, as ordained by God and the prophets.

96. In his statement before the General Assembly on 28 September last [12th meeting], the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs made a general evaluation of the different elements of the Palestinian question, its causes and dimensions and the elements of a just and comprehensive solution.

97. That statement included a number of considerations that are indispensable in arriving at a just political settlement of the question of Palestine. These can be summed up as follows.

98. First, peace and expansion into the land of others are irreconcilable. Israel must therefore relinquish the occupied Arab territories so that genuine peace can be attained. This applies equally to the

West Bank, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, to the Gaza Strip and, of course, to the occupied Syrian Golan Heights.

99. Secondly, the question of Palestine must be resolved through negotiations, with the participation of the Palestinian people, the party directly concerned, and Israel.

100. Thirdly, these negotiations must be based on the principle of mutual and reciprocal recognition of the right of the other to exist.

101. Fourthly, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination is a sacred, inalienable right and necessarily entails its right to establish an independent State on its national soil and, if it so wishes, to choose unity with any other entity through the free expression of its will.

102. Fifthly, the Palestinian people, as the party directly concerned, has the right to choose its representatives and spokesmen. The Palestinian people has already chosen the PLO as its representative and spokesman.

103. Egypt, which honours its commitments and its signature to treaties and conventions, foremost among which is the Charter of the United Nations, which calls for the peaceful settlement of disputes, has chosen the path of peace. Egypt is following that path in the firm conviction that peace must be based on justice and that only such a peace can satisfy the interests of all concerned. The arduous road that leads to peace and progress must proceed through free negotiations, based on the principle of mutual recognition of rights and respect for mutual commitments. This is the challenge we must all meet.

104. Egypt, which has expressed its readiness to explore all possible avenues, in President Mubarak's message on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, commemorated on 29 November 1984, reaffirmed that it favoured

"all constructive initiatives, including that of the United Nations, for the holding of an international peace conference on the Middle East with the participation, on an equal footing, of all concerned parties, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, so as to translate the aspirations for peace and coexistence into an historic reconciliation guaranteeing rights and based on law".

105. The recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [see A/39/35, annex I], endorsed by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session, in 1976, continue to serve as an acceptable basis. There is no doubt that the efforts of the Committee and its members have advanced those recommendations towards more developed and more effective horizons through the documents of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva in the summer of 1983.

106. In this context, we wish to pay a tribute to the efforts of the Committee and its Chairman. We appreciate their contribution and lend our support to their efforts.

107. Egypt, with responsibility and effectiveness, participated in the preparation for that historic conference and, together with all the participating countries, worked for its success. We feel that the Geneva Declaration on Palestine,³ unanimously approved by the Conference, constitutes a balanced,

constructive and realistic framework for opening the peace process, based on justice, to new horizons. Egypt believes that the implementation of the multifaceted Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights,³ adopted by the Conference, constitutes a continuous and renewable framework that would enable the Palestinian people to recover their inalienable and legitimate rights.

108. The recommendations of the Committee this year [*ibid.*, paras. 155-160], have highlighted the great importance attached to the holding of an international peace conference on the Middle East, called for last year by the General Assembly in resolution 38/58 C and described in the Committee's recommendations as providing an opportunity for all the concerned parties to participate in the negotiations leading to a just settlement of the question of Palestine.

109. In this connection, we wish to recall again the relevant observations made by the Secretary-General in his report on the situation in the Middle East [A/39/600] and refer to his precise analysis of the need to move in this direction in the search for a peaceful settlement, especially with regard to the cardinal role attributed to the Security Council as the organ primarily responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as to his practical views on the basis of negotiation, its context and the role that the Secretary-General himself can play in consultation with the Council and the concerned parties in preparation for such a conference.

110. Discussion of the question of Palestine began with the establishment of the United Nations. The passage of four decades since the beginning of the conflict should not make us forget for one moment its true causes and origin. Nor must we forget the fate met by the resolutions adopted year after year by the United Nations.

111. The time elapsed after the adoption of a United Nations resolution does not rob it of its legitimacy or legality, in spite of Israel's disregard of United Nations resolutions, or violation of them.

112. The rights of the Palestinian people are deep-rooted in their land. The Palestinian people's right to return and to self-determination is authentic, however long that may take. No matter how long Israel continues to violate international conventions, the political, legal and historic bases of the national and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people in their land cannot be denied.

113. In the final analysis, the Palestine cause remains the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It will symbolize the human reality which the voice of reason beckons us to acknowledge and not deny. It calls on us to deal with it, not to ignore it, for the Palestinian people, like all other peoples in the region, are entitled to a secure existence and a free and dignified life.

114. Palestine will always remain a source of peace—if that is indeed the will of the peoples of the region—or it can continue to be a theatre of slaughter, agony and loss of life, if one party to the conflict continues to be the prisoner of historic illusions and the victim of a desire for domination and supremacy over the other parties.

115. The choice in Palestine is between peace and strife. Wisdom and realism call on us to look to the future, to opt for peace and to exploit all the opportunities that are before us all. We must choose

peace, a peace based on justice—the only kind of peace that can result in the security and stability to which we all aspire.

116. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Post-war history has seen quite a few examples of the emergence and fanning of regional conflicts for which imperialist and other reactionary forces are to blame. These are conflicts which threaten international peace and security. But probably the most acute and protracted of them is still the conflict in the Middle East, of which a key element is the Palestinian problem.

117. The core of this problem, as is well known, is the fact that the Arab people of Palestine is deprived of its inalienable right to self-determination and the establishment of its own State. Despite numerous United Nations resolutions and efforts of the international community, the past year has not alleviated the plight of the long-suffering Palestinian people. This is attested to by many facts cited in the discussion and in reports from the occupied territories.

118. The present explosive situation in the Middle East region is the result of the adventurist, expansionist policy of Israel, encouraged and supported by the United States. It is the ruling circles of Israel which are carrying out an inflexible chauvinistic policy towards the Arab people of Palestine, egging on the country to continue the occupation of Palestinian and other Arab lands, implementing a deliberate policy of expelling the Palestinian people from the lands they have seized and trying by force of arms to put an end to the Palestinian question.

119. At present, Tel Aviv has behind the bars of the occupation régime about 2 million persons, that is, a population equal to about half the inhabitants of Israel. Numerous events attest to the fact that the Israeli clique is carrying out a policy of mass terrorism in the occupied territories. Murder of the civilian population, mass acts of repression and torture, collective reprisals, medical experiments on prisoners, destruction of housing and expulsion of persons—those are ingredients of the Zionist “iron-fist” policy, the major objective of which is to gain for Israel more “vital space.”

120. It is accompanied by stepped-up colonization of the Arab lands seized as a result of aggression and is aimed at changing the demographic picture. According to several sources, as a result of expropriation, Israel now controls 60 per cent of Palestinian lands. The establishment of Israeli settlements on these lands is going on at an ever faster pace. The number of such settlements is already about 200. In the next 30 years, the number of colonists in them will exceed a million, given the present level of 50,000. Such are the results of the plans and the policies of “creeping annexation” regarding the occupied territories. These actions are a crude violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,¹ and they have been condemned on numerous occasions by the Security Council, the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies.

121. The question naturally arises as to how Israel, which received its own statehood as a result of United Nations decisions, has been able for so many years blatantly to ignore decisions of the Organiza-

tion, openly trample underfoot all norms of international law and the provisions of the Charter, continue to occupy Palestinian lands and cynically deny the legitimate owners their inalienable rights.

122. There is one answer to this: Israel could not behave in such a brazen and provocative manner were it not for the patronage and comprehensive support it receives from its overseas partner in “a strategic alliance”. By arming and watching over the aggressor, defending it in the United Nations, the United States, together with Israel, bears direct responsibility for the dangerous situation existing in the Middle East which threatens international peace, and they bear the responsibility for the fact that the Palestinian problem has not yet been resolved. As has been rightly noted in the course of the current Assembly session, it is precisely those two States which are now blocking the way to genuine peace in the Middle East, peremptorily trying to impose on the Arabs separate deals which are in contradiction with the true interests of the Arab countries and ignore the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

123. It is well known that only thanks to generous financial injections from overseas can Israel continue its expansionist policy against the Arab peoples. This year alone, financial assistance to Israel accounted for \$2.61 billion, and the needs of the aggressor grow unchecked. Thus, for the new financial year, Tel Aviv, it is reported, is planning to request \$5 billion. There can be no doubt that Washington will turn a sympathetic ear to this request. In this connection *The Christian Science Monitor* of 6 September this year noted that: “The pro-Israeli lobby has shown on many occasions that it can win out over the Administration, both in Congress and in the Senate, on any question which affects the interests of Israel”.

124. The pro-Israeli policy of the United States has once again been reaffirmed in discussion in the Security Council this year of incidents of the lawlessness of the Israeli military clique against the Lebanese and Palestinians in occupied southern Lebanon.

125. The anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian essence of the policy of strategic partners was also reaffirmed by their negative attitude towards the idea of convening an international peace conference on the Middle East. It is because of the obstructionist policies of those two Governments that General Assembly resolution 38/58 C, regarding the convening of such a conference, has still not been implemented. From 1976 onwards, because of the United States veto, implementation of the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has not been carried out. Those recommendations lay down ways and means of implementing those rights. Using trumped-up excuses, they also reject other constructive proposals, including the Arab peace plan, adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference,⁴ and others aimed at solving the Middle East problem and finding a just solution to the Palestinian problem.

126. The Ukrainian SSR is convinced that it is not through military adventures or backstage intrigues and separate deals that peace can be brought to the peoples of the Middle East. A fundamental improvement in the situation in the Middle East can be achieved only through joint efforts, through conven-

ing an international conference with the participation of all parties involved, including the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. It is precisely that course which is indicated in the 29 July 1984 proposals of the Soviet Union [see A/39/368] on the settlement of the Middle East problem. They provide for a full withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, a just solution to the key problem of a settlement for the Middle East and for the Palestine problem on the basis of the implementation of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, *inter alia*, its right to self-determination and to the creation of its own independent State. The Soviet proposals give both an overview and a summary of the initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union at various stages of the development of this conflict and lay down clear principles and concrete means for eliminating the problem. Those proposals, which take into account the legitimate interests of all countries and peoples of the region, received broad approval in the Arab world and also a positive assessment during the course of the current session of the General Assembly. All those who genuinely aspire to a peaceful settlement of the problem of the Middle East supported them.

127. In stating our solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people for their inalienable rights, we call for a closing of ranks among anti-imperialist national patriotic forces of the Arab countries, including the Palestine resistance movement. This is an earnest of the success of the struggle of the Arabs against imperialism and zionism and for the establishment of a just, lasting peace in the Middle East and ensuring the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

128. The Ukrainian SSR favours the adoption by the General Assembly of effective measures aimed at the speedy solution of the problem of the Middle East. Such a solution is awaited by all peoples of the region, and first and foremost by the Palestinian people.

129. We believe the General Assembly should take an unequivocal stand favouring the continuation of efforts for the speedy convening of an international conference on the Middle East. The obstacles raised to so doing must be eliminated. In this connection, we call on the Assembly to adopt an appropriate decision, and we are ready actively to support it.

130. Mr. AL-ALFI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The fact that the question of Palestine, the core of the conflict in the Middle East, remains without a just solution has serious consequences for stability in the region. This question, which continues to be given priority attention by the United Nations, requires serious measures to find a just solution, especially since the absence of a solution to the problem only adds to the sufferings of the Palestinian people, who have been forcibly expelled from their land and are subjected to the most horrendous forms of terrorism and torture and whose lands and properties have been expropriated by the Israeli occupying authorities.

131. The successive events and developments in the Middle East amply demonstrate that without a withdrawal by Israel from the Arab territories it occupies and without a just solution of the question of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to its country,

the right to self-determination and the right to establish an independent State on its national soil, the explosive situation in the Middle East will be exacerbated.

132. The continuation of these aggressive, racist and expansionist policies of Israel in the Palestinian territories and the occupied Arab territories—occupation, annexation, expropriation, the expansion and establishment of settlements, oppression, terrorism and deportation of the Palestinian people, according to an overall framework of Zionist schemes and goals—is only making the Palestinian and Arab peoples more than ever determined to cling to their ancestral lands and to continue their struggle for liberation, knowing that they enjoy the support and solidarity of all forces and countries in the world that cherish peace and freedom.

133. The only path to peace and security in the Middle East is that of a comprehensive, just and lasting solution, one that does not fragment the question or disregard the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. The policy of separate, bilateral agreements which the United States and Israel are trying to impose on the peoples of the region is contrary to the legitimate interests of the Arab people and constitutes partiality and support on the part of the United States for Israel's policy of aggression and expansion in the region.

134. I would like to emphasize once again my country's firm position. It supports the struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, against aggressive policies and conspiracies designed to impose final solutions that are contrary to United Nations resolutions and to the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people.

135. At the same time, we express our appreciation for the international efforts and initiatives designed to restore a just and lasting peace to the Middle East and to defuse the explosive situation, through the holding of an international conference with the participation of all the parties concerned in the conflict, including the PLO.

136. The Geneva Declaration on Palestine,³ adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva in 1983, emphasized that a just solution of the question of Palestine is the crucial element in a political, just, lasting and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. That declaration also lays down the guidelines for such a settlement. They include the right of the Palestinian people to return to its land, its right to self-determination and its right to establish its own independent State in its homeland. The Geneva Declaration also calls for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations, with a view to the achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, based, above all, on the establishment of an independent Palestinian State in Palestine. The declaration provides that the conference should be held with the participation, on an equal footing, of all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the PLO, the United States, the Soviet Union and other concerned States.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) resumed the Chair.

137. Furthermore, the Soviet Union recently put forward some proposals [*ibid.*] regarding the question of Palestine and the Middle East. Those proposals are essentially in line with the General Assembly's

call for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East.

138. In our view, these international proposals and initiatives provide a viable, practical and realistic framework for the realization of a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, under which the Palestinian people could exercise their inalienable national rights and the occupied Arab territories, including Arab Jerusalem, could be liberated. Democratic Yemen calls on the international community to take practical steps to achieve a just and lasting settlement in the region.

139. Moreover, in our opinion, the rejection by Israel and its strategic ally, the United States, of these initiatives and their continued denial to the Palestinian people of their inalienable national rights emphasize the fact that this strategic alliance between the United States and Israel, which has been condemned by the General Assembly, only exacerbates tension in the Middle East and turns the region into an arena for conspiracies against the peoples of the Arab countries, thereby endangering peace and stability in the region. The aim is to pave the way for imposing imperialist hegemony on the Arab lands, plundering the wealth of the Arab States and taking control over their destiny.

140. The true American-Zionist intentions and objectives in the region are very clear; they cannot be hidden. Unlimited support by the United States for Israel, in all fields, is the principal factor behind Israel's refusal to comply with United Nations resolutions and its continued defiance of the international community's will. As is known, the United States continues to support Israel in the United Nations by using its veto power in the Security Council. The United States even resorts to threatening States and international organizations that condemn Israeli policies and practices. That demonstrates the complete bias of the United States in favour of Israel.

141. We hope that the discussions at the current session will provide new impetus for international solidarity with the just cause of the Palestinian people and its legitimate struggle. We also hope that it will bolster the Assembly's condemnation of the aggressive, expansionist and racist policies pursued by Israel, with the support and encouragement of the United States. In that way, the United Nations will shoulder its full responsibility to eliminate the injustice and suffering to which the Palestinian people is subjected and will be able to take practical steps to achieve a just and lasting settlement so that peace may reign in that explosive region and the Palestinian people may be enabled to exercise its inalienable national rights.

142. Mr. Shah NAWAZ (Pakistan): The consideration of the question of Palestine is yet another sombre reminder, if any is needed, that the international community has not been able to resolve what is perhaps the oldest issue on the General Assembly's agenda. The question of Palestine has been figuring in our debates for nearly four decades and we are no nearer a solution of the problem today than we were 37 years ago, when the issue first came up for the consideration of the General Assembly.

143. Year after year, the General Assembly in its deliberations on the Palestinian question has focused its attention on the two distinguishable, though inseparable, aspects of the problem—namely, the plight of the Palestinians in the occupied territories,

and the reaffirmation and realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national independence, which is at the heart of the Middle East conflict. On both counts, the picture remains dismal.

144. All over the world, people are vividly conscious of the cruel fate which has overtaken the Palestinian people, under alien occupation in the land of their birth and as refugees scattered in foreign lands. This tragedy is of such enormous proportions that familiarity with it does not blunt the edge of our sensitivity or render us immune to suffering the pangs of conscience which it generates.

145. In the West Bank and in Gaza, the indomitable people of Palestine face a relentless oppressor which is pursuing a calculated policy of harassment and terrorism aimed at compelling them to abandon the land on which they have lived for over a millennium and where they have built a vibrant nation and a proud civilization. Outside the land of their birth, most of them suffer the indescribable hardships of deprivation and life in exile. Even in the refugee camps they have not found safety from relentless vengeance and ruthlessness, of which the brutal massacres in the Sabra and Shatila camps in Lebanon following the Israeli onslaught against that country in 1982 were the most savage expressions.

146. We wish to convey our deep appreciation to Mr. Massamba Sarré, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, for the report of the Committee [A/39/35], which reviews in detail the appalling conditions of the Palestinians living under Israeli occupation. The report gives numerous instances of harassment and persecution of the Arab and Palestinian population in the occupied territories, which are kept constantly terrorized through frequent curfews and the routine practice of security checks by the Israeli occupation authorities—soldiers, police and settlers—at any time of the day or night. At the same time, the economy of the occupied territories is being manipulated in a manner which facilitates control over production and reduction of the capacity to create employment. Consequently, young Palestinians are forced to leave the land of their fathers in search of employment and sustenance abroad.

147. Terrorism is rampant, and even the Islamic holy places are not immune from desecration at the hands of fanatics who openly advocate the obliteration of Arab and Palestinian existence and the banishment of their cultural heritage from the occupied territories.

148. The most disturbing and sinister aspect of Israeli policy in the occupied territories is the systematic pursuit of the objective of permanent annexation of the occupied territories by altering their Palestinian and Arab character. The main thrust of this policy is towards changing the demographic pattern of the occupied territories through the expropriation of Arab and Palestinian lands and the establishment of Israeli settlements. Measures have been taken to limit or obstruct the expansion or growth of Palestinian towns and villages and to divert the resources of the land, particularly water, for the benefit of Israeli settlers. According to the report of the Committee, the ominous long-term consequences of this policy are evident in the Israeli projections, which envisage settling a minimum of 200,000 Israeli citizens in the occupied territories by

1987 and 190,000 by the year 2010. These numbers exclude Israeli settlers in Jerusalem and other Palestinian localities incorporated into the city immediately after the 1967 war.

149. The report of the Committee also touches upon the conditions in the Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon, which fell under Israeli occupation in 1982. The concern, reflected in the report, over the security of the Palestinian refugee camps, particularly at Ein el-Hilweh, was the subject of Security Council deliberations in May of this year. It is a matter of deep regret that the Council was unable to respond to the Lebanese complaint about the coercive practices and measures enforced by the Israeli occupation authorities against the civilian population in southern Lebanon, which includes a large segment of Palestinian refugees who, like their compatriots in the West Bank and Gaza, have become the victims of Israeli intolerance.

150. The continuously deteriorating conditions inside the occupied territories are rendered more poignant by the bleakness of the prospects for a solution of the Palestinian question on the basis of the realization by the Palestinian people of their inalienable national rights. The numerous international initiatives seeking a just solution to this festering problem have all foundered on the rock of Israeli intransigence.

151. In the wake of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, the Arab leadership, demonstrating exemplary moderation and restraint, announced at Fez on 9 September 1982, at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference,⁴ a plan which was acclaimed throughout the world as offering a reasonable basis for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The Israeli authorities rejected the Fez plan out of hand. They even dismissed President Reagan's initiative of 1 September 1982,⁷ leaving little doubt about the existence and pursuit by Israel of a policy of relentless expansion in which the national rights of the Palestinian people have no place.

152. Undeterred by Israeli defiance, the United Nations has persisted in its efforts to ensure the restitution of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. Last year, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 36/120 C, the United Nations convened at Geneva, from 29 August to 7 September, the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, with the object of making a comprehensive effort to seek effective ways and means to enable the Palestinian people to regain and exercise their rights. Shortly afterwards, the General Assembly, echoing a decision taken at the Geneva Conference, adopted resolution 38/58 C, recommending the convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East, which, if it were to materialize, could provide an opportunity for all parties concerned to participate in negotiations leading to a comprehensive solution of the problem.

153. We are grateful to the Secretary-General for undertaking efforts to promote this General Assembly initiative, which are the subject of a report [*A/39/130 and Add.1*] under this agenda item. Consultations held last February in the Security Council enabled the Secretary-General to pursue the initiative regarding the convening and organization of the conference. It is clear, however, that in the absence of support from the United States and Israel, the

initiative on an international conference on the Middle East will be stillborn.

154. The continuing deadlock over these initiatives will benefit no country in the Middle East; nor can it bring any advantage to the two super-Powers, which have long professed their interest in the peace and stability of this sensitive region of the world. The deteriorating political climate in the region, and in particular inside the occupied territories, is a source of intense violence, the impact of which is being felt far beyond the region of the Middle East.

155. The years of deepening conflict in the Middle East and the threat this poses to global peace call for full recognition of the imperatives of peace and security in the region. Foremost among these are the immutable conditions, repeatedly spelt out by the General Assembly, for a Palestinian settlement. These are: the withdrawal by Israel from Palestinian and Arab territories occupied by it since 1967 and respect for the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish their own independent State in Palestine. This is not a new demand. The General Assembly mandated the creation of a Palestinian State concomitantly with that of Israel as early as November 1947. Israel cannot hope for peace or enjoy security without meeting these conditions.

156. It must be recognized that a settlement of the Palestinian question cannot conceivably be negotiated without the active participation of the Palestinian people through their authentic representative, the PLO. No process for the determination of the fate and destiny of the people of Palestine can be a viable process without their full participation.

157. It must also be recognized that progress towards a settlement requires the co-operation of both the super-Powers whose interests are so deeply involved in the area. Negotiations excluding one of them from making its indispensable contribution would be sterile. The strong international support available to the Palestinian cause at the United Nations and other international forums needs to be combined with a concerted, determined, yet pragmatic, endeavour by the Palestinian and Arab leadership, with the sole objective of seeking redress for the injustice done to the Palestine people. We are heartened by the success of the recent meeting of the Palestine National Council at Amman which promises the return of solidarity within the PLO, so vital for the advancement of the Palestinian cause. We hope that the decisions taken by the Council will provide a much-needed impetus to international efforts for a just and speedy resolution of the Palestinian question.

158. Meanwhile, the United Nations must pursue its endeavours to provide relief to the Palestinians under Israeli occupation and to prevent violations of their human rights. Simultaneously, it must continue to explore and seize without loss of time the opportunities which exist for a negotiated peace in the Middle East. The United Nations bears a special responsibility for the realization of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. The failure of the international community to fulfil its commitment to the Palestinian people will have incalculable consequences for the United Nations and, indeed, for world peace and security.

159. I take this opportunity to reaffirm the abiding commitment of the Government and the people of

Pakistan to the Palestine cause, a commitment which goes as far back as the beginnings of our own struggle for independence. Pakistan will continue to exert all efforts and extend all support for the deliverance of the people of Palestine from Israeli occupation.

160. Mr. ALAUKLI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): For over 37 years, the General Assembly has discussed the question of Palestine in both regular and extraordinary sessions. Each time, numerous resolutions are adopted reaffirming the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and their right to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent State. Each time also, all who harbour good intentions expect that a miracle will occur and hope that the recurrent call expressing the awakening of world conscience will be heard and that there will be a happy end to the tragedy of the Palestinian people, to their long sufferings and to the sacrifices they have made in their occupied land and in exile. Nevertheless, zionism and successive American administrations do not hesitate to place repeatedly coercive constraints on such hopes.

161. In the face of the separation and contradiction between international decisions and the likelihood of their implementation, we can see how those who, in haste and without difficulty, formulated the Charter of the United Nations in the aftermath of the Second World War, wrote the beautiful and optimistic Preamble to that Charter. It is clear that the founders were not sufficiently aware at the time that imperialist designs are even more dangerous for peace than fascism, that racism did not end with the fall of nazism and that threats to international peace and security persist in the absence of an international will and authority capable of protecting the causes of justice, right, freedom and peace.

162. The question of Palestine, in the past and at present, bears historic witness to the continuing prevalence of unjust rules in international relations, even with a United Nations presence in the matter. It also points to grave defects in the current form of the international Organization. Nearly 40 years after the establishment of the United Nations, equality between States remains for the majority a fantastic dream. In practice, it has been possible for one State, or a small group of States, to challenge the international will and consensus, in total disregard of the principles and provisions of the Charter and the principles of contemporary international law. Power in the world today is confined to the interests of the strong; he who possesses power has tremendous possibilities to transform wrong into right, the impossible into the possible. In such a situation, the legitimate aspirations of lesser peoples are stifled. A barrier is placed before their demands, however strong international sympathy may be. If, employing that logic, they do not offer even greater sacrifices in order to change the balance of power, they will never attain anything. The only other choice available to them is to surrender. That is exactly what zionism and imperialism have striven to impose upon the Palestinian people, and exactly what racism and imperialism wish to impose on the Namibian people. In spite of widespread international sympathy with those two causes, the two racist régimes in Palestine and South Africa continue to challenge the international will.

163. This deplorable fact, which illuminates the deep chasm between the principles and ideals en-

shrined in the Charter and the prevailing reality governing international relations, does not in any way detract from the value and importance of General Assembly resolutions and decisions to place the Palestinian question on its agenda at every session. In such a way, the General Assembly regularly unmasks the true face of Zionist policy and expresses deep international sympathy with the Palestinian people, at the same time revealing the dimensions of the threat to world peace as a result of the inadequacy of the existing international system and in spite of the lofty ideals of the authors of the Charter of the United Nations.

164. The United Nations bears a great part of the responsibility for the creation and development of the question of Palestine. The General Assembly resolution of 29 November 1947 [*resolution 181 (II)*], which partitioned Palestine into two States, signalled the first error committed by the United Nations in its history. This could have been due to the good intentions of one party, but the malevolence of the other was quite clear, for this was a step to realize its ambitions in the Arab homeland. Thus, the feelings generated by the set-backs of the Second World War and the memories of Fascist and Nazi injustices were exploited to implant an intruding entity into the Arab world to serve as a custodian for imperialist and colonialist interests in the region and a regional instrument to strike down the possibilities of evolution and unity in the Arab world. Under the slogan of "Justice for the Jews" after their plight in Nazi Germany, the worst case of injustice was inflicted on the Arab and Palestinian peoples. In this regard, the famous English historian Arnold Toynbee said that the Arabs have to pay for a crime they did not commit and the basic responsibility for which falls upon western societies.

165. The question of Palestine is the flagrant embodiment of the start of contemporary Western plots against the Arab nation. It is the bitter harvest reaped after Arab co-operation with Western colonial countries during the two world wars. The question of Palestine represents at the same time a moral crisis facing the Western colonial democracies which ascribe no value to anything save their selfish interests and ambitions. Great Britain, which had responsibility for the Mandate over Arab Palestine, entered into collusion with the world Zionist movement and conspired with it to apply policies aimed at changing the demographic nature of Palestine by forcing the Arab inhabitants to flee by various terrorist means and welcoming thousands of Jews brought over to Palestine by the Jewish Agency. After the conspiracy was revealed, all that remained to be done was to give it international legitimacy. Hence Great Britain referred the whole question to the United Nations, which, under Zionist and imperialist pressure, in November 1947 produced its resolution on the partition of Palestine. Some thought the matter had ended there, but the rejection by the Palestinian people and the Arab nation of this unjust decision, on the one hand, and the escalation of expansionist Zionist ambitions, on the other, has kept the question alive, and it now threatens peace and development not only in the Arab region but also in the rest of the world.

166. The question of Palestine is the responsibility of the United Nations. This fact cannot be changed by the current situation obtaining in this international Organization, the result of the policies of the

super-Powers which, in keeping with their special responsibilities under the Charter, should support freedom and peace. The United Nations has a legal, political and moral responsibility towards the Palestinian people. The United Nations has contributed to the suffering of the Palestinian people, and it must allow them to regain their inalienable rights. Mere denunciations and a disregard of acts of force and of the facts of occupation and oppression will not only affect the credibility and reputation of the United Nations but also will encourage the aggressor to continue its machinations and plans—practices which in time might become difficult to change.

167. The situation in Palestine and the Arab region makes it necessary to reconsider the way the United Nations has dealt with the question during the past four decades, especially since it has become clear that all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the subject, although comprehensive, always lack the possibility of implementation and fall short of deterring the aggressor from pursuing its aggression. This reality calls for a fresh assessment aimed at finding new ways to deal with the problems. I believe this process should be linked to an in-depth study of the problems and their sources, as well as how to resolve them. Here we should refer to a number of important facts directly related to this question.

168. First, the Arab character of Palestine is steeped in history and has never been questioned. The inhabitants of Palestine—be they Muslims, Christians or Jews—are Arabs in origin, culture and civilization. Any allegation to the contrary is an error and does not confer any right to occupy Palestine and to expel its inhabitants, Muslims or Christians. Thus, any attempt to erase the Arab character of Palestine is null and void and cannot be accepted, even though it might produce certain effects lasting years or centuries.

169. Secondly, the Zionist movement, born in the cradle of imperialism and colonialism, is a colonialist and racist political movement, even though it may operate under the guise of religion. Its main features were shaped in that period of historic and social evolution when Europe was imbued with a spirit of adventure and distorted ideas of superiority and supremacy, thus reflecting a culture alien to the Arab region.

170. Thirdly, the Zionist movement is dependent on imperialism and colonialism, which encourage it to expand and give it more and more assistance and support. Hence, at an early stage Zionism was the ally of the British and French empires and, later, the ally of American imperialism.

171. Fourthly, the establishment of a religiously segregated community in Arab Palestine, as well as the repercussions of this action, have brought the region to the brink of conflict and instability. Zionist ambitions did not stop with the adoption of the partition plan resolution; Zionism has tried to extend the Jewish empire over the largest possible area of Arab territory. The Zionist system does not recognize that its political boundaries are marked by the partition resolution. Zionists believe that that resolution serves as the base and spring-board to implement the successive phases of the Zionist scheme.

172. Fifthly, Zionist plots have always run counter to the objectives of peace and prosperity in the Arab lands. For the Zionist movement, peace consists in imposing its terms on other countries or causing a

situation of simple armistice as a prelude to more expansion.

173. These facts, coupled with the reality and nature of the Zionist movement and its links to imperialist, racist and colonial circles, clearly show that it is not a question of conflict over borders but of conflict between the original inhabitant and the intruder. It is not a question of refugees but a question of a people who struggle to regain its usurped rights and of the cause of a nation which struggles against an alien danger which threatens its home, its sacred shrines and its very existence.

174. The Zionist policy—based as it is on power and aggression in its relations with the Arabs, as well as its repressive practices in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories in the form of expulsion, Judaization and the alteration of the demographic, cultural and geographic character of the occupied Arab territories—has unmasked the true nature of the Zionist plan. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has in various respected international documents repeatedly revealed the plight of the Arabs in the occupied territories. The Zionists have not concealed their true intentions. They feel no shame in declaring such ambitions. Rabbi Cook of the Gush Emunim says that this is a period of work and that God will bless such work because He has enjoined all His people to go to Zion and raise the banner over the Holy Land. He says: "Here there is no Arab land; this is our land. The land defined by the Torah extends from the Nile to the Euphrates and it belongs to Israel." Another leader of the Zionist movement, Levinger, clarifies the matter further by saying: "When we deal with the Arabs through force they will surrender to us. If they object to Zionist sovereignty in Judea and Samaria"—he means the West Bank and the Gaza Strip—"we must expel them."

175. Amnon Rubenstein, the former dean of the Faculty of Law of Tel Aviv University, stated, in an article published in *Ha'areiz*, that the Zionist organizations continue to perpetrate their crimes, based on the Kach and Gush Emunim movements, and that: "The Arabs are an inferior race. They have no rights. They constitute a danger to Israel. They must be expelled from the country."

176. In the view of those two organizations, it is necessary to resort to arms to carry out that act of purification.

177. After the success of the terrorist Kahane, the leader of the Kach movement, in the latest Israeli elections, he was asked what his expectations were after five years. He answered, "I expect to be Prime Minister." This should not surprise us, especially when we remember that Menachem Begin, who perpetrated the massacres at Deir Yassin, himself became Prime Minister.

178. These are examples of the thinking and deeds of the Zionist leaders in occupied Arab Palestine. We refer all those who wish to know more to the memoirs of Ben-Gurion, Dayan and others, as well as to the articles published in spring of 1982 by the Zionist Research Institute in Jerusalem about Israeli strategy in the 1980s, which reveal the dimensions of the conspiracy aimed at dividing the Arab countries and imposing Zionist supremacy over them. We refer particularly to the declarations of the terrorist Sharon concerning the vital space of the Zionist entity, which stretches east to Pakistan, west to the Atlantic Ocean,

north to Turkey and south to the Arab peninsula and the heart of the African continent.

179. Speaking about the question of Palestine always leads us to speak about United States policy in the Arab region and the special relationship between the Zionist entity and successive United States Administrations. It is a relationship that found its full dimensions following the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956 and the prominence of the United States as an influential Power in the affairs of the region. The American imperialists seek to maintain their economic and strategic interests and to oppose the trend of political and social change in the Arab world, and this has led them to exploit the Zionist base. The Zionist lobby, whose influence on the United States Congress is well known, has enhanced this relationship to the point where it has become a strategic alliance. That alliance, formalized in November 1983, codified the relations between the two parties in the military, political, economic and financial spheres. On the basis of that alliance, it can be said that the Zionist entity is treated as an American state. The share in American assistance of each Jew in occupied Palestine reached \$1,250 in 1984, whereas the American citizen gets only half that figure.

180. President Reagan reaffirms at every opportunity his pride in the special relationship with the Zionist entity. On 6 September, he promised before a Jewish audience in the Sheraton Hotel in Washington to continue to support Israel, especially in the form of campaigns supporting Israel in the United Nations. He added that during the first three years of his Administration, Israel received more than \$9.5 billion in aid and would this year receive \$2.6 billion in grants.

181. These brief references reveal the nature of the relationship between the Zionists and the United States Government and the fact that, in adopting the Zionist programme, the United States has become a direct partner in the aggression against the Arab nation.

182. The widespread American-Zionist plot against the Arab world places on the United Nations the responsibility of going beyond the usual conciliatory resolutions and adopting practical measures that can lead to a just and lasting peace and put an end to the long suffering of the Palestinian people. Our delegation would like to recall certain facts and principles that should be the basis of efforts aimed at restoring peace and stability in the region. These include the following.

183. First, the question of Palestine and its various ramifications are the result of an organized foreign invasion the motives and objectives of which go beyond economic control to the expulsion of the Arab inhabitants. On this level, the question of Palestine is one of racism and colonialism. It is the responsibility of the international community to liquidate that. Aggressive Zionist racism cannot be reformed or modified, and this applies also to the Pretoria régime.

184. Secondly, in any just settlement of the question two principles of international relations must be fully applied. The first is the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. That principle, which is indivisible, applies to all the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied before and since 1947. The second principle is that the Palestinian

people must be enabled to exercise their inalienable right to return, to self-determination and to establish a democratic State on their national soil, a State that would embrace the Arabs of Palestine, be they Musiims, Christians or Jews.

185. Thirdly, any attempt to restore peace to the region must be comprehensive and just and address the various aspects of the question. In this regard, it is important to stress that the United Nations always continues to provide the only appropriate forum for the search for a just and lasting solution of the problem. Consequently, there is no possibility of accepting any partial or even complete arrangements outside the framework of the United Nations, because that would be tantamount to serving Zionist and imperialist schemes for hegemony. The proof of this is the Camp David accords and the Lebanese-Zionist agreement which fell dead under the feet of the heroes of the Lebanese national resistance.

186. Any attempt at settlement that does not take into account the above-mentioned realities and principles will be doomed to failure. The path of justice and equity may be full of obstacles and difficulties, but it is incumbent on the United Nations to assume its heavy responsibility by taking effective and decisive measures to settle a problem that can no longer wait. To be credible, it must do all in its power to put an end to the policies of pillage and aggression by taking the following steps.

187. First, there must be support for the legitimate struggle, including armed struggle, of the Palestinian people for the restoration of its usurped rights.

188. Secondly, the necessary measures must be taken to expel the Zionist entity from the United Nations and to impose mandatory comprehensive sanctions against it, now that the whole world has become aware of the danger which it presents to peace and its constant violation of its commitments under the Charter of the United Nations.

189. Thirdly, pressure must be put on the United States Government to sever its alliance with the Zionist régime and end its assistance to the Zionist entity, which allows the latter to persist in its defiance of the international will and to escalate its policy of aggression.

190. Fourthly, new ways and means must be found to enhance the possibilities of implementing international decisions when the arbitrary use of the veto by the United States prevents the Security Council from fulfilling its function of maintaining peace and security.

191. The question of Palestine did not result from the June 1967 act of aggression against the Arab world, as some believe or wish to believe. That and other acts of aggression that followed were the result of a problem that goes back more than two decades before that date. Therefore, to restrict consideration of this question to the 1967 act of aggression and its consequences is but a perpetuation of injustice and of the destabilization of the Arab region. The people of Palestine count on the United Nations to administer complete justice.

192. In conclusion, on behalf of our delegation, I should like to express to Mr. Massamba Sarré our thanks and our appreciation of the Committee's efforts in heightening the awareness of international public opinion of the reality of zionism and in winning international sympathy for this just international cause.

193. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): Many times in this debate and in previous years the General Assembly has heard the historical facts and arguments and reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinians. This year, as well as on the other occasions, the question of Palestine is the core of the issue in the Middle East and holds the key to peace and security in the Middle East as a whole. Therefore, the position of the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand has been consistent and steadfast in support of the rights of the Palestinian people and in the earnest hope of achieving a peaceful and just solution to the problem.

194. Since 1967, Israeli forces have been illegally occupying Arab and Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem, which has resulted in countless numbers of displaced, homeless and deprived Palestinians. Various resolutions have been adopted by the General Assembly calling for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and, *inter alia*, reaffirming their right to self-determination and statehood. Any comprehensive, just and durable settlement of the problem must therefore be based on the relevant United Nations resolutions, particularly Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

195. However, the situation not only is unchanged but has indeed worsened. My delegation would like therefore to reiterate Thailand's position, as follows.

196. First, Thailand firmly supports all relevant United Nations resolutions on the question of Palestine, particularly resolution 242 (1967). We believe that they constitute the proper foundation for solving the problem peacefully. We also appreciate and support the ongoing effort of the Secretary-General, especially his endeavour to lend his good offices in pursuit of a just and lasting solution.

197. Secondly, Thailand supports unequivocally the aspirations and the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination, the right to national independence and sovereignty, and the right to return safely to their homes and properties. However, we also believe that, while respecting Palestinian rights as being sacrosanct, the international community must be mindful of the legitimate rights of other States. Hence, while we reaffirm our support for the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, including the right to statehood, we also respect the legitimate right of all States in the region to exist within secure and recognized boundaries. We earnestly believe that this would contribute to a just and durable settlement of the problem.

198. Thirdly, Thailand views the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This was recently reaffirmed in my Prime Minister's message to the special meeting in commemoration of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, held here on 29 November 1984. We therefore support the right of the PLO, in conformity with relevant United Nations resolutions, to participate on an equal footing in all negotiations and conferences on the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East within and outside the framework of the United Nations.

199. Fourthly, Thailand upholds as one of the fundamental principles that any foreign military occupation of another State's territory is unacceptable. In this connection, we have continually called for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967.

200. Fifthly, Thailand opposes any actions that are not in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations or not in conformity with the rules and norms of international law. That is why Thailand opposes Israel's *de facto* annexation of Jerusalem, its claimed status as Israel's capital, or any changes in the legal or demographic status of the Holy City. That is also why Thailand has never accepted Israel's *de facto* annexation of the Golan Heights or Israeli settlements in the West Bank or other occupied Arab territories; and that is why Thailand has consistently condemned the violations of the rights of the people in the occupied Arab territories, as well as the rights of refugees in the area. In this connection, we recall the tragic fate of the Palestinian refugees in the Sabra and Shatila camps.

201. Sixthly, Thailand firmly believes that all international problems could and should be solved in a peaceful manner. Therefore, we strongly support any attempt aimed at the attainment of a negotiated settlement. In this connection, we reaffirm our support of the plan adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference,⁴ without prejudice to Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and other relevant United Nations resolutions. However, it is recognized that, in view of the long-standing injustices, there is no alternative to the continuation of the Palestinians' struggle for their legitimate rights by all available means.

202. My delegation would like to pay a warm tribute to the untiring efforts of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People under the chairmanship of Mr. Massamba Sarré, of Senegal. Apart from the intrinsic value of the Committee's report [A/39/35], the fact that that Committee continues to perform its functions with dedication demonstrates the need for the continued support of the international community.

203. My delegation sincerely believes that, in order to reach a negotiated solution, a climate of confidence and understanding between all parties is necessary. Such an atmosphere could be brought about only by means of two factors: one is the unequivocal recognition of Palestinian rights by all the parties and the other is the political will to compromise in the best interests of regional peace and the security of all States. Efforts in such directions will indeed be necessary and useful in creating an atmosphere conducive to a just and lasting solution.

204. Finally, my delegation would like to urge all parties concerned to exert every effort to revitalize the peace process in the region so that a comprehensive political settlement encompassing the legitimate rights and aspirations of all concerned parties could become a reality. Essentially, we demand the prompt withdrawal of all Israeli forces from the Arab territories occupied since 1967 and full Israeli compliance with and implementation of all relevant United Nations resolutions. When the inalienable and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people have been exercised, then the international community will have performed its duty in the interest of peace and justice for all mankind.

205. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like first of all to express my thanks and appreciation to Mr. Massamba Sarré, of Senegal, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, and to

the other members of the Committee for the great efforts they have made and the active role they have assumed in the search for a just solution of the question of Palestine and in defence of the rights of the Palestinian people, in accordance with the rules of international law and the principles of justice, right and peace.

206. The General Assembly is considering the question of Palestine at this session after having commemorated, a few days ago, the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. On that occasion, a number of messages of solidarity were received from the Heads of State and Ministers for Foreign Affairs of many countries, including Mr. Saddam Hussein, President of the Republic of Iraq. In his message, the President referred to the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the need to make efforts in order to find a just and lasting solution to the question, which is vital for peace and security not only in the Arab region but also in the world. The participation of the international community, expressed through the messages of world leaders, in that commemoration strengthened the faith of the Arab nation in the cause of the Palestinian people and the confidence of that people in its future and in the inevitability of its victory over aggression and occupation when it will have regained its inalienable right to return to its country, to self-determination and to establish its own independent State, in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations.

207. The fact that the United Nations continues to devote attention and time to considering the question of Palestine shows very clearly the depth of the concern and anxiety of the international community as a result of the aggression and occupation being inflicted on the Palestinian people, whose cause is the very core of the Arab-Zionist conflict.

208. Israel is continuing its aggression and occupation of the Arab lands. It is continuing the illegal establishment of settlements in the occupied Palestinian and Arab lands, disregarding General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. The West Bank, Gaza, Al-Quds, the Golan Heights and a large part of Lebanon are still under Israeli occupation, which is transforming the Arab region into one of the most explosive areas, thus endangering international peace and security.

209. The aggressive Israeli practices and the insistence of the Tel Aviv leaders on continuing their occupation and annexation of Palestinian lands are the main source of the plight and sufferings of the heroic people of Palestine. The Zionists are trying to crush the rights of the Palestinian people by subjecting them to the most horrendous forms of repression, deportation and genocide. It should be remembered that the Zionist occupation of Arab and Palestinian lands is intensifying and that the inhuman Israeli practices against the Palestinian people in the West Bank, Gaza and Lebanon are continuing openly and with unabated brutality, in complete disregard of international law and the principles of justice and morality and with no reference to the resolutions of the United Nations or to world public opinion.

210. Through its fight for freedom and its struggle to regain its inalienable right to return and to establish an independent State, the Palestinian people is giving us one of the finest examples of heroism. It is a miscalculation for the Israeli Zionists to

believe that their policy of repression, genocide, conspiracy and treachery will silence the Palestinian people and force it to give up arms and abandon its struggle for liberation.

211. The aspiration of the Palestinian people to freedom and its continued determination to attain its noble objectives are closely linked with the PLO, which is the expression of the free will of the Palestinian people. In this connection, we are duty-bound to express once again, in the strongest possible terms, our support for and solidarity with the PLO and its legitimate leadership and for unity within the ranks of Palestinian resistance against all conspiracies and machinations, which are but part of Zionist schemes conceived to eliminate the question of Palestine and suppress the heroic Arab people of Palestine.

212. In our view, the fact that the United Nations persists in inscribing the question of Palestine on its agenda is of positive significance, for the international community hopes to achieve justice and refuses to accept facts based on aggression, brute force and expansionist designs. The international community also refuses to accept the unjust treatment meted out to the United Nations by the Zionist entity and its allies. Moreover, the United Nations has a confirmed responsibility in connection with all questions of liberation and especially the implementation of the right to self-determination, which has become a corner-stone of the international political order represented in the Charter of the United Nations.

213. For years the Palestinian people has been subjected to oppression and terror. It has been deprived of elementary human and political rights. This heroic people was obliged to resort to its legitimate right of self-defence to counter aggression against it by using all the means defined by the United Nations. The Palestinian people, through its long struggle, has made great material and moral sacrifices. In circumstances of a unique character, and in spite of exceptional circumstances and particularly difficult conditions, and in spite of conspiracies directed against it, this people has been able to uncover the misleading and tendentious character of the Zionist propaganda and prove to the world that the Zionist entity is the major and direct source of danger to peace in the Middle East.

214. For years, the Zionist entity has been resorting to practices designed to appropriate a Palestine without Palestinians. To that end, that entity has waged a systematic campaign of genocide against the Palestinians, using all methods of violence, terror and mass murder. Since its very inception, the Zionist entity has pursued a policy of racial discrimination against those Palestinians who did not leave their homeland. It considers them to be third-class citizens and has expropriated their property and trampled upon their rights. In 1967, Israel embarked on the policy of establishing settlements on the land of the expelled owners. It has demolished homes and closed down schools and universities. Moreover, it has permitted the establishment of armed Fascist, Zionist gangs which kill Palestinians in broad daylight.

215. These terrorist, repressive policies are designed to achieve one goal: the liquidation and depersonalization of the Palestinians, in order to force them to leave their homeland so that all of

Palestine can be transformed into an exclusively Jewish area.

216. Continued aggression and violation of international law and conventions are characteristic of the aggressive Zionist policy against the Arab nation. Under the pretext of security considerations, Israel has annexed the Syrian Golan Heights and has changed the demographic character of the occupied territories, in order to erase their Arab identity. It profaned the Al-Aqsa mosque and declared Jerusalem its eternal capital, thus antagonizing millions of Muslims and Christians. Moreover, in 1981 Israel destroyed, with its military aircraft, the Iraqi nuclear research facility, which was devoted exclusively to peaceful purposes. The international community condemned this criminal act. The international community also rejected the annexation of Jerusalem and of the Syrian Golan Heights, which was in contravention of the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. In addition to that series of aggressive acts, Israel invaded Lebanon and engaged in mass murder and terror against Palestinians and Lebanese. It is still occupying large parts of Lebanon, despite resolutions adopted by the Security Council calling for Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon, without any pre-conditions.

217. We believe that the Palestinian question is the core of the Middle East conflict. Therefore, peace cannot be achieved without the complete and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and without Israel's recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to return to its homeland and its right to self-determination and to sovereignty in its own independent State.

218. The Palestinian people has been waging a bitter struggle to regain its lawful rights. It is high time for the Palestinian people to be enabled to exercise its right to self-determination, to establish an independent State on its own land and to take its place among the other nations that, since the Second World War, have rid themselves of imperialism and become independent States. The Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, has proved that its vitality and unity cannot be broken by conspiracies and that its voice cannot be silenced by Zionist military repression. It has proved that its struggle will be crowned with success. The recent meeting of the Palestine National Council at Amman and the resolutions it adopted have amply demonstrated the unity between the Palestinian people and its leadership, represented by the PLO.

219. When one reviews the events of the past year and the efforts that have been made to achieve peace, it is difficult to see on the political horizon any signs of a solution to this problem or the least possibility of the restoration of peace, security and stability to the region. I would emphasize that the major cause of this is the Zionist entity's refusal to abide by the resolutions of the United Nations and the will of the international community. In this regard, we must bear in mind that attempts to disregard the Palestinian reality, to deny the Palestinians' right of return and right to self-determination and independence and to frustrate participation by the Palestinian people, through its legitimate representative, the PLO, will not advance the search for a just and lasting solution to the Palestinian problem or the establishment of peace in the region. Hence, we call upon the Security Council to shoulder its responsibil-

ities under the Charter of the United Nations, especially those relating to the implementation of its resolutions and those of the General Assembly, as called for in the Geneva Declaration on Palestine,³ adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva in 1983, and by world public opinion.

220. Iraq is determined to shoulder its responsibilities and to furnish all possible assistance to the Arab people of Palestine and the PLO. We call for a halt to the support given the Zionist aggressor by some international quarters, especially the United States, because such support encourages it to continue its aggressive policy against the Arab people in the occupied Arab territories and frustrates the efforts to achieve peace and to reach a just and lasting solution to the question of Palestine.

221. Mr. PAPAJOGRJI (Albania) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The question of Palestine is the core of the prolonged conflict in the Middle East. If it is not solved, there can be no stability or tranquillity in that region. For years, the United Nations and its various organs have been addressing themselves to this problem. Meetings and debates have taken place, recommendations and resolutions have been adopted, but the situation remains unchanged: the Palestinian people is still under the occupation and oppression of Israeli zionism, and it still is denied its homeland.

222. As it has done on other occasions, the Albanian delegation reaffirms that the cause of the serious situation in the Middle East, and in particular the serious situation of the Palestinian people, is the aggressive attitude of Israeli zionism and the hegemonistic policy of the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union.

223. Israeli zionism is pursuing ever more fiercely its policy of genocide against the Palestinians in the occupied Arab territories, and this has become the main method of perpetuating its occupation. Everyone is aware of the crimes committed by the Israeli Zionists against the Palestinian people, which has been the victim of unprecedented terror. Assassination, detention and persecution have become daily practices by the Israeli occupiers. They have such blind hatred for the Palestinians that they have no hesitation about committing the most monstrous acts, such as the tragic massacres in the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila. Fascist Zionist packs are in full cry, hunting Palestinian "game". The Tel Aviv gangsters accompany this ferocious terror by stepping up the policy of Judaizing the occupied territories. This is carried out by forcibly expelling the Palestinians from their lands and by gathering them together in camps encircled with barbed wire, camps absolutely indistinguishable from concentration camps. To replace the Palestinians on their land, Jews from the four corners of the world continue to settle, in furtherance of the old goal of zionism: to perpetuate the occupation of the Arab lands. In a word, the Israeli Zionists have mobilized their entire military and economic potential in their crusade against the Palestinian people. Israel's arrogant policy against the Palestinians and against the Arab peoples in the Middle East in general could not be pursued were it not for the overall tense situation in that region which is the result of the expansionist policy of the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Israeli zionism has used, and continues to

use, that situation in its anti-Palestinian and anti-Arab activities.

224. It is from that viewpoint, too, that we must examine the plots being hatched against the just cause of the Palestinian people, served up in various guises by both Washington and Moscow. The din they make over their supposed desire for a peaceful solution of the question of the Palestinian people, in fact, is totally incompatible—as the facts have shown—with the basic aspirations of the Palestinian people: the restoration of all their legitimate rights, and a homeland in which they can live in freedom, sovereignty and independence.

225. The United States imperialists do not conceal their hostility towards the Palestinian people and its cause. Openly and arrogantly, they deny its legitimate rights. This hatred is manifested through their tool, Israel, which they have armed to the teeth, turning it into a military terrorist State.

226. It is clear to all that, without the weapons, assistance and financial and political support of the United States, Israel would be unable to do what it is doing against the Palestinian people and in the Middle East in general.

227. As to the Soviet social-imperialists, their acts and their noisy statements, supposedly in support of the Palestinian people and the Arab peoples in general, are nothing but pure demagogy. This so-called support has always been tactical, and it is in keeping with the Soviet Union's imperialist interest in the Middle East. Tens of thousands of Jews who have emigrated from the Soviet Union have moved as settlers into the occupied territories; this emigration is aimed against the Palestinian people. In short, the "peace" plans for the Middle East, whether American or Soviet, do not point to a just solution of the Palestinian question, but rather conceal anti-Palestinian and anti-Arab activities and are in accordance with the long-range objectives of those Powers to gain hegemony in the region.

228. Even faced with a ferocious, bloodthirsty occupier such as Israel and with the diabolical plots of the super-Powers, the Palestinian people has been neither demoralized nor brought to its knees. Quite the contrary: it has brought to bear on this difficult and complex situation its great will, its ardent aspirations and its unshakeable determination to gain its legitimate rights and to achieve what is most sacred to it: return to its homeland, which has been occupied by the Israeli Zionists. Nothing—neither the most sophisticated weaponry of the Israeli aggressor nor the plots of the imperialists—has succeeded or will succeed in crushing its struggle.

229. The Albanian people and its Government have always supported the just cause of the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples; it supports and will always support them, unswervingly, in their struggle, for it is a struggle for the legitimate and inalienable right of a people to free its pillaged homeland. We wish to take this opportunity also to reiterate our condemnation of those who are inflicting suffering and privation on the Palestinian people: the Zionist occupiers and the two imperialist super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union.

230. We have said before, and we repeat now, that the Palestinian problem can be solved only when the Israeli aggressors are expelled from the occupied territories, when the ferocious genocide against the Palestinian people is ended, and when the interven-

tion in the Middle East of the two super-Powers and other imperialist Powers is blocked.

231. Our consistent position in support of the just cause of the Palestinian people has been stated in detail by the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, in his recently published book, *Reflections on the Middle East*,⁸ in which he wrote:

"Our people feels special sympathy for the Palestinian people, for it has waged and is waging a determined, heroic struggle. We have supported it, and we shall support it, though it find itself on a sea of solitude and betrayal. However betrayed and abandoned it may be at present, the Palestinian people will triumph. It will triumph because it is fighting for a just cause, for return to its homeland, usurped by the Israeli aggressors with the open support of the United States imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and reactionary forces from various Arab countries."

232. Mr. TOMASZEWSKI (Poland): The debate on the item which is again before the General Assembly—the question of Palestine—has once more revealed the complete unanimity of all delegations on the urgent need for a settlement of the Palestine problem.

233. There are two major reasons for this urgency. The first is that a nation of almost 5 million people, with a distinctive, historically developed national character, must no longer be denied the basic right to self-determination. The second is that any further delay in the settlement of the Palestinian problem will inevitably lead to the worsening of the already dangerous situation in that sensitive part of the world, jeopardizing peace and security in the region and in the world at large.

234. On numerous occasions, Poland has pointed out that the Middle East conflict, with the Palestinian problem at its core, is one of the main sources of tension in the world. For many years, it has been a source of the destabilization of peace and security in the region. The elimination of these threats is vital to all nations of that region and is in the interests of world peace.

235. My country has never been indifferent about the question of peace in the Middle East. A political manifestation of our stance has been Poland's active participation in United Nations peace-keeping efforts in the region, first in UNEF and now in UNDOF. The dedicated service of the Polish soldiers in the Middle East under the United Nations flag constitutes my country's direct contribution to the restoration of peace in the region.

236. In the opinion of the Polish Government, the main obstacle to the establishment of a lasting and just peace in the Middle East is the Israeli occupation of Arab territories in the wake of the 1967 war, the invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and, further, the total disregard of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Such a situation is the result of the expansionist Israeli policy.

237. That Israeli expansionism, manifesting itself in violations of principles of international law and disregard of the numerous relevant United Nations resolutions, found expression also in the annexation of the eastern part of Jerusalem and the extension of Israeli jurisdiction and administration to the Syrian Golan Heights.

238. The Government of the Polish People's Republic strongly condemns acts which are contrary to

the Charter of the United Nations. We condemn the Israeli policy of colonizing the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, as well as all acts of repression and discrimination against the Palestinians, as actions contrary to international law. At the same time, Poland firmly supports the justified aspirations of the Palestinian people to enjoyment of its inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination and to the establishment of its own independent State, with guarantees for the peaceful existence and security of all nations and countries in the region.

239. This debate confirms once again that any just and lasting solution to the situation in the region should include, first and foremost, a solution to the question of Palestine. And the only possible framework for such a solution is the United Nations, with its existing resolutions pertaining to the question of Palestine. This solution should be reached through convening an international conference on peace in the Middle East, with the participation, on an equal footing, of all the parties—that is, all the States concerned and the PLO, and also the Soviet Union and the United States as co-chairmen of the 1973 conference on the Middle East. We have expressed this position many times, together with other socialist States, and we have also supported the initiative of the Secretary-General regarding the convening of such a conference. On 29 July 1984, the Government of the Soviet Union made detailed proposals concerning a Middle East settlement [see A/39/368]. There have already been numerous references to those proposals in this debate. I shall confine myself to stating my Government's position on the Soviet proposals, and I quote from a statement of the Polish Ministry for Foreign Affairs made in connection with the statement of the Soviet Union on the Middle East conflict on 29 July 1984:

“These are highly concrete proposals. They clearly determine the goals of the conference, objectively justify its composition of participation and submit a series of constructive suggestions concerning the organization of the conference's work. The Polish People's Republic is of the opinion that the programme of action suggested in the statement has all the elements which are pre-conditions for the attainment of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict.”

240. May I add that the Polish People's Republic fully supports the initiative of the Soviet Union and is ready to make a positive contribution to this process.

241. Mr. BIRIDO (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The commemoration by the international community last week of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People and the dedication of the interest of the international community to the cause of that people is a reaffirmation of the consistent support given to the right of that people to establish a sovereign State of its own on its national territory and to exercise its right of self-determination. The commemoration was especially important this year in view of the situation in the region, as in the rest of the world. The situation reveals that the Palestinian problem is at the heart of the conflict in the Middle East and, like an erupting volcano, will continue to threaten peace and security throughout the world unless a just and lasting solution is found.

242. The struggle of the Palestinian people has taught us many lessons. The Palestinian problem will continue to fan the flames of conflict in the Middle East if the sufferings of the Palestinian people continue. Whereas the Palestinian people have constantly given new proof of the justice of their cause, Israel for its part obstinately refuses to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations and rejects all efforts towards peace, in the absence of a deterrent force that would finally compel it to comply with the will of the international community.

Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Vice-President, took the Chair.

243. Israel has chosen to wage a merciless war against the Arab people of Palestine. Expansionism, occupation and the annexation of land by force of arms have become the declared policy of the Tel Aviv leaders, with all its implications in acts of aggression; the bombing of civilian populations, including old people, women and children; the destruction of holy places, especially Islamic holy places; the Judaization of lands; the sacrifice of innocent human lives; the escalation of the tension; and the continuing conflict, with the destructive and tragic dimensions of which we are all aware.

244. We deplore the continuance of this inhuman situation, with the Palestinian people still prisoners in camps, despite the many United Nations resolutions on this question. Nothing seems able to stay the criminal arm of Israel, which is continuing through all its practices to challenge international resolutions and decisions. It is clear that the international community must shoulder its responsibilities in order to avert the dangers involved in Israel's practices.

245. Israel has obdurately rejected all peace initiatives, notably the resolutions of the United Nations, as well as the peace plan put forward at Fez on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference.⁴ That plan expressed the desire of the Arab nations for a just peace, while Israel rejects all efforts to bring about peace, because it is an aggressive State that does not want peace.

246. In view of the general discouragement, in view of Israel's attempts to impose a peace based on the policy of force carried out by its political and military institutions, the International Conference on the Question of Palestine was held at Geneva in 1983, under United Nations auspices. That conference marked an important turning-point because it made it possible for the international community, represented by a number of very important participants, to reaffirm its principles for the solution of this problem in the framework of international legality. Thanks to this conference, the international community was able to affirm that there could be no just and lasting peace in the Middle East without complete and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and without permitting the Palestinian people to exercise its rights to self-determination, to return home, to recover its property and to establish a sovereign and independent State on its national land, under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative. Those principles will remain solid foundations for a just and solid peace, not a peace imposed at gunpoint.

247. The PLO has demonstrated that it is a party with which serious discussions can be held in all efforts towards peace in the Middle East. The obstacles it has faced have not diminished its determination to pursue its struggle to obtain a just and comprehensive settlement. The Palestine National Council, meeting at Amman only a few days ago, expressed the protests of Arabs and Palestinians against the crimes committed by Israel. That Council made it possible to show how strongly the Palestinian people supports the PLO, its sole legitimate representative. The Council reaffirmed its complete confidence in the elected Palestinian leaders, under the chairmanship of Mr. Yasser Arafat. As Mr. Kaddoumi said yesterday in this forum [88th meeting], the recent meeting of the Palestine National Council was an important event which reaffirmed the existence of special relations between the Palestinian and Jordanian peoples and their unshakeable dedication to a concerted Arab approach to liberating Arab lands and enabling the Palestinian people to exercise its legitimate and inalienable rights.

248. We are all aware that the collaboration that has been established between the Tel Aviv and Pretoria régimes also constitutes a threat jeopardizing security in both the Arab and African regions and undermines the struggles being waged by the Arab and African peoples for freedom and independence. This alliance has been denounced many times in various regional and international forums, and we condemn it forcefully. The international community must redouble its efforts not to hamper the realization of the legitimate aims of the Arab and African peoples.

249. The Palestinian problem will remain the bench-mark whereby the United Nations can measure its ability to restore legitimate rights to peoples seeking them and can measure its credibility, and will enable us to see how far we can live up to the aspirations with which we have been entrusted.

250. To conclude, let me say that the efforts exerted by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, under the effective guidance of its Chairman, Mr. Sarré, of Senegal, and of its Rapporteur, Mr. Gauci, of Malta, deserve a vote of thanks on behalf of the Sudan and the support of all of us. The Committee has played an important role in making the international community aware of the sufferings of the Palestinian people and the legitimacy of its struggle. The Committee also made praiseworthy efforts in preparing for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva last year, and in drawing up the extremely valuable report that the Assembly has before it [A/39/35], a report which has our full support. We hope that these efforts will be continued so as to make it possible for the national aspirations of the Palestinian people to be realized.

251. Mr. NGONDA (Zambia): The Assembly once again is taking up the question of Palestine in the continuing quest for a comprehensive and lasting solution to this vexing problem.

252. The Palestinian people yearns for peace, freedom and independence in a State of its own. All peoples everywhere that cherish peace, freedom and justice are concerned that Israel, in violation of numerous resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, has continued to establish new settlements in the occupied Arab territories, thereby deepening

tension in the area. Those who entertain the dangerous notion that peace in the Middle East can be guaranteed by increasing Israel's capacity to maintain its unwarranted occupation of Arab lands should by now have realized that their blind support for the Jewish State has had the negative effect of exacerbating tension in the region.

253. There can be no doubt that the question of Palestine is the core of the Middle East problem. The Palestinians are a dispossessed people because of Israel's expansionist policies. A permanent and lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict will continue to elude us so long as Israel stubbornly refuses to withdraw from all the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967. Respect for the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination and independence in a State of its own is certainly a *sine qua non* for peace in the region. There can be no peace in the Middle East if a comprehensive solution to the question of Palestine is not found. It is indeed the height of naïvety to assume or even imagine otherwise.

254. Zambia attaches the greatest importance to the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by the use of force. This is a cardinal principle enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations to which all States must scrupulously adhere. We have thus supported whole-heartedly Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and other resolutions and decisions.

255. We believe that the Palestinian question can be resolved through negotiations between all parties to the conflict. To this end, we urge all parties to the conflict to heed the call of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva last year, for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations, in which the two super-Powers would participate, together with all parties to the conflict, including the PLO, on an equal basis. Although there is a virtual consensus on the part of the international community on the imperative need to resolve the question of Palestine once and for all, the negative attitude of Israel and the United States, to which the Secretary-General refers in his report [see A/39/130/Add. I], has made it impossible to translate that consensus into reality.

256. The Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, meeting at Fez on 9 September 1982, adopted an important document⁴ containing principles that could help to bring about peace in the region. Continued tension in the area poses a serious threat to international peace and security.

257. My delegation wishes to reaffirm Zambia's support for and solidarity with the Palestinian people in their just and heroic struggle to achieve their inalienable right to self-determination and national independence. We reaffirm also our support for the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

258. Israel's peace and security lie in its readiness to co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of the relevant resolutions.

259. I wish, in conclusion, to commend the Chairman and other members of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for their tireless efforts in the fulfilment of the Committee's mandate.

260. Mr. DIACONU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The question of Palestine, one of the most serious that the United Nations has had to face since its earliest years, is being considered this year in an extremely complicated international situation which seriously jeopardizes peace and security in the Middle East and in the entire world.

261. The continuance of the conflict in the Middle East, the illegal occupation by Israel of Palestinian and Arab territories and the state of violence and confrontation that persists in the occupied territories and throughout the area are likely to engender new confrontations, causing the peoples of the region increasing loss of life and material damage and threatening international peace.

262. The evolution of the situation in the Middle East makes more clear than ever the truth that the Palestinian problem constitutes the central element in the Israeli-Arab conflict. Clearly, a comprehensive, lasting solution to this conflict and a climate of tranquillity and co-operation cannot be assured without a just settlement of this problem and the exercise by the Palestinian people of their legitimate right to determine their own destiny and to live in their own independent State.

263. The whole course of history, furthermore, has established the truth that a people cannot base its security and independence on the denial of the right of other peoples to exist and to independence or on the threat or use of force against other States and peoples. The truth is that peace and security can be achieved only through respect for the rights of other countries and for the principles and norms of international law.

264. Hence, recognition of and respect for the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, while guaranteeing the conditions in which they can fulfil their national aspiration to live in peace and tranquillity in their own independent State, is in the interest of all the peoples of the region and of peace and security throughout the world.

265. Taking as its point of departure the requirement that all conflicts and matters of dispute must be settled solely by peaceful means, through negotiations, Romania has always called firmly for a political solution to the problems of the Middle East that would guarantee the establishment of a comprehensive peace in the region, as well as the solution of the problem of the Palestinian people on the basis of its right to self-determination, including its right to set up an independent Palestinian State.

266. My country has consistently emphasized that the Palestinian people, like all other peoples, have an inalienable right to organize their life in accordance with their national aspirations and to exercise their right to self-determination, including the right to set up an independent State. We have frequently expressed our unshakeable conviction that, without the solution of the problem of the Palestinian people on the basis of their right to self-determination, no peace in the Middle East is possible. Faithful to its policy of principle, Romania has never failed to adhere to its position that the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, must participate on an equal footing in the process of settling the problem of the Palestinian people and the overall problem of the Middle East.

267. A comprehensive solution must lead to the achievement of a just and lasting peace and guaran-

tee the independence and sovereignty of all the States of the region.

268. As everybody knows, a number of initiatives have been taken and efforts made, especially in recent years, by Member States and by the United Nations to settle by peaceful means, through negotiations, the many and varied aspects of the Israeli-Arab conflict, in particular the Palestinian problem.

269. In 1983, the General Assembly endorsed the proposal of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva that year, to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East. A similar idea had been put forward in 1978 by the President of Romania, and since that time my country has never failed to take a very firm position in favour of such a conference, with the participation of all States concerned and of the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

270. We feel that this initiative is just as valid today and that efforts are necessary by all States and by the international community in order that the conference may be convened as soon as possible.

271. We share the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his report on the situation in the Middle East [A/39/600] that such a conference might be conceived as a flexible framework for the necessary negotiations to settle all the questions involved in the Middle East conflict. Similarly, we agree with other delegations that the time has come for all the countries concerned and all political forces in the region to promote the organizing of such a conference, which would be a significant contribution to the search for the comprehensive and just solution so long awaited by the peoples of that region and of the entire world.

272. Romania and the Romanian people have consistently expressed their support for the just cause of the Palestinian people, for its legitimate aspirations to live in freedom in an independent State and for its inalienable right to self-determination. Romania was among the first countries of the world to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

273. In a telegram sent recently by President Nicolae Ceaușescu to the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, Mr. Yasser Arafat, to congratulate him on his re-election to that post, the conviction was expressed that relations of friendship and beneficial co-operation between the Romanian Communist Party and the PLO would continue to expand and be diversified, to the benefit of both peoples and in the cause of peace, independence and international co-operation.

274. We feel that the United Nations can and must play a more active role in efforts aimed at solving the Middle East conflict and settling the Palestinian problem and that under its auspices comprehensive negotiations can be embarked upon so as to bring about, in that very troubled region of the world, a just and lasting peace that would fully meet the hopes and expectations of the peoples of the region and of the entire world.

275. Undertaking measures and making efforts by political means to find a settlement for all aspects of the Middle East conflict—first and foremost, the Palestinian problem—is in full conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the legitimate needs of its States Mem-

bers and of the peoples of the region and of the entire world.

276. For its part, Romania is determined, now and in the future, to make its own contribution to finding a comprehensive and lasting solution to the problems of the Middle East, to the establishment of a just peace in the region and to the consolidation of peace, security and international co-operation.

277. Mr. ADENIJI (Nigeria): Only a few days ago, the United Nations observed the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, a day on which we all reflected on the plight of the Palestinians in their just and prolonged struggle for self-determination. The observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People in various capitals of the world, including mine, not only underscored the concern of the world over their tragic situation but also the need for concerted international action aimed at resolving the crisis with a great sense of urgency.

278. On that solemn occasion—the observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People—my Head of State, in his message, took the opportunity to:

“reassure the people of Palestine that Nigeria will continue to exert the utmost efforts within the international community aimed at achieving a comprehensive, just and equitable solution of the Middle East problem, which will restore and guarantee their sovereign right”.

279. The question of Palestine has occupied a prominent position in the agenda and deliberations of the United Nations since its inception. This demonstrates the crucial nature of the crisis in the Middle East, where human rights and justifiable claims to self-determination are consistently and flagrantly denied in spite of continuous international efforts to resolve the crisis.

280. My delegation has read with considerable interest the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [A/39/35]. We appreciate the Committee's efforts to assist in finding a solution to the prolonged crisis. We note with regret that Israel has continued to establish more settlements in the occupied territories, aimed at making its hold on those territories irreversible. Obviously, Israeli policies in those territories do have negative effects on the Palestinians. They include restrictions on their possession of cultivable land and water resources and, indeed, the wholesale expulsion and confiscation of their land. Those measures, we believe, exacerbate an already explosive situation and can only make solution much more difficult. The right to self-determination is one to which the Palestinians are entitled. It is a right recognized by the United Nations as being inalienable. Israel cannot therefore expect the international community to remain unconcerned and not support the struggle of the Palestinians.

281. Israel has persistently refused to accept that the resolve of the Palestinians to establish their own homeland—as the Israelis themselves have done—cannot be thwarted by military force. This is amply proved by the fact that, in spite of Israel's military aggression, demonstrated by the two invasions of Lebanon, the latter of which led to the horrifying massacre of innocent Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila camps, Palestinians continue to fight for their inalienable rights without let-up.

282. Certainly, force has never provided a lasting solution to any problem. As the Nigerian Minister for External Affairs stated in the Assembly on 8 October:

“The international community has in the recent past witnessed the futility of attempting to find a military solution or of imposing a lopsided super-Power solution to the Middle East problem. The invasion of Lebanon by Israel in 1982 and the tragic failure of the ill-advised mission of the so-called multinational force in Lebanon are both classic examples of the limits to the use of military power.

“The solution lies in a negotiated peace, a peace that is just, equitable and fair, a peace that recognizes the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, to return to their homeland and to establish their own independent State in Palestine.” [25th meeting, paras. 122 and 123.]

283. Along these lines, my delegation would like to re-emphasize its support for General Assembly resolution 38/79 C, which demands that the Government of Israel desist from taking any action that would alter the legal status, geographical nature or demographic composition of the occupied territories. We call upon Israel to withdraw immediately all its troops from Arab territories. That would be a step in the right direction towards achieving lasting peace in the region.

284. After years of neglect of the indispensable role of the Palestinians in the Middle East equation, in recent years the United Nations has demonstrated, by the adoption of numerous General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, its determination to resolve the Palestinian question, which, we believe, is the core of the Middle East crisis. Indeed, it was in pursuance of this worthy objective that the International Conference on the Question of Palestine was convened, in 1983, at which the Geneva Declaration on Palestine was adopted.³

285. While I do not intend to go into the details of that Declaration, I feel obliged to emphasize a crucial point that must be taken into consideration in any attempt to resolve the situation, namely, the right of the PLO, the authentic representative of the Palestinians, to participate in all deliberations on the Middle East on an equal footing with other parties. We firmly believe that, to achieve a lasting solution, all the parties involved must demonstrate a willingness to negotiate with each other.

286. It is in this spirit that my delegation commends the Secretary-General's efforts to initiate preparations to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 38/58 C. We regret that his efforts so far have not yielded positive results owing to the reluctance of two countries whose participation in such a conference is crucial. We believe that such a conference, with the participation of Israel, the United States, the Soviet Union, the PLO and other parties involved, would pave the way for a genuine effort to resolve the Middle East crisis peacefully. We therefore call on all Members of the United Nations to give serious thought to the recommendation of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People that international action should concentrate on preparations for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East. We urge all Members,

including Israel and the United States, to lend their support to the efforts of the United Nations towards a just and durable solution of the Palestinian question and therefore of the Middle East question in general.

287. Mr. MIZERE (Malawi): The question of Palestine is characterized by considerable human suffering, deep-rooted political differences, complex and diverse approaches to the dispute, armed conflicts or wars and elements of tension likely to threaten peace and security in the region.

288. In practical terms, the question of Palestine has, in my delegation's view, assumed three major dimensions: namely, the existence and suffering of the Palestine refugees; the political dilemma, which has evaded solution for many years; and the military aspect, so that the States in the region in particular and other influential States in general have a direct interest in the outcome of any series of negotiations or consultations or armed conflicts.

289. It is my delegation's intention not to live in the past but to learn from history if we are to appreciate fully the current political predicament faced by all parties to the dispute, which is reflected in the prevailing bedevilled relations, suspicion and uncertainty.

290. A look at the history of armed conflicts demonstrates that human suffering and human consciousness must always be remembered by the world community if it is to promote peaceful coexistence and prevent human tragedies. There is history in the conduct and behaviour of human societies. Any observer who believes that some human beings have no history worth mentioning assumes that there is no humanity worth defending.

291. It is on this basis that my delegation wishes to refer to several wars that have left scars of bitterness and suspicion in the Middle East, such as the wars of 1948, 1967 and 1973, coupled with intermittent armed conflicts or raids, which resulted and continue to result in substantial human suffering, loss of human life and indescribable destruction of personal property and economic infrastructures.

292. In order to arrest this sad state of affairs and in an endeavour to find a peaceful settlement of the dispute, several Middle East initiatives have been undertaken, and I would like to mention some of the major ones.

293. The first of these initiatives was the negotiations leading to the Camp David accords, signed by Israel and Egypt, under the chairmanship of the former President of the United States, Mr. Carter. Under those accords, it will be recalled, Sinai was returned to Egypt but the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza Strip, a part of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights remained occupied by Israel.

294. The second initiative was announced on 1 September 1982 by President Reagan of the United States,⁷ and its content is well known to members of the Assembly.

295. The third initiative was the plan adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference.⁴

296. The fourth initiative was taken by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva in 1983, when the Conference recognized, in the Geneva Declaration on Palestine, that the question of Palestine

“requires a comprehensive, just and lasting political settlement. This settlement must be based on the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions concerning the question of Palestine and the attainment of the legitimate, inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination and the right to the establishment of its own independent State in Palestine, and should also be based on the provision by the Security Council of guarantees for peace and security among all States in the region, including the independent Palestinian State, within secure and internationally recognized boundaries.”⁹

297. In his report on the situation in the Middle East [A/39/600], the Secretary-General has pointed out that a comprehensive settlement of the dispute would have to involve the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from occupied territories; respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, free from threats or acts of force; and a just settlement of the Palestinian problem based on recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of self-determination. He also said that the question of Jerusalem remains of primary importance.

298. It is against this background that many resolutions have been adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly in the past, coupled with other resolutions adopted in various international forums. Unfortunately, a political solution to this problem has not yet been achieved, largely because of practical difficulties and procedural reservations in regard to one key issue: namely, the need to reconcile self-determination and the establishment of an independent State for the Palestinians with recognition of Israel as a State within secure and internationally recognized borders. This is the kernel of the problem.

299. I should like at this stage to point out that my delegation's position with regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict is guided by several principles. First, Malawi believes that Israel has the right to exist as a sovereign State and to live within secure borders, and at the same time it supports the principle of self-determination for the Palestinian people. Secondly, Malawi opposes the use of force or violence to settle the problems pertaining to the question of Palestine. Thirdly, my delegation reiterates that the Government of the Republic of Malawi believes that a meaningful and lasting solution can be achieved only through the full participation of all the parties in the search for it.

300. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to take this opportunity to appeal to all parties involved for restraint where revenge is dictated, for compromise where peace and security are threatened, for forgiveness where human mistakes have inadvertently been made, for reconciliation where animosity rules, for contact and dialogue where isolation is the order of the day, and for constructive involvement where ideological differences separate the super-Powers.

301. Geographically, Malawi is separated from the Middle East, but distance in time or space will not be allowed to dim its burning desire for a peaceful settlement of the question of Palestine.

Programme of Work

NOTES

302. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Assembly that I have received two additional formal requests to extend the deadline for the submission to the Fifth Committee of all draft resolutions with programme budget implications. The Chairmen of the Special Political Committee and the Second Committee have requested an extension until 10 December in connection with agenda item 74, as well as items 12, 80 and 82 respectively.

303. May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to extend the deadlines accordingly?

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

¹United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

²Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1915), p. 100.

³See *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.

⁴See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510, annex.

⁵See A/38/132 and Corr. 1 and 2, chap. I.

⁶See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1983*, document S/15556.

⁷See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1982), vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

⁸Tirana, "8 NENTORI" Publishing House, 1984.

⁹*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, sect. A, para. 2.