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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. Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The frustration which we feel at the fact that a further year has elapsed without our having been able to make any progress towards a solution of the Palestinian problem should serve as an incentive to all Member States of the United Nations to redouble our efforts to put an end to the untold sufferings of this heroic people.

2. Israel, whose sons themselves suffered physically the harsh and cruel misdeeds of fascism, has now itself become a causer of victims rather than a victim, driving the Palestinians from their land and depriving them of their most elementary rights.

3. Nevertheless, although the Palestinians are forced to live as wanderers, they have not been overcome. They maintain at the highest level their traditional spirit of combat, which will lead them to struggle to the last man for their liberty and independence.

4. The courage and tenacity that have been demonstrated in the decades-long struggle under the leadership of their spokesman, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], against Zionist oppression have been combined by the Palestine people with a desire to seek a negotiated solution to the Palestinian question.

5. In this sense, it is worth recalling that any solution to the problems of the region will necessarily have to involve the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish their own State; the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem; the cessation of all acts of hostility against Arab States and the Palestinian people; and mutual recognition of the right of all States in the region to exist in peace.

6. An appropriate negotiating framework would be provided by the convening of an international conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all the parties involved, naturally including the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestin-

ian people, and of other States concerned, such as the Soviet Union and the United States.

7. Unfortunately, as is reflected in the report of the Secretary-General [A/39/130 and Add.1], the Governments of Israel and the United States have refused to participate in that conference.

8. In line with its aggressive, expansionist policy, the Government of Israel obstinately rejects any proposal for negotiations, irrespective of the form it may take. It also disregards the national identity and the rights of the Palestinian people and persists in repression, the settlements policy and its plans to annex the occupied Arab territories.

9. Furthermore, the intransigent attitude of Israel and its protective partner, the United States, has prevented compliance with the will of the international community as expressed in many resolutions of the United Nations.

10. This unconditional support of Israel by American imperialism, which includes the abuse of the privilege it enjoys under the Charter of the United Nations as a permanent member of the Security Council, is explained solely by the desire to defend its strategic interests in the region.

11. This brazen collusion was clearly seen in the strategic agreements concluded between Washington and Tel Aviv, which very soon resulted in the invasion and occupation of southern Lebanon.

12. In the mean time, both partners are bent on their policy aimed at the conclusion of separate agreements along the lines of the Camp David accords or of the agreement which patriotic resistance thwarted in Lebanon.

13. This type of agreement, which was condemned at the Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegation of Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York from 1 to 5 October 1984, does not resolve the fundamental problem of the Middle East conflict, namely, the question of Palestine; it ignores the role which the United Nations must play in the solution of that problem and is designed to destroy the unity and capacity for resistance of the Arab nation.

14. This shows how the imperialist policy in the Middle East subordinates the imperialists' alleged friendship with the Arabs to the interests of Israel. This betrayal, as more than one speaker has mentioned, shows once again that the present American Administration does not hesitate to disregard commitments entered into with its alleged allies and acts in defence of what best assures its strategic interests.

15. The international community must therefore bring all its influence to bear to make sure that Israel and the United States comply with their international obligations and are convinced that peace will not be obtained through separate agreements but, rather,

through a comprehensive solution under the auspices of the United Nations.

16. In the message addressed to Mr. Massamba Sarré, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, the President of the Council of State and Government of the Republic of Cuba, Fidel Castro, said:

“In a situation characterized by the aggressive policy of imperialism, consisting in the continuous use of force and in intervention and interference in the internal affairs of other States and exacerbated by the danger posed by the extension of armed conflict, the international community, in particular the United Nations, must adopt effective measures aimed at reaching a settlement of existing crises and preventing the emergence of new ones. In this context, the Middle East crisis deserves priority attention, given the magnitude of the danger it poses to international peace and security.”

17. Our country, which has always backed the heroic struggle of the Arab and Palestinian peoples against imperialism and zionism, will spare no efforts to bring about a comprehensive solution leading to the restoration of justice and peace in the region.

18. We would not wish to conclude without emphasizing the efforts made by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and affirming our support for the recommendations in its report to the General Assembly [A/39/35] and for the draft resolutions which have been submitted on the item.

19. We reaffirm our whole-hearted support for the Palestinian combatants and their sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

20. The unity of all Arab forces in facing the true common enemy has never been more necessary.

21. Mr. AL-SHAALI (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me pleasure at the outset to convey our thanks to Mr. Massamba Sarré, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, and to the other members of the Committee on their lucid, objective and positive report [*ibid.*]. We appreciate the efforts made to discharge the mandate of the Committee and to follow closely events and developments on the question of Palestine.

22. The report of the Committee has covered basic aspects of that question, in particular those pertaining to Israeli policies and practices which prevent the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The Committee has also reported on the efforts being made within the United Nations system to put an end to those Israeli policies and practices.

23. During the past weeks of this session of the General Assembly we have examined a great many matters relating to the question of the Middle East which are closely connected to the question of Palestine. One may observe that such connections are continuously increasing, and if that fact sheds light on anything, it is that the question of Palestine is the origin and crux of the Middle East conflict. It also makes it clear that failure to settle this problem must, as in the past, have a negative effect on other problems and thus lead to a continuation and an exacerbation of tension.

24. The ongoing tragedy gives expression to the injustice and oppression inflicted upon the Palestinian people, who are driven from their country and denied their basic inalienable rights to live in peace in an independent homeland, as do the rest of the peoples of the earth. It also gives expression to the unjust attacks led by some world Powers against the Arab nation, seeking to infringe its dignity and independence. However, the continuation of the tragedy also gives rise to two basic phenomena. The first phenomenon is the fact that the people of Palestine, as a matter of principle, stick to their land and refuse attempts to obliterate their national identity. They stick to their inalienable rights and continue to resist the fiercest war machine, supported by the greatest political and economic Power. The second phenomenon is the fact that the Palestinian Arab nation refuses to compromise its independence and adheres to its basic principle of rejecting injustice and aggression.

25. The question of Palestine has become an international criterion by which to categorize world Powers and distinguish the forces of justice, right and peace from those of injustice and aggression.

26. Experience teaches us that Israel is a State based on aggression and the logic of power and that it has rejected any peaceful solution because peace is diametrically opposed to the Zionist doctrine on which Israeli society is built, a militaristic society which receives the basics of its life from abroad. That is why Israel has rejected every peace initiative made, as well as all the resolutions and initiatives of the United Nations. This confirms that Israel has no desire for or need of peace. Its position is based on racist Zionist convictions and depends on its war machine, supported by the United States.

27. That is why, during the forty years that the conflict has lasted, we have not once heard Israel state clearly that it accepts peace as a possible alternative. All that we hear is the traditional talk about the “security of Israel”. What is security for Israel? What are the borders of that security?

28. Are they the borders defined by General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, which established the State of Israel? Israel has gone beyond those borders and seized territories that are many times bigger than the area allocated to it by that resolution. Or are the borders of Israeli security those defined by Zionist doctrine—from the Euphrates to the Nile?

29. Is there any delegation in this Hall that can explain to us what are the borders of the “security of Israel”?

30. The Arabs made their situation clear in the Arab peace plan adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference.¹

31. The United States defined its position in the Reagan initiative of 1 September 1982.²

32. The Soviet Union defined its position in the initiative of former President Brezhnev on 15 September 1982,³ as well as in its proposals of 29 July 1984 [*see A/39/368*].

33. The international community has also defined its position, through General Assembly resolution 38/58 C, which provides for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East. Israel has rejected all these initiatives. What, then, is Israel's alternative?

34. In the General Assembly we need someone to clarify to us what Israel wants, what its official position is, practically and realistically, with regard to the peace process in the Middle East.

35. In his book *Thorns in Your Eyes*, the Knesset member Meir Kahane expressed the Zionist opinion when he said: "The Jews have owned the land of Palestine. They gave it their name; therefore, it became Eretz Yisrael." He adds that the Palestinians have no right to that land because the land does not give its name to a people. Rather, it is the people that gives its name to the land—in Kahane's opinion. At the beginning of the session of the Knesset, the so-called Israeli Parliament, Kahane submitted two draft laws on citizenship which contained the principles set forth in his book, of which eight are the most important.

36. The first principle, according to Kahane, is that the Jewish people have the right to reside in Palestine as their State. Non-Jews, if they want to live in Israel, have to live as non-citizens with no political rights and in limited numbers.

37. The second basic principle concerns leaving Palestine: the Palestinians may, if they wish, emigrate to Arab States or to any other State. He believes that Arab States should give grants to Palestinians who choose to leave their land.

38. The third basic principle is that Palestinians who refuse to leave must declare in writing their loyalty to Israel, with a recognition of the fact that Palestine is the "land of the Jewish people". In addition, all Jews have an absolute right, in Kahane's eyes, to come to Palestine.

39. The fourth principle is that Arabs who refuse to leave or to accept the above-mentioned principles have, according to Kahane, to be forcibly expelled, without any compensation.

40. Kahane's fifth basic principle is that Arabs who take the oath of loyalty to the Jewish State can be expelled if ever a security charge is made against them. Kahane believes that imprisonment is not sufficient punishment: they must be expelled from the country.

41. Kahane's sixth basic principle is that all the Jews of the world are called upon to provide the necessary funds for Jews leaving their countries to go to Palestine.

42. The seventh principle is that "non-Jewish" inhabitants, on reaching the age of 18, must do compulsory work for three years, after which they must do compulsory work for one month a year. No Arab should be accepted by a university unless he takes an oath of loyalty to the Jewish State.

43. The eighth principle, according to Kahane, is that Arabs living in Palestine should pay all the taxes. It is abundantly clear that the ideas Kahane submitted to the Israeli Knesset are very similar to those on which the law on citizenship of the German Reich submitted by Hitler to the Reichstag in 1935 was based.

44. History has taught us that there have been many attempts to impede the long march towards progress, justice and equality. Among these we recall the Mogul invasion of western Asia and eastern Europe, the crusades against the Arab east, the racist Nazi movement and, finally, European colonization.

45. All these invasions, all these movements, all these theories went against the tide of history. That is

why they were repelled. However, there are two political phenomena connected with the concepts of nazism and colonialism. These are the racist Zionist movement in Palestine and the *apartheid* movement in South Africa, which explains their attachment to each other and to their western origins.

46. On the basis of historical experience, we are confident that these movements and concepts will fade into oblivion.

47. We are confident that the media do not create civilization, that guns do not plant wheat and that racism is incompatible with human dignity. We are confident that the difficult conditions prevailing in the Middle East are merely transitory and that that region, which has given the world most of its civilized heritage, will recover its natural role in civilization.

48. The position of the United Arab Emirates is that any State that gives aid to Israel, either directly or indirectly, is a partner in Israel's crimes.

49. We believe that any initiatives, solutions or proposals that do not take into account the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and lead to the exercise of those rights, which include the right to return to their homeland and to establish their own independent State on their national soil, under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, cannot provide a solid basis for a just and lasting solution to the question of Palestine.

50. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): The tragedy of Palestine, the agony, the suffering and the unending injustice inflicted on the Palestinian people have been the subject of debate in the General Assembly for over three decades, ever since the inception of the United Nations. During this period, the membership of the United Nations has increased threefold and the principle of self-determination has been repeatedly vindicated and upheld, so that the process of decolonization is nearly completed. Yet, while so many of us have gained our independence and have been able to take our places here in the Assembly as sovereign independent States, the people of Palestine have yet to take their rightful place among us.

51. The stand of Cyprus on the question of Palestine is based on principle and is consistent. Our position stems from our firm belief in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations; it is founded on an enduring commitment to the cause of oppressed peoples all over the world struggling to free themselves from the bondage of colonialism, aggression and exploitation.

52. The question of Palestine involves the life and the existence, the rights and the homeland of the Palestinian people.

53. Five million Palestinians remain deprived of the most elementary human rights. More than half of them live in other States of the world and some live as refugees in their own country.

54. The question of Palestine is a political problem. It concerns the struggle of the people for their inalienable national right to determine their own destiny. It is to be regretted that, despite the total and unflinching support extended by the majority of the international community, the aspirations of the Palestinian people have not yet been realized.

55. General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) clearly spells out the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determina-

tion, national independence and sovereignty and their right to return to the homes and property from which they have been forcibly evicted. That resolution also assures the right of the Palestinian people to present their own cause and participate in any peace negotiations through their sole, legitimate representative, the PLO.

56. At the outset of my statement today I referred to the fact that the question of Palestine was born after the establishment of the United Nations itself and has been a perennial item on its agenda since 1947. If we look at the negative side, we must say that the world Organization is unable to impose and implement its resolutions, achieve its objectives and fulfil the promises made to the peoples of the world. Looking at the positive side, one must emphasize the long period of time devoted by the United Nations to the discussion of the question of Palestine, a fact which clearly reflects the immense concern of the international community and its desire to bring to an end the suffering of the much-tormented Palestinian people. It also reflects the concern of the United Nations about the situation in the Middle East, where the question of Palestine forms the core of the conflict, a dangerous situation threatening the peace and security of the entire world. This persistence and this effort on the part of the international community and the United Nations to bring about a just solution of the question of Palestine deserve the greatest appreciation and interest.

57. We believe that any process intended to bring lasting peace to the Middle East which overlooks the Palestinian issue in its national aspect and its threefold claim of the right to return, the right to self-determination and the right to independence will not bring forth positive results but, on the contrary, will have pernicious consequences in both the short and long term. It is our duty to follow the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of right and justice with regard to the pressing question of Palestine and the rights of the Palestinian people. Any straying from these principles would lead to the further undermining of the precepts of the United Nations and would contribute to loss of hope that finally peace and security can be restored to the region and to the world.

58. We wish to remind the Assembly that justice and right offer the only road to permanent peace and that straying from the path of peace will only cause a deterioration of the situation and increase exposure to the greatest dangers.

59. The non-aligned countries, including my own, have been faithfully and resolutely supporting the Palestinian struggle. We maintain that the solution for the Palestinian question should be sought within the United Nations framework and on the basis of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and decisions.

60. We feel that, in these trying days for the Palestinian people, it is necessary for the United Nations and the entire international community to intensify their efforts and take every measure to implement the decisions of the Security Council on the question of Palestine.

61. The Palestinian people, by their long struggle, have given a striking demonstration that a people seeking freedom, self-determination and independence will not remain alone and that those fighting for freedom are stronger than those imposing domi-

nation. It is hoped that at this late hour this cardinal truth will be realized by all and that peace and justice will finally be achieved for the friendly, neighbouring and much-tormented people of Palestine.

62. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, Mr. Massamba Sarré, to introduce draft resolutions A/39/L.37 to L.40.

63. Mr. SARRÉ (Senegal), Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (*interpretation from French*): In the light of the very responsible debate we have had here, on the one hand, and the reports of the Secretary-General and the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, on the other, the Committee would like to submit to the General Assembly for its consideration four draft resolutions [A/39/L.37 to L.40]. As representatives have noticed, the debate, like the accompanying reports, is both responsible and constructive. We have discerned a political will and an unreserved commitment to settle by peaceful means, as called for by the Charter of the United Nations, the Israeli-Arab conflict, which has been at the forefront of the international scene for some 40 years. On the basis of this rather encouraging sign, the draft resolutions before the Assembly emphasize the ways and means of achieving that noble objective, which should be the major concern of each and every State Member of the United Nations.

64. Draft resolution A/39/L.37 deals with the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. In renewing that Committee's mandate, the Assembly would also request it to continue its efforts to promote the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, which are the prerequisite for the restoration of peace and stability in the Middle East. The Committee is also requested to make suggestions and recommendations both to the General Assembly and to the Security Council within the context of a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian question. Furthermore, the Committee is called upon to co-operate with non-governmental organizations, which continue to play an important part in dealing with this crisis.

65. Draft resolution A/39/L.38 notes with appreciation the measures taken by the Secretary-General to enhance the effectiveness of the Division for Palestinian Rights of the Secretariat in conjunction with the Department of Public Information of the Secretariat. It invites Governments and organizations to lend their co-operation to the Committee, and it welcomes the action taken by Member States to observe annually, on 29 November, the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People.

66. Draft resolution A/39/L.39 deals with the Department of Public Information, which has done a remarkable piece of objective work to acquaint the world better with the rights of the Palestinian people. The Department is called upon to continue those efforts and intensify them, particularly by the organization of regional and national encounters for journalists.

67. Draft resolution A/39/L.40—which is the most important part of our work—deals with the international peace conference on the Middle East. As representatives know, after a number of years of thought and various approaches, the international community now realizes that the best way—indeed,

the only way—to settle the question of the Middle East is to organize an international conference involving the participation of all the parties concerned, as well as the Security Council in its capacity as the guarantor of international peace and security. Nothing should stand in the way of the convening of such a conference, provided that the rights and concerns of all the interested parties are safeguarded. Nothing should stand in its way because the right to existence of all States in the region is already a principle acknowledged by us all, ever since the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983.

68. It has been amply demonstrated in the case of the Israeli-Arab conflict, as in many similar cases, that the use of force was the worst possible way to try to settle a dispute; on the contrary, it tended to complicate it even further. Genuine peace can be found only around the negotiating table, and our duty is to encourage the parties to do this. Draft resolution A/39/L.40, while noting the report of the Secretary-General [A/39/130 and Add.1], reaffirms the idea of convening such a conference. While deploring the attitude of two Governments—the first as a directly concerned party and the second as a member of the Security Council—the draft resolution calls upon them to reconsider their position. It also requests the Secretary-General to continue his efforts and urges Governments to make additional constructive efforts to convene the conference.

69. Criticisms, recriminations and a spirit of confrontation are not found in these draft resolutions. The Committee wanted them to be constructive, while taking account of international realities. In adopting them, the Assembly will have taken an important and decisive step towards the consolidation of international peace and security. By assisting in their speedy implementation, the States Members of the United Nations will have remained faithful to the Charter, by promoting peace and understanding among States and peoples.

70. Peace is beckoning; together, let us heed this call by adopting these draft resolutions with the solemn commitment to implement them without delay.

71. Mr. MOHIUDDIN (Bangladesh): The Assembly is once again considering the question of Palestine. Another year has passed, but this crucial problem still remains unresolved. It has been over a year since the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983, adopted the Geneva Declaration on Palestine⁴ and the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights,⁴ aimed at the successful resolution of the long-standing problem. It is with deep anguish and frustration that my delegation notes the apparent lack of progress during the preceding months. In fact, the situation has steadily deteriorated, and Israel during recent months has intensified its ruthless attempts to liquidate the Palestinian people and their sole and legitimate representative, the PLO. The Israeli policy of aggression, occupation and expansion has further aggravated an already explosive situation in the region, thereby threatening international peace and security. The question of Palestine, therefore, should be considered by this world body in its proper perspective as one of the utmost importance.

72. We have before us the latest report of the Secretary-General [*ibid.*] and the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [A/39/35]. The reports are, as usual, balanced and objective. My delegation would like to put on record its deep gratitude to the Secretary-General and to the Chairman and other members of the Committee for their sincere endeavours and untiring efforts in the cause of Palestine.

73. My delegation has always emphasized that the question of Palestine is at the core of the problem of the Middle East and that it is not possible to envisage a settlement of the problems in the Middle East unless the legitimate and inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people are fully restored. We are equally convinced that any international effort to bring peace to the region must be based on a comprehensive solution of the problem. It was in this context that the President of Bangladesh, Lieutenant-General Hossain Mohammad Ershad, in his message on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, on 29 November 1984, stated:

“The Government and the people of Bangladesh once again join with the international community in reiterating full and unswerving support to our Palestinian brethren in their just struggle for independence and the realization of their inalienable and legitimate right to establish a State of their own in their homeland, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, their sole and legitimate representative, with Jerusalem as their capital.

“The question of Palestine is at the heart of the Middle East problem. It is a major challenge to the credibility of the international community in its efforts to uphold the principles and objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. No other problem has evoked so much thought and unleashed such a high degree of indignation in recent times as this issue—the tragedy of a dispossessed nation.

“The political entity of the Palestinian people and their right to establish a State of their own in their homeland is an established fact under international law and jurisprudence. To ignore this fact would be to discount a reality recognized by an overwhelming majority of the world's nation-States. The recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of a State of their own must be the fundamental element of any durable and lasting peace in the Middle East. Bangladesh has always taken a keen interest in and endeavoured to uphold the just cause of the Palestinian people in all international forums, especially the United Nations. From the very outset, Bangladesh has actively advocated the establishment of the rights of the Palestinian people as a nation.”

74. Preceding speakers have already given an elaborate and graphic account of the volatile and explosive situation prevailing in the Middle East region today. They have also dwelt at length on how Israel, since its creation, has been pursuing a policy of relentless expansion and occupation directed against its Arab neighbours with a view to changing the Arab and Palestinian character of the occupied territories. Thousands of innocent people—men, women and children—have been massacred, but the Palestinian

people have once again demonstrated that they cannot be subjugated by violence and that their inalienable rights cannot be denied to them. It is a universally recognized fact that the question of Palestine is a political problem involving the right of people to national self-determination and their right to return to their homes and property from which they were forcibly evicted. The political entity of the Palestinian people and their right to establish a State of their own in their homeland is an established fact under international law and jurisprudence. The General Assembly, after a great deal of deliberation, accepted this fact a decade ago, and it has been repeatedly reaffirmed at all its succeeding sessions. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva last year, also recognized this reality and adopted a comprehensive Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights.

75. Bangladesh's position on the question of Palestine stems from our firm belief in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and our deep commitment to the cause of oppressed peoples all over the world waging a just struggle to free themselves from the bondage of imperialism, colonialism and racism. We firmly adhere to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), containing the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Bangladesh has repeatedly reaffirmed the right of all people to self-determination, freedom and independence, and our position on the question of Palestine has been based on the following four points: first, the question of Palestine is at the core of the problem of the Middle East and, consequently, it is not possible to envisage a solution of that problem unless one takes into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people; secondly, the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and to achieve self-determination, independence and national sovereignty must be realized and there must be genuine and greater understanding of the just cause of the Palestinian people; thirdly, the participation of the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with all the other parties, on the basis of relevant General Assembly resolutions, is indispensable; and fourthly, the acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible, and Israel must totally withdraw from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories.

76. In the recent past, the United Nations has undertaken various efforts to bring justice to the Palestinian and Arab peoples, but these have been arrogantly and deliberately rejected by Israel, which openly flouts the decisions of the international community. Despite the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, Israel has refused to vacate the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. The developments in the Middle East during the past four decades have clearly emphasized the need for concerted international action, under the auspices of the United Nations, with a view to evolving a just, viable and lasting settlement of the problem. My delegation, therefore, attaches particular importance to the early convening of the proposed international conference on peace in the Middle East. We fully appreciate the Secretary-General's current initiative to that end and support his views, as stated in his report on the situation in the Middle East:

"a comprehensive settlement will have to be reached, at least in its final stage, if not earlier, through a process of negotiation in which all the parties concerned will participate. In addition, it is generally recognized that the support of the major Powers, especially the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, is essential for any lasting settlement in the Middle East. From a purely rational point of view, all these requirements could best and most readily be met if negotiations were undertaken under some form of United Nations auspices." [See A/39/600, para. 39.]

77. My delegation fully supports the Arab peace plan, adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference,¹ as a sound basis for a comprehensive solution of the problem, and other plans which have been submitted by various parties are already before the international community. A particularly heavy responsibility rests with the permanent members of the Security Council. It is our earnest hope that, on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, a greater and more determined effort will be undertaken to resolve the question of Palestine, on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, with a view to restoring, finally, peace in the Middle East.

78. Mr. KABANDA (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): Today, 10 December, we commemorate the thirty-sixth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. I ask the following question: What is the situation with respect to the rights of the Palestinian people? The reply is certainly disheartening, for, since 1956—that is, since the Palestinian resistance began to organize in order to press for its rights to self-determination, to sovereignty and to a homeland—things have not changed. On the contrary, as the years have gone by we have witnessed only a progressive hardening of the Israeli attitude, on the one hand, and a sort of plot to liquidate the Palestinian people's struggle, on the other.

79. The facts speak for themselves. In the land of Palestine, and the occupied territories in particular, in order to install its own citizens, Israel has deported Palestinians from their homes to inhospitable places, thereby splitting up families and destroying the remnants of their history and culture. Thus, the identity of the Palestinian people is being gradually threatened with annihilation because of this ongoing settlement operation, which has been of concern to the General Assembly and the very principle of which has been condemned by the international community.

80. The Palestinian refugee camps in the occupied territories are constantly harassed. Those Palestinian refugees who have found sanctuary in neighbouring Arab lands are pursued by the Israeli army or commandos, if they are not savagely massacred—and we all remember the horrible events in 1982 in the Sabra and Shatila camps in Lebanon, that other Arab country which is in part occupied by the Israeli army. The Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,⁵ must be respected by Israel in the occupied territories.

81. Without land and without respite even where it has found refuge, the Palestinian people is condemned to the status of virtual nomads. The memory

is still fresh in our minds of the exodus from Lebanon of thousands of Palestinians, evacuated in order to remove them from the battlefield. It is indeed an unhappy fate that has been meted out to the Palestinian people, which is only seeking, like all other peoples of the world, to exercise its right to self-determination in its own land, Palestine, in order to be able to set up there the political institutions of its choice and to live in peace.

82. There appears to be a wide-reaching conspiracy to liquidate the Palestinian resistance, of which the PLO is the spearhead. The purpose of this conspiracy is perfectly clear: to make us forget the Palestine problem. Many methods are used for this purpose, including the sowing of internal dissension within the resistance, in accordance with the old saw of "divide and rule".

83. All the efforts to preserve solidarity within the Palestinian resistance should be supported, because if we were to allow ourselves to be outmanoeuvred by internal or external conspiracies against the resistance, we should be playing into the hands of those who fish in troubled waters, and the noble struggle of the Palestinians—noble because it is just—would simply cease because there would no longer be anyone to wage it. That would be tragic for a people that seeks only to enjoy its fundamental, sovereign rights on its own land, like all peoples of the world.

84. The struggle of the Palestinian people is also the struggle of all those who believe in the right of peoples to self-determination and sovereignty. Hence, it is our struggle. That is why I take this opportunity to express again the total support of the Government of Rwanda for the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. In this connection, I wish to recall the statement made from this rostrum by Mr. François Ngarukiyintwali, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Rwanda, on 9 October last:

"The rejection of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the occupation of Arab territories, the annexation of the Holy City of Jerusalem, an aggressive policy in constant defiance of the principles of international law—these are some aspects of a continuing crisis which the United Nations constantly deplores, a crisis that is the responsibility of one State that has not drawn the lessons of its own history and has therefore become an implacable and unyielding enemy of a people fighting for the recognition of its most elementary and fundamental rights." [26th meeting, para. 45.]

85. But, after all, where can we find the solution? In the total and prompt implementation of United Nations resolutions on the Palestine problem, which is the core of the Middle East problem as a whole. Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) are the foundation on which a solution to the problem must be based. Unfortunately, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the parties concerned have taken exception to this. But not a single step towards a solution can be taken if some minimum common ground of agreement is not reached. These resolutions do contain the essential elements for a just and equitable solution. Hence, my delegation appeals to all the parties concerned to abide by them, each in its own specific sphere.

86. An international peace conference on the Middle East, the principle of which was proposed by the International Conference on the Question of Pales-

tine, held at Geneva last year, and endorsed by the General Assembly, would provide an appropriate framework for the discussion of all these problems, with the participation of all the parties concerned: Israel, the PLO and the Arab countries of the region. All the members of the Security Council should also participate in the conference.

87. This comprehensive approach will, it is to be hoped, make it possible to untangle the problem of the Middle East in general and that of Palestine in particular, for, unless that is done, the Middle East will remain a region of confrontation and instability. That is why the international community, despite the failures of the past, must continue its efforts to ensure the triumph of the principles in which it believes: recognition of, and respect for, the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people, including

"the right to its own homeland, in which it may establish the institutional and governmental structures of its own choice, with respect for . . . international law, under the auspices of its legitimate and authentic representatives" [*ibid.*, para. 46]—that is, the PLO.

88. The reports of the Secretary-General and the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People are clear; they reveal very disturbing incidents and facts. My delegation endorses the recommendations of those reports and gives its full support to the four draft resolutions on the question of Palestine. We congratulate the Committee, and particularly its Chairman, the dynamic Ambassador of Senegal, Mr. Massamba Sarré.

89. Since most of what needs to be said has already been said, and a number of appeals have been made, in particular, to those countries that hold the key to solving the problem of the Middle East, I shall conclude now by adding Rwanda's urgent appeal to those already made, convinced that one day justice will be done to all the peoples of the Middle East, and particularly the Palestinian people.

90. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In our recent statements at the current session of the Assembly during the debates on *apartheid* and Namibia, my delegation has spoken of the blame attaching to the United States for the suffering of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, because of its direct support for, and links with, the racist régime of South Africa. Today, as we face a similar situation in considering the question of Palestine, we cannot but state once again that it is the United States, with its strategic alliance with Israel, that is really responsible for the sufferings of the Palestinian people, which continues to be denied the right to its own State on its own soil.

91. In the final analysis, the suffering of the Palestinian people, the denial of its fundamental rights, the massacres of which it has been the victim throughout its history, are consequences of policies of force, of imperialist policies of the United States in the Middle East. Those policies form part of a whole, an integrated global policy based on the interests that the United States shares with its allies throughout the world. Among those allies we should mention in particular Israel in the Middle East; the Pretoria régime in southern Africa; and El Salvador and Honduras in Central America.

92. In its edition of 2 December, the American newspaper *Los Angeles Times* published an interview with the United States representative to the United

Nations. Asked about the lessons she had learned from her experience at the United Nations with regard to attitudes to Israel, she said:

“With regard to Israel, I actually did not know until I came to the United Nations about the scope and intensity of hostility toward that nation. It is extraordinary. I frankly had no idea of the degree to which the so-called moderate Arabs are willing to say, for example, pejorative things about the honour and legitimacy of Israel. Analogies between the Nazis and the Israelis are practically a daily affair at the United Nations. It happens all the time: accusations against Israel of genocide, contempt for the idea that there is law in Israel, that there is honour in Israel, or that there is any legitimacy about Israel. There is a willingness to believe anything about Israel, no matter how atrocious.”

93. Mrs. Kirkpatrick is thus trying to give American public opinion the impression that the United Nations is taking up subjective positions unrelated to reality, unrelated to the true nature and behaviour of Israel, a view we do not share and cannot accept. The truth is that, unlike the vast majority of Members of the United Nations, the United States turns its back on and disregards the factual information about Israel, because that information is incompatible with its predetermined and decided policy of unconditional support for the Zionist régime. Here it is worth looking at some examples. Let us recall the massacres of Sabra and Shatila. Let us speak about human rights, where there is every kind of evidence of Israeli violations. In that respect, the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories [A/39/591] is more than conclusive. Because Israel has not co-operated with that Committee, much of the information in the report is based on exposés appearing in reports in the newspapers of Israel itself.

94. As a corollary to that, with respect to human rights, we must point out that that attitude of the United States is consistent with its overall policy of concealing and denying abuses by its friends and protégés in various regions of the world.

95. On 14 May of this year, in reply to a letter of 9 March from the Secretary-General to all members of the Security Council, my Government reiterated its full support for the holding of a peace conference on the Middle East [see A/39/259].

96. We wish to reiterate today our support for holding the conference under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation on an equal footing of the PLO, the United States, the Soviet Union and other interested States, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/58 C.

97. In supporting the holding of the conference, Nicaragua again expresses its firm conviction that political solutions and not the use of force are the only way in which to resolve international conflicts, and that the United States and those that implement its policies must show the international community their acknowledgement of and respect for the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

98. Unfortunately, the convening of this conference has met with a series of obstacles, among which the attitude of the United States is an important factor, reflecting as it does a complete lack of understanding of those problems and of the ways of solving them.

The United States does not wish to understand that the question of Palestine is at the core of the Middle East situation and that there will be no peace in that region of the world until a just and lasting solution is found, a solution which must be centred on the establishment of a Palestinian State in Palestine.

99. The present United States Administration, in keeping with its warmongering policy of seeking military solutions to problems, persists—as it does in Central America and in southern Africa—in erecting obstacles to and restraining serious efforts in the search for peace in the region. If this is not so and if our analysis is wrong, why, then, has the United States provided Israel with approximately \$17 billion in military assistance since 1965, almost \$3 billion last year alone? Why does the United States, a permanent member of the Security Council, veto that important body's resolutions in order to hinder, with respect to Israel, implementation of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations?

100. When speaking of the Palestinian people, we could expand at length on the long list of atrocities, suffering and death that people has suffered at the hands of zionism. We could speak of illegal settlements, massacres, torture, collective punishment and many other things. But there is one element that stands out: the displacement of an entire nation from its own land and homes, and the subsequent complete withdrawal of national rights from people who are considered foreigners in their own land.

101. That is why the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establish its own State on its own land and the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes are essential elements in the consideration of this problem. The international community cannot and must not close its eyes to this massive violation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The members of the Security Council, particularly, must act in accordance with international commitments and struggle actively for the maintenance of peace and security in that vitally important area.

102. My delegation, which participates as an observer in the work of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, wishes to express its full support for the Committee's recommendations in its report [A/39/35] and its gratitude to Mr. Massamba Sarré, of Senegal, for the fine work the Committee has been doing under his chairmanship.

103. I could not conclude without reiterating the militant solidarity of the people and Government of Nicaragua with the Palestinian people and its sole legitimate representative, the PLO, which sooner rather than later, as the unquestionable vanguard movement of that heroic people, will lead it to final liberation.

104. We wish also to reiterate what we have said during past consideration of this question: that it is important to maintain the unity of the Arab nation and of the Palestinian people and its vanguard movement, the PLO. Failure to do this will benefit only the enemy of the Arab nation and the Palestinian people, that is, the United States and its allies in the region.

105. Our revolution, which also waged a victorious war of liberation against the same enemy and its allies, knows how important it is to preserve, at any

cost, the unity of revolutionary forces, for that element played a decisive role in our final victory.

106. Moreover, it is important that we should not forget the lessons of history and remember that it was division among the revolutionary forces that led to the United States intervention, in its so-called "Operation Rescue", against the small island of Grenada barely one year ago.

107. Mr. TAHINDRO (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): For several years, it has been clear to the majority of the international community that the enjoyment by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights is the *sine qua non* for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The following facts—also a matter of agreement among the international community—follow from that conclusion.

108. First, the question of Palestine is at the core of the Middle East problem; thus, no solution can be found unless it takes into account the legitimate, inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

109. Secondly, the attainment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights to return to their homeland and to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty will help resolve the crisis in that region.

110. Thirdly, it is indispensable that the PLO, the sole and unique representative of the Palestinian people, should participate in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East, on an equal footing with all the other parties, in keeping with General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3375 (XXX).

111. Fourthly, the acquisition of territory by force is impermissible. It is thus imperative that Israel must withdraw unconditionally from all occupied Palestinian Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

112. These views have been constantly stated by such intergovernmental organizations as the Assembly of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, as well as by the States Members of the United Nations.

113. We wish in this connection to recall 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 [see A/39/560]. The participants reaffirmed their total support for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and their determination to act for early achievement of those rights.

114. Similarly, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, at its twentieth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 12 to 15 November 1984, adopted a resolution in which it vigorously condemned all initiatives, measures and agreements that did not take into account the aspirations of the Palestinian people and its sole authentic representative, the PLO, and considered that any agreement on the question of Palestine entered into without the participation of the PLO was null and void.⁶

115. Moreover, the Fourth Islamic Summit Conference, held at Casablanca from 16 to 19 January 1984, adopted several resolutions on the question of Palestine [see A/39/131 and Corr.1] in which it recognized that a just peace can be established in the region only with the total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel

from all occupied Arab territories and with the restoration to the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights.

116. To conclude this brief survey designed to illustrate the international consensus on the question of Palestine, we would draw attention to the fact that the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the ten States members of the European Economic Community, meeting at Brussels on 27 March 1984, emphasized in their declaration on the Middle East⁷ that any settlement should take into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

117. It is disturbing to note, however, that despite this general consensus on the way in which the question of Palestine should be solved, Israel, in violation of numerous resolutions of the United Nations and of international treaties to which it is a party, continues to violate the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and to pursue its policy of occupying Palestinian and Arab territories, as well as its illegal establishment of Jewish settlements in occupied Palestinian territories, particularly by the confiscation of lands belonging to Arabs and by the systematic and repeated violation of the human rights of the populations in the occupied territories.

118. Thus, according to the most recent information from the occupied territories, the Israeli authorities, in an announcement dated 30 October 1984, are said to be planning to construct a further settlement in Halhul, after expelling 24 Palestinian families. On 28 October, Jewish terrorists attacked a bus transporting some Arabs, killing one passenger and wounding 11 others. In addition, we should note in passing the persistent harassment of the Left Bank universities, the imprisonment of Palestinians without warrant, the shooting on sight of Arab inhabitants by Jewish settlers and Israeli soldiers, the detention of nationalists, including the former Mayor of Nablus, and the profanation of mosques, including the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron.

119. Such Israeli practices are of course not only in flagrant violation of international law and of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,⁵ but also contrary to the spirit and the letter of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. What is even more serious is that it appears that the Israeli Government intends to pursue its policy of establishing additional settlements in the occupied territories so that, according to forecasts, their population will reach the minimum figure of 100,000 Israeli settlers by 1987 and 190,000 by 2010.

120. In the face of these disturbing prospects, we feel it is the duty of States with any decisive influence on Israel to recall it to reason and make it understand that its present military superiority is no more than ephemeral and that, in addition, the peace of the tomb of which it is today the apostle cannot replace lasting peace based on justice in the Middle East.

121. On the strength of those principles, we are pleased to endorse the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 38/58 C, which welcomed the call for the convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East in conformity with the following guidelines: first, the enjoyment by the Palestinian people of its legitimate and inalienable rights, including the right to return, the right to self-determination and the right to establish its own

independent State in Palestine; secondly, recognition of the right of the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate on an equal footing with other parties in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East; thirdly, the need to put an end to Israel's occupation of the Arab territories, in accordance with the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, and, consequently, the need to secure Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; fourthly, the need to oppose and reject all Israeli policies and practices in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and any *de facto* situation created by Israel which are contrary to international law and relevant United Nations resolutions—particularly the settlements policy—since these constitute major obstacles to the achievement of peace in the Middle East; fifthly, the need to declare null and void all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, the occupying Power, which have altered or are intended to alter the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, including the expropriation of land and property situated thereon, and in particular the so-called "Basic Law" on Jerusalem and the proclamation of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel; and, lastly, the right of all States in the region to exist within secure and internationally recognized boundaries, with justice and security for all, the *sine qua non* of which is the recognition and exercise of the inalienable, legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

122. We also believe that all the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the PLO and the two great Powers and other States concerned, should participate in the international peace conference on an equal footing and with equal rights. To that end, we call upon certain States that are still against the convening of that conference to reconsider their position and thus make possible just and lasting peace in the region.

123. The commitment of the people of Madagascar to the Palestinian cause is a matter of public record. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar has always been convinced that the question of Palestine is the crux of the Middle East problem and that there can be no question of any kind of separate peace, any agreement that does not take due account of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, or any arrangement concluded without the participation of the PLO.

124. That is why we welcomed the meeting of the Palestine National Council at Amman last month. The very fact that that meeting was held demonstrated, if there were any need to do so, the vigour of that Palestinian legislative body, which, furthermore, reiterated its confidence in the present leadership of the PLO.

125. We cannot conclude this statement without reaffirming our support for the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, which, under the chairmanship of Mr. Masamba Sarré, of Senegal, has always discharged its mandate in a diligent and devoted manner. Lastly, we are once again convinced that the majority of the States represented in this forum share the feelings of the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, Mr. Didier Ratsiraka, when he stated in his message of solidarity with and support for the Palestinian people on the occasion of the commemoration of the International Day of Solidarity with the

Palestinian People: "What the PLO wants, we want as well, and Palestine will be victorious."

126. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): In the course of the General Assembly's consideration of the question of Palestine, which lies at the heart of the conflict in the Middle East, it should be recalled that the question of Palestine was not born on 5 June 1967, when Israel attacked three Arab States and occupied all of Palestine, the Syrian Golan Heights and other parts of the Arab nation. Indeed, this question was created with the arrival of the first influx of settlers, in implementation of the Basel programme adopted at the first world Zionist Congress in 1897. Then the imperialist States gave their blessings to the scheme in their scramble to partition the Middle East, before, during and after the First World War.

Mr. Fajardo Maldonado (Guatemala), Vice-President, took the Chair.

127. The Basel programme, which is the definitive foundation of the colonization of Palestine, is based on two principles: first, the Judaization of the land, that is to say, the usurpation of the land of Arabs; and, secondly, the Judaization of labour, which means depriving the Arabs of the right to work in their own homeland, Palestine, and the creation of an exclusively Jewish society. As to the size of the land to be so colonized, it was determined on the basis of an admixture of secular colonialism and colonialism emanating from Jewish mythology. Then there was the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the mandate system, which was invented by that genius of contemporary imperialism, Jan Smuts, of South Africa, and which opened the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration. This indeed marked the beginning of the inevitable Arab struggle against aggression and for the defence of Arab rights, especially the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

128. The history of Palestine since 1919 is the history of a people struggling, with all possible means, to restore its legitimate rights. The problem of Palestine has taken its present international shape since 1947, when Palestine was partitioned by a resolution contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of contemporary international law. Then the Arab nation came to the rescue of the Palestinian people against Zionist aggression, which has been aimed since then at the occupation of the whole of Palestine by brute force and massacres, such as the massacre of Deir Yassin in 1948. Israel has always sought to justify its continued aggression. At times it invokes the will of God, at others it tries to rewrite history in order to obliterate the Arab Islamic and Christian history in Palestine. At still other times, it invokes considerations of absolute security, even though we know that in this world there is no absolute security for any State. As I have already stated, the core of the conflict is that aggression that is being committed against the Arab people of Palestine and that has now spread to other neighbouring Arab countries, in order to establish a colonial State.

129. We should recall the racist character of that State called "Israel", in order to understand the tragedy of the Arabs in Palestine. The Zionist ideology, which is the source of inspiration for the racist and expansionist Israeli practices, has no counterpart in contemporary history except in nazism, which has been overcome, and in *apartheid*,

which will shortly be overcome. In resolution 3379 (XXX), entitled "Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination", the General Assembly determined that "zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination". That resolution is a historic turning-point in the international community's understanding of Zionist racism. It is regrettable, however, that, under pressure by some imperialist circles, the General Assembly has not been able to translate that resolution into international action to eliminate racism all over the world, in order to deter Israel from persisting in its racist policies, which endanger international peace and security in a manner similar to the policies of *apartheid* in southern Africa and which also constitute a gross violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.⁵ In its 1979 report, the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories referred to the racist Israeli policies in the following terms:

"Israel's policy in the occupied territories is based on the so-called 'homeland' doctrine which envisages a mono-religious (Jewish) State established on territory that includes those territories occupied by Israel in June 1967."⁸

130. The Special Committee concluded that:

"to the extent that the inhabitants of the occupied territories do not form part of the religious group in whose name the Government of Israel claims the right to establish itself, these inhabitants have no rights *vis-à-vis* the governing authorities (in this case the Government of Israel as a military occupation authority) whenever the exercise of these rights happens to run counter to the 'homeland' policy."⁹

131. The Special Committee also concluded that such a doctrine could not but negate the right of the Arab citizen to return to his homeland and declared that:

"Therefore, the Government of Israel, assisted by the judicial authorities, continues to deny the right to return to their homes to those inhabitants of the occupied territories who fled as a result of the hostilities and to those expelled by the Israeli military authorities from the occupied territories since June 1967."⁹

132. That doctrine, manifested in Israeli racist practices, negates the existence of the Arabs and makes Israel, like South Africa, an entity which endangers a world order based on values, principles and laws—values, principles and laws which neither Israel nor South Africa can respect because of an inherent natal defect common to both of them. Israel is based on a denial of the existence of the Arabs, on non-recognition of their rights and on contempt for anything that does not belong to zionism.

133. That contempt towards Arabs—even towards oriental Jews—was expressed by Ben-Gurion, when he said, as quoted in *The Fate of the Jews*, by Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht:¹⁰

"We do not want Israelis to become Arabs. We are duty-bound to fight against the spirit of the Levant, which corrupts individuals and societies, and to preserve the authentic Jewish values as they are crystallized in the Diaspora."^{*}

134. Abba Eban, the former Israeli Foreign Minis-

ter, who can now be seen on American television's Channel 13 in an attempt to sell the history of Judaism—a misleading matter—to the American society and who is called an intellectual, has said:

"One of the great apprehensions that afflicts us when we contemplate our cultural scene is the fear that the predominance of immigrants of oriental origin may force Israel to equalize its cultural level with that of the neighbouring world."^{*}

135. The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that the Israeli colonialist society is by its nature, inclination and goals based on a refusal to recognize the existence of the Arabs and on hatred of the people of Palestine. Consequently, it is a régime which is against a just peace. The General Assembly, which heard the statement of the Israeli representative during the debate on the Middle East [72nd meeting], must ask itself these questions. Who wants to eliminate whom? Who has eliminated the Arab existence? Who seeks a just peace? Who is profiting from aggression? The present Israeli Minister for Foreign Affairs and former head of the Stern Gang, Mr. Shamir, has said: "We want peace, but only in conditions which will enable us to continue to exist, and this means the Golan Heights, Judea and Samaria within the boundaries of the land of Israel."^{*}

136. Moreover, Mordechai Zipori, the former Israeli Minister of Communications, has declared: "The Golan Heights is ours and anybody who regards himself as a Syrian should be allowed in a democratic fashion to move to Syria."^{*}

137. I should like to draw the attention of those who claim that Israel is the representative of democracy in our region—and this includes the delegation of the United States—to those words: "anybody who regards himself as a Syrian should be allowed in a democratic fashion to move to Syria."^{*}

138. This is the democracy in which they believe, the democracy of occupation.

139. We always insist, in the General Assembly, on one thing: that the Assembly should see the peace proclaimed by Israel in the light of the declarations of its leaders, for their peace is the peace of the graveyard. That is why we ask that Israel be evaluated on the basis of its aggression, its deep-seated racism, its policy of colonialism and expansionism that runs against the current of the peaceful international relations called for by the Charter of the United Nations and against the sanctity of human rights.

140. On the basis of these considerations, the General Assembly adopted in 1982, at its ninth emergency special session, resolution ES-9/1, concerning Israel's violation of its obligations and of the Charter, in which it declared—a declaration reaffirmed in successive resolutions of the Assembly—that:

"Israel's record and actions confirm that it is not a peace-loving Member State and that it has carried out neither its obligations under the Charter nor its commitment under General Assembly resolution 273 (III) of 11 May 1949".

141. We believe that the General Assembly should once again reaffirm that declaration, the validity of which was proved this year when Israel and its partner, the United States, rejected the idea of an international peace conference on the Middle East, which was endorsed by the General Assembly in

^{*}Quoted in English by the speaker.

resolution 38/58 C. That shameful refusal is referred to in the Secretary-General's report to both the General Assembly and the Security Council [A/39/130/Add.1]. That report cites the response of the United States and Israel to the idea of convening an international peace conference on the Middle East: "it is clear from the replies of the Governments of Israel and the United States of America that they are not prepared to participate in the proposed conference."

142. The Israeli colonialist society, which is based on the ashes of the Palestinian people and the continuance of the settlements policy in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, cannot, because of its racist, terrorist nature, accept the principle of a just peace based on resolutions of the United Nations, which recognize, affirm and guarantee the right of the Palestinian people to return to its homeland, to self-determination without foreign intervention and to establish its own independent State on its national soil and which call for unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all the territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem.

143. Israel has defied the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretary-General, and the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People when it rejected the idea of convening an international peace conference on the Middle East. Israel would like a new Camp David, because the Camp David accords were based on depriving the Palestinian people of its national rights. Those accords encouraged Israel to annex land by creating new *faits accomplis*. It promised the Palestinians administrative autonomy covering individuals but not their lands, their farms or their waters. This is what Israel wants from the Arabs.

144. Israel dictates what it wants to Washington, which in the same spirit rejects the idea of convening a peace conference in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/58 C. It is continuing to worship the structure erected following the Camp David accords on the remains of Arab Palestine in order to deal with the Arabs individually and to force them to shameful surrender.

145. Israel would not have been able to defy the international community by refusing to participate in an international peace conference, and would not have been able to persist in its aggressive and expansionist practices, annexing the Golan Heights and Jerusalem, without the unlimited diplomatic, political, military and economic support it receives from the United States. The November 1981 strategic co-operation agreement between Washington and Tel Aviv has widened and become a strategic alliance in the full sense of the word, an alliance directed against the interests of the Arab nation and its right to live in peace. It is an alliance that endangers international peace and security in the region and beyond.

146. United States support for Israel has known no limits, including aiding Israel in its wars against the Arabs, especially the June 1967 war. In his book entitled *Taking Sides: America's secret relations with a militant Israel*,¹¹ Stephen Green states the following:

"There were forms of material assistance required by Israel. On May 23, Johnson authorized an emergency air shipment of armoured personnel carriers, tank spare parts, spare parts for the Hawk

missile air defense system, bomb fuses, artillery ammunition and gas masks, among many other items. These items were packed and sent just prior to the June 5 invasion, in preparation for it, at a time when President Johnson had publicly declared an arms embargo on all items going to the Middle East. One almost wonders whether there might not have been two Lyndon Johnsons in the White House in early June 1967."*

147. As to the collusion between Washington and Israel in the latest war against Lebanon, some facts have started to surface. In a book published by two Israeli writers, Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya-ahir, entitled *Israel's Lebanon War*,¹² there is a reference to a message by the butcher Sharon to his friend Alexander Haig, in which he said:

"I have just now returned from one of my visits to our troops in Lebanon. I want to tell you that in the 'Peace for Galilee' operation the IDF has brilliantly achieved all its missions, as instructed by the Government. We have succeeded in eliminating the huge PLO terrorist military infrastructure in southern Lebanon and we are now encircling the bases of terrorism and its headquarters in Beirut itself. In the course of the operation, faced with a Syrian decision to interfere in the air and on the ground, we also succeeded in breaking the strategic hold of the Syrian Army in Lebanon, which had provided a massive support to PLO terrorism.

"On that background, I wish to express to you my deep appreciation for your understanding and your determined stand in the struggle against international terrorism . . . You are entitled, Mr. Secretary, to be proud of your achievements."*

148. Regarding the 1982 aggression against Lebanon, the two above-mentioned journalists compared the role of Washington in the previous Israeli wars against the Arabs and its role during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, saying: "Neither in the Yom Kippur War nor in the Six-Day War before it had Israel enjoyed such heartening understanding from Washington."*

149. On previous occasions, my delegation has spoken in the General Assembly on the staggering amounts of assistance Israel receives from the American Administration in the form of grants, showing that each Israeli gets about \$1,000 per year, a figure that is expected to reach \$3,000 in 1986. At this very moment, there are joint American-Israeli committees working in complete secrecy to develop all aspects of the strategic alliance between the two countries. In addition, in the second part of its ninety-eighth session, the United States Congress enacted law No. 5377, which authorizes the President of the United States to conclude a commercial agreement with Israel granting it full customs exemption and exemption from restrictions on Israeli products. The Executive Director of the so-called American-Israel Public Affairs Committee, which is the expression of the Zionist lobby in the Congress, on 22 May 1984 produced written testimony to the Ways and Means Committee of the Congress, in which he explained the reason for calling for the creation of a free market between the United States and Israel.

150. I shall quote the following passage from that written testimony:

*Quoted in English by the speaker.

"Israel has great strategic importance for the United States and the West. Its important geographic location in the Mediterranean and in the heart of the Middle East, in addition to the fighting capability of its armed forces and its commitment against the Soviet Union, makes Israel a strategic ally of great importance to that sensitive region of the world. Israel's power helps achieve United States interests."

151. It can be concluded from that testimony that Israeli occupation and its wars against the Arabs would not have been possible without the unlimited support given by the United States to Israel in many areas. It is in the nature of things that the development of the strategic alliance between the two countries through pooling their two markets will make available to Israel all the financial and economic capabilities of the United States, enabling it to commit more acts of aggression and to seek to impose its hegemony over the Middle East.

152. The Zionist lobby was successful in imposing its will on the American economy, inducing that economy to serve its aggressive policies and help to continue its occupation of other parts of Arab land on the pretext of a bogus threat, which in fact does not exist, and causing the American people to overlook the brutal Israeli occupation which is undemocratic, colonialist and racist. In fact, the American taxpayer is bearing the cost of the Israeli occupation in the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights and southern Lebanon. Yet, there are some in Arab and other circles that still believe it is possible to change the feelings of the United States towards them and their national causes.

153. We believe that the General Assembly should reaffirm its resolutions calling for the termination of dealings with Israel in the diplomatic, economic, financial and military fields, because such dealings—at a time when Israel defies the international community by rejecting General Assembly resolution 38/58 C, and even the idea of an international peace conference on the Middle East, in accordance with United Nations resolutions and under the auspices of the international Organization, to ensure Israel's withdrawal from all the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967 and recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to return to its homeland, to exercise self-determination and to establish an independent State on its national soil—such dealings encourage Israel to develop its capabilities aimed at establishing the "Greater Israel" which would extend from the Nile to the Euphrates. In fact, Israel's goals are contrary to those of the United Nations. As a result of the Camp David accords, Israel escalated its settlements policy by assuming control of 60 per cent of the land in the West Bank. Since 1967, it has established 160 settlements in the West Bank, 19 in the Gaza Strip and 41 in the Golan Heights. Israel is still working hard to settle 100,000 Jews in the occupied areas by 1985. At the same time, Israel continues to violate human rights in the occupied Arab territories. Those violations are serious, and very few deny that they are similar to Nazi practices. Israel practises terror, murder, arbitrary arrest, collective punishment, demolition of Arab houses, expulsion, deportation, and expropriation of lands and of water resources. Moreover, Israel undermines the economic and social infrastructures, closes universities and schools, punishes teachers and students. Such practices occur daily. The Palestinian child is

killed or punished just for raising the Palestinian flag. Students are shot for demonstrating to express their true nationalist feelings and Arab identity. No other people in the world is subjected to such forms of terror and repression.

154. Moreover, the Israeli occupation authorities are undertaking excavations and other works in the holy places, including Jerusalem. The General Assembly should therefore take appropriate measures to deter Israel—deter that Israel which the United States has tried to project as an "island of democracy"—from these practices. In addition, the Assembly should enhance the work of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories. That committee's work is most important in order to increase the international community's awareness of the situation and make that community understand the actual practices taking place in the occupied territories. International justice, which punished the Nazi criminals, must also punish the criminals of the terrorist and colonialist "island of democracy".

155. We should like to repeat very clearly to the United States what my delegation has already said in the general debate, namely, that its insistence on finding a solution to the problem of the Middle East and the question of Palestine on the basis of the Camp David accords, or similar types of agreement based on partial and separate arrangements, can lead only to an exacerbation of tension in the region and will only make the situation more explosive. Also, such a stand has enabled Israel to intensify its settlements policy in the occupied Arab lands and has given it a free hand to strike in all directions. Thus it has declared the annexation of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights and it has occupied Lebanon and continues to occupy large areas of that country. All such practices undermine the role of the United Nations, which is based on international legality.

156. My delegation would like to quote from the message from the President of the Syrian Arab Republic to the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, as follows:

"For us in Syria, the cause of the Palestinian people is a fundamental cause and is at the heart of our struggle against aggression and occupation and for peace and justice.

"The Palestinian lands are part of the Arab nation; indeed, they are the very heart of the Arab nation. The people of Palestine are part of the Arab nation. Therefore, aggression against the Palestinian people is aggression against the Arab nation. It is the beginning of the Israeli expansionist scheme aimed at the establishment of a greater Israeli State extending from the Nile to the Euphrates."

157. The General Assembly, which has consistently shown that it understands the nature of the fight waged against us since our independence and has supported our people in Palestine, must fulfil at this session the great responsibility entrusted to it under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. Consequently, it must spare no effort to enable the Arab people of Palestine to recover its full rights in accordance with international law, of which the United Nations is the custodian.

158. In conclusion, I should like to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General and to the

Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and especially to Mr. Sarré, its Chairman. Its report [A/39/35] has met with the approval of all because of its frankness and objectivity and the completeness of its description of the activities of the Committee in carrying out its important task.

159. Mr. KULAWIEC (Czechoslovakia): This year my delegation is addressing the General Assembly almost at the end of its deliberations on a long-standing and extraordinarily dangerous international problem. This allows us to make a broader statistical survey of the development of the debate. Israel has been unambiguously marked as an aggressor carrying out an illegal occupation, seeking expansionist aims, ignoring the norms of international law and the decisions of the United Nations, pursuing a policy of annexation and disregarding fundamental human rights. The United States, because of its all-round assistance to Israel, has been declared Israel's accomplice. A particularly significant feature of the debate has been the unity of views on the rights of the Arab people of Palestine. This unity of the Members of the United Nations provides notable support for effective action by the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle for their legitimate rights.

160. The position of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on this question is in full harmony with the attitude of the international community. This position was reaffirmed on 29 November 1984, on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, by the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in his message of greeting to the PLO. The message states, among other things, that the Czechoslovak people resolutely condemn the expansionist policy of Israel, backed by United States imperialism, and fully support the Palestinian people, headed by their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, in their struggle for the realization of their inalienable right to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent State.

161. The Czechoslovak delegation shares the serious concerns of many other delegations about the dangerous chauvinistic logic of the ruling circles of Israel. Although those rulers talk a great deal about the right of Israel to an independent and secure existence, they are not willing to recognize the same rights in respect of the Palestinian people. Israel uses the illegal occupation of the Arab territories for its predatory aims. It maintains and fans tensions in the Middle East region and persecutes the Arab people of Palestine in the territories of other States also, thus violating the sovereignty of those States.

162. What are the root causes of this state of affairs? The present crisis situation has been created as a result and component of an extensive attack on progressive development in the Arab world. Israel's ruling class plays in this attack the role of a striking force, while at the same time also pursuing its own selfish goals.

163. Therefore, the Middle East crisis is not only a clash between the Zionist forces at present ruling in Israel and the Arab people; it is a conflict between the Arab national liberation movement and one of the forms or branches of world imperialism, unreservedly supported by the anti-people imperialist circles in the United States. On analysing the developments in the Middle East, we have to state, much to our regret,

that the approach of the United States Administration, representing these imperialist circles, has been developing in a more and more negative way. This has given Israel a free hand for the implementation of its Zionist plans directed against the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and Israel is taking advantage of it. It is disregarding all norms of international law, ignoring the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and trampling upon the ideals cherished by the United Nations, of which Israel is still a Member. Its policy has only one aim: the so-called final settlement of the Palestinian question as proposed by Herzl, the founding father of Zionism.

164. An integral part of this concept is constituted by the massacres at Sabra and Shatila, which in their nature resemble the crimes committed by the Fascists at Coventry, Rotterdam, Warsaw and Lidice and in the Soviet Union, as well as those perpetrated later in My Lai. The world has not yet healed the wounds of Sabra and Shatila, and yet Israel is committing new crimes.

165. The greatest obstacle to the Israeli policy of annexation is the systematic resistance of the Palestinian people, headed by its only legitimate representative, the PLO. That is why the barbaric attack carried out by Israel against Lebanon in 1982 was directed primarily to the liquidation of that organization and the entire Palestinian resistance movement.

166. The number of acts committed by Israel which deserve condemnation is large. Much has been said about them in this forum. In the interest of the further stabilization of our efforts, I would like to mention here the statement by an Israeli lawyer, Felicia Langer, that she felt how weak and vague all words were when confronted with the tragic reality.

167. The international community and all its members must actively contribute to the establishment of an equitable position for the Arab people of Palestine. That is why we again express appreciation of the conclusions adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference,¹ which established prerequisites favourable for the solution of the Palestine question.

168. A compass for the establishment of lasting peace in the Middle East, including a just settlement of the Palestine question, is provided by the proposals put forward by the Soviet Union on 15 September 1982.³ We fully support also the latest Soviet proposals [see A/39/368], which reflect the justified desires of the Arab people of Palestine to put an end to the Israeli occupation and to do away with its consequences in all the occupied Palestinian territories. They offer the Palestinians a possibility of implementing their right to self-determination and to the establishment of their own State, while demanding the effective safeguarding of the right of all States in the region to security and an independent existence and development, based on compliance with the principle of full reciprocity.

169. Historical experience teaches us to reject attempts to influence the developments in the Middle East such as the Kissinger step-by-step policy, the Camp David accords and the Reagan plan of 1 September 1982.²

170. It is only natural that the main decisions must be made by the Arab people of Palestine. We are confident that, in spite of the temporary weakening of the unity of the Palestinian nation caused by

Israel's aggression, the cohesion of its struggle for its legitimate rights will be restored.

171. Czechoslovakia regards the PLO as the representative of a sovereign and independent nation and gives full support to its just struggle. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic decided last year to grant the PLO agency in Prague the status of a diplomatic mission.

172. The PLO was founded 20 years ago. During the period of its existence, it has proved its viability in managing the affairs of the Arab people of Palestine. It is therefore impossible to separate the Palestinians from the PLO, as is done by Israel and the United States. Those who are interested in negotiating with the Palestinians have to negotiate with the PLO.

173. However, when there is not enough political will on the part of all parties concerned to achieve a just settlement, a long time may pass before the Arab people of Palestine can enjoy full freedom and before the dangerous hotbed of tension which exists in the Middle East, and which poses a serious threat to international peace and security, is eliminated. We are aware of the fact that extensive and resolute international efforts will be required in order to establish in the Middle East a lasting and equitable peace for all States and nations.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

NOTES

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

²See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1982), vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

³See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1982*, document S/15403, annex.

⁴See *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.

⁵United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

⁶See A/40/87, AHG/Res.123 (XX).

⁷See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1984*, document S/16456.

⁸A/34/631, para. 367.

⁹*Ibid.*, para. 368.

¹⁰New York, Times Books, 1983.

¹¹New York, Morrow, 1984.

¹²New York, Simon and Schuster, 1984.