

UNITED NATIONS



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-FIRST YEAR

**1928**<sup>th</sup> MEETING: 18 JUNE 1976

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#### NOTE

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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

## 1928th MEETING

Held in New York, on Friday, 18 June 1976, at 10.30 a.m.

*President:* Mr. Rashleigh E. JACKSON (Guyana).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Benin, China, France, Guyana, Italy, Japan, Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1928)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The question of the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights:  
Report of the Committee established under General Assembly resolution 3376 (XXX) (S/12090)

*The meeting was called to order at 11.10 a.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The question of the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights:**

**Report of the Committee established under General Assembly resolution 3376 (XXX) (S/12090)<sup>1</sup>**

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the Council at its 1924th meeting, I invite the Chairman and other members of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the representatives of Cuba, Egypt, Jordan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates to participate in the debate without the right to vote.

*At the invitation of the President, the delegation of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and Mr. Al-Hout (Palestine Liberation Organization) took places at the Council table; Mr. Alarcón (Cuba), Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Sharaf (Jordan), Mr. Allaf (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Türkmen (Turkey), and Mr. Humaidan (United Arab Emirates), took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

2. The PRESIDENT: I should now like to inform the members of the Council that I have received letters

from the representatives of the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, India and Yugoslavia, containing requests to be invited to participate without the right to vote in the Council's discussion, in accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure. I therefore propose, with the consent of the Council and in accordance with the usual practice, to invite these representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

3. In view of the limited number of seats available at the Council table, I invite those representatives to take the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber on the understanding that they will be invited to take seats at the Council table when it is their turn to speak.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Florin (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Hollai (Hungary), Mr. Jaipal (India) and Mr. Petrić (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

4. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker is the representative of the United Arab Emirates. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. HUMAIDAN (United Arab Emirates) *interpretation from French*: Mr. President, before beginning my statement I should like to express our regret at the tragic death of the United States Ambassador in Beirut and should like to express our condolences to the United States delegation and Government. We appreciate the efforts made by the Palestine Liberation Organization to arrest the assassins and bring them to justice.

6. Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. I have had the good fortune and pleasure of knowing you very well and have worked with you to strengthen co-operation and friendship between our two countries. Your abilities and your devotion to the cause of peace and justice will, I am sure, enable you to bring to a successful conclusion this debate on the question of Palestine, which, thanks to the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People is now at an historic turning-point in its development. I should also like to thank you and the members of the Council for having

been so kind as to permit me to participate in this important debate.

7. My delegation wanted to take part in this debate for three reasons. First, my Government sincerely believes in the need to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Secondly, we also believe that peace and stability cannot be established in the Middle East as long as the Israeli occupation of Arab territories continues and as long as the Palestinian people are deprived of their fundamental rights in their ancestral homeland. Thirdly, as an Arab country, obviously, the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People is not entirely satisfactory to us. But we do none the less believe that this report and, above all, the recommendations included in its second part, can serve as a viable and realistic basis to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights and hence to pave the way for a settlement of the Palestinian question, which is at the very heart of the Middle East crisis.

8. In 1974 the General Assembly unequivocally reaffirmed the rights of the Palestinian people in its resolution 3236 (XXIX), of which I shall quote only the two most important paragraphs:

“1. Reaffirms the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including:

“(a) The right to self-determination without external interference;

“(b) The right to national independence and sovereignty;

“2. Reaffirms also the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted, and calls for their return.”

But that resolution, like so many others, was in danger of remaining a dead letter. Therefore, the Assembly decided, in its resolution 3376 (XXX) to establish a Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

9. I have had the opportunity to follow that Committee's work and to read its report, which is before this Council. I should be failing in my duty if I did not congratulate its Chairman, Ambassador Fall of Senegal, and its members on the sincere and responsible efforts they put into performing an extremely difficult task. For this is indeed the first time in 28 years that an attempt has been made to establish a programme of implementation to enable the Palestinian people to exercise its rights. Those rights are clearly defined in resolution 3236 (XXIX), which I have already mentioned. They were reaffirmed in resolution 3376 (XXX).

10. I do not wish to undertake an analysis of the report of the Committee, since the statement made by its Chairman [1924th meeting] has left me nothing to add. But I would draw the Council's attention to the fact that the recommendations in the report provide a valuable opportunity, of which we should not fail to avail ourselves, to make progress towards the solution of the Palestinian question and, consequently, to pave the way for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

11. It is noteworthy that in formulating its recommendations the Committee not only was heeding practical considerations but also was basing itself solely on the resolutions and decisions of the Assembly and the Council. For instance, we note that the division of the plan for the exercise of the right of return into two stages is something which is dictated by realistic considerations and is based on the relevant resolutions of the Assembly and the Council. The same applies to the withdrawal from Palestinian territory illegally occupied by Israel, so that the political entity can be established there with a view to enabling the Palestinian people to take over control of its own destiny.

12. I have no wish at this stage to enter into the details of the report and the recommendations it contains, but I should like to make it quite clear that the time has come for the Security Council, like the General Assembly, to affirm unambiguously the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right of return and the right to independence and national sovereignty in Palestine.

13. We believe also that this Council should give serious consideration to the Committee's recommendations in order to take action and perform one of its most important tasks—that is, safeguarding international peace and security, for—and this cannot be said too often—the continuation of the prevailing situation in the Middle East threatens peace and security not only in that region but also in the entire world.

14. Having said that, I should add that in order to prevent the deterioration of the situation the Council has a duty immediately to take effective measures to prevail upon Israel to desist from establishing new settlements and to withdraw from the settlements already established in the occupied Arab territories. The Council should take measures to ensure that Israel respects the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949<sup>2</sup>, a convention which is applicable to the Arab territories occupied by Israel.

15. Finally, I should like to say that, pending effective and responsible action by the Council to prevail upon Israel to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories and to give the Palestinian people their

inalienable rights, the Government of the United Arab Emirates cannot but support its Arab brothers by all the means in its power in their efforts to liberate their occupied territory, and help the Arab people of Palestine, under the leadership of their representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, to exercise their inalienable rights in their ancestral homeland.

16. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

17. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt): Before I begin my statement, on the item on the agenda, I should like to take this opportunity to express to the United States delegation and the Government and people of the United States the Egyptian delegation's sincere condolences and sympathy on the tragic loss they have sustained in the death of the United States Ambassador to Beirut and his colleagues.

18. I should now like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I am sure that with your ability and wise leadership our deliberations will achieve positive results. Your country, Guyana, and you yourself have always been identified with the struggle of peoples to regain their independence and free themselves from foreign occupation and domination. So it is more than a mere coincidence that this historic debate about the rights of the Palestinian people is taking place under your leadership.

19. And historic indeed is the event. The United Nations, almost ever since its creation, has dealt with the Palestinian question peripherally and indirectly. For the first time—and, especially, in the Security Council, the highest executive organ of our Organization—the core of this question is being dealt with.

20. The Council is not debating now this or that practice of Israel in the occupied Arab territories, but the very existence of a whole people, its fate and future, in a world where there should be no place for or acceptance of occupation or domination. Of all the people of the world, the Palestinian people has met with the most callous and unjust treatment and the greatest tragedy and it is a shock to the conscience of every free man who believes in the Charter, in the equality of all people and of their right to exist. In this context, the mere fact that the Council is debating this question today offers some hope to the Palestinian people that the world is responding at last to its conscience and its sense of responsibility and that the world at large will shoulder its responsibility to rectify the wrongs of the past and pave the way for a better and brighter future built on justice and peace.

21. Indeed the world community is responding more and more to the struggle of the Palestinian people. This response is manifest in the growing recognition

of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only true representative of the Palestinian people. The world recognizes now that there will be no just and lasting peace in the Middle East without a just solution to the question of Palestine. President Anwar Sadat stressed this fact in his address to the General Assembly on 29 October 1975,<sup>3</sup> when he said:

“I have no doubt that you agree with me that there will be no peace in the region without a political settlement of the Palestine problem. It is inconceivable—nay, utterly unacceptable—that the Palestinian people should remain homeless and dispersed. They must regain their entity and establish their independent State so that this ancient people can contribute constructively to the development and progress of our international community.”

22. As I mentioned before, the United Nations has dealt with different aspects of the question of Palestine and the Middle East problem. No less than 106 resolutions of the General Assembly and 128 of the Security Council have been adopted on the subject since 1947. Besides them, there are innumerable resolutions of other world organizations, conferences, meetings and so forth. But all of us know the fate of those resolutions and decisions. It is a strange and regrettable situation when the aggressor is allowed to continue in his defiance of United Nations resolutions and the will of the world community which seeks to see that peace and justice prevail for all and everywhere. Today's world will not and cannot afford to tolerate that peace and recognition should be the prerogative of some while they are denied to others. Peace and justice are one and indivisible. It is high time, therefore, that the highest executive organ of the United Nations asserted its authority and responsibility to redress this injustice which has befallen the Palestinian people if it really wishes peace and justice to prevail in the Middle East.

23. I shall not try to repeat in detail the developments of the Palestinian question because they are well known to everybody and especially well known to the Council.

24. The United Nations came to grips for the first time in very clear terms with the definition of the basic rights of the Palestinian people when the General Assembly adopted its historic resolution 3236 (XXIX). In that resolution it reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including: (a) the right to self-determination without external interference, and (b) the right to national independence and sovereignty. It further reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property from which they had been displaced and uprooted and called for their return. Explicitly, the General Assembly in that resolution recognized that the Palestinian people was a principal party in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, a matter which the Assembly spelled out in

clear terms in its historic resolution 3375 (XXX), which emphasized the conviction that the participation of the Palestinian people was essential in any efforts and deliberations aiming at the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, called for the invitation of the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East which are held under the auspices of the United Nations, on an equal footing with other parties, on the basis of resolution 3236 (XXIX), and requested the Secretary-General to inform the Co-Chairmen of the Peace Conference on the Middle East of resolution 3375 (XXX) and to take all necessary steps to secure the invitation of the PLO to participate in the work of the Conference as well as in other efforts for peace. The Secretary-General indeed took some steps to implement that resolution. Worthy of note is his latest initiative in contacting all the parties concerned, including the PLO.

25. It was as a logical consequence of resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3375 (XXX) that the General Assembly adopted its important resolution 3376 (XXX), in which it decided to establish a Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People composed of 20 Member States appointed by the Assembly. It requested that Committee to consider and recommend to the Assembly a programme of implementation designed to enable the Palestinian people to exercise the rights recognized in paragraphs 1 and 2 of Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX). It also requested the Committee to submit its report and recommendations to the Secretary-General no later than 1 June 1976 and requested the Secretary-General to transmit the report to the Security Council. The Council was requested in resolution 3376 (XXX) to consider the question of the exercise by the Palestinian people of the inalienable rights recognized in paragraphs 1 and 2 of resolution 3236 (XXIX). The Assembly authorized the Committee to take into consideration the action taken by the Council and to submit to the Assembly at its thirty-first session a report containing its observations and recommendations.

26. The fruit of the work of the Committee is now before the Council in document S/12090, in which the Secretary-General transmitted to the Council the final report of the Committee. I should like to seize this opportunity to express to the Chairman, Ambassador Fall, and the other members of the Committee, Egypt's thanks and appreciation for the diligence, impartiality and objectivity they have shown in their deliberations, which resulted in this important document. Impartiality and objectivity there was indeed, since the Committee was formed by the assembly of members representing all geographical groupings and the Committee itself sought and asked for the opinions and suggestions of all Member States.

27. Egypt believes that the Committee's recommendations could serve as a basis for implementing

one important element in the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, namely, the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, in order that this noble and industrious people might once more contribute to the development of the area with all its peoples. The Committee's report correctly emphasizes this central fact when it states in paragraph 51:

"A just solution of this question [the question of Palestine] was a *conditio sine qua non* for the settlement of the Middle East problem as a whole and for the creation of the necessary conditions for a just and lasting peace in the area."

28. The Committee also stressed the importance of the United Nations' playing a greater role in all efforts to solve the Palestinian question and to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, a role that is incumbent upon the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary-General and that they would play throughout the entire process up to and including a final settlement of the problems in the area. Consequently, the Committee said that there was a need to reconvene the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, on an equal footing with the other participants, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3375 (XXX), in order to deal with the problem in all its aspects.

29. The report goes on to say in that regard that many delegations underlined the particular importance of the invitation extended to the PLO by the Security Council to take part on an equal footing in its deliberations and in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations. That fact is particularly gratifying to us in Egypt, since the Council responded positively to our request on 3 December 1975 [S/11893] that the PLO be invited to take part in the Council's deliberations. The presence of the representative of the PLO now with us in the Council, fully participating in our deliberations, is living evidence and a clear manifestation of the fact that the world community, as represented in the highest organ of our Organization, fully recognizes the importance of this presence and of the fact that unless the Palestinian people, represented by the PLO, takes a full share on an equal footing in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East, there will be no genuine, just and lasting peace in the area.

30. Now, I should like to refer to part two of the report, which contains the Committee's recommendations. I shall not go into detail by analysing all those recommendations, but we believe that they have many positive points and that the three elements, namely, the basic considerations and guidelines, the right of return, and the right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty, could serve as a proper and adequate basis for the implementation

of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, as is stated in resolution 3236 (XXIX). These recommendations are based on the United Nations resolutions, on the Charter and on principles of international law. All parties concerned must strive honestly and earnestly to translate these recommendations into reality if they really wish to see peace and justice prevail in the Middle East. Consequently, the Council is requested to take proper action to see that the rights of the Palestinian people are restored and implemented so that world peace and security, for which the Council has the primary responsibility, may be preserved and enhanced. That entails ensuring that all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations are implemented, in order to establish the independent Palestine State and to achieve a durable and just peace in the area.

31. At the same time, we believe that the Committee will welcome any suggestions from the Council or its members, whether substantive or procedural, which may give force to its report and bring its recommendations nearer to implementation. Therefore, we hope that the Council and its members will give due and adequate consideration to those recommendations and even come up with a programme of action and chart the proper course for its execution under the Council's auspices.

32. Egypt's stand on the Palestinian question is clear and well known. I referred to the basic elements of our policy with regard to this vital question in my statement before the Council on 13 January during the debate on the Palestinian question [1871st meeting], and especially to the fact that we are fully convinced that the Council could make a positive contribution by unanimously agreeing to a resolution to the effect that a permanent and just peace in the Middle East must be based on the achievement by the Palestinian people of their national rights.

33. To sum up, Egypt believes that any just and lasting peace for the Middle East must include, nay, even begin with, the solution of the Palestinian question, and must be based on the following principles and tenets enshrined in previous United Nations resolutions and in the Committee's recommendations: first, the right of the Palestinian people to national independence, sovereignty and self-determination and its right of return; secondly, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of land by force and the necessity of Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories; thirdly, the definition of the Palestinian question as the core of the Middle East problem; fourthly, the paramount role of the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people, and its participation on an equal footing in all efforts, deliberations and conferences held under the auspices or within the framework of the United Nations, as stipulated in resolution 3375 (XXX).

34. The entire world has its eyes on the Security Council. The Palestinian people are putting their faith

in the Council. We believe the Council will not fail them and that they will be able to continue their search for a just, honourable and peaceful settlement.

35. The only viable alternative to the continuation of the tragedies of the last 30 years in the Middle East, as I declared before the Council in January, is the achievement of a just, honourable and durable settlement that takes into account the core of the problem. Peace cannot be durable if it is not just.

36. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

37. Mr. PETRIĆ (Yugoslavia): May I first of all congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. I wish also to pay a tribute to you as the very able representative of Guyana, a country which plays a very important role in the United Nations and in the non-aligned movement and with which my country maintains the best and friendliest relations. Working together with you for the last two years, we have been greatly impressed by your diplomatic and negotiating skill. All of us have been deeply appreciative of the performance of your delegation, together with the delegations of the non-aligned members of the Council and others, in the tenacious struggle to secure the best possible Council decisions in support of democratic and progressive causes.

38. We join others in deploring the tragic death of the United States Ambassador in Lebanon and his colleagues. We are strongly against every act of terrorism, whether committed by an individual or by a State, as are those we are witnessing these days in South Africa.

39. Over the last few years, the United Nations has begun to devote greater attention to the question of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and to handle this question in a more effective way. The Palestinian question is not viewed any longer as a problem of refugees that is peripheral to the complex of the Middle East crisis; it has finally been given the place it deserves. It constitutes the central element in the settlement of the Middle East crisis, without the just solution of which there can be neither peace nor security in that region. The large majority of Members of the Organization have recognized to the Palestinian people, which is deprived of its rights, the same national rights as those enjoyed by other peoples throughout the world. In accordance with this stand, the General Assembly established, by its resolution 3376 (XXX), the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. That Committee is, after an inexcusably long time, the first United Nations body to be dealing with the Palestinian problem in a substantive manner. For the first time, all aspects of the Palestinian problem are being considered; for the first time, the legitimate and in-

alienable national rights of the Palestinian people have been defined and elaborated—which amounts to an affirmation with regard to that people of the principles on which the United Nations was founded.

40. My delegation wishes to draw particular attention to the diplomatic skill that the representative of Senegal, Mr. Fall, has shown in guiding the deliberations of that Committee. We must also fully recognize the dedication and great efforts that the esteemed representative of Malta, Mr. Gauci, the Rapporteur of the Committee, has invested in its productive and realistic work.

41. The report, together with the recommendations presented to the Security Council, is the product of the broadest consensus in the Committee, whose members represented countries from various regions of the globe, countries subscribing to differing ideologies and belonging to various political groupings. The report of the Committee is founded on the principles of justice and humanity, on the Charter, and on the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. The report has taken into account the actual situation prevailing in the Middle East and in the world in general. At the same time, it provides a constructive and comprehensive basis for the implementation of the rights of the Palestinian people and, thereby, for the solution of the Middle East crisis as a whole. The fact that the Palestine Liberation Organization has participated in the work of the Committee as an active observer further enhances the significance of the report. It represents an outstretched hand which should not, and must not, be rejected.

42. The PLO has again shown a great sense of responsibility, constructiveness and dignity. Its contribution to the work of the Committee was of exceptional importance. Of particular importance in this regard is the readiness of the PLO to negotiate through the United Nations with the other side about modalities for the final solution of the Palestine problem and, consequently, of the crisis in the Middle East.

43. Perhaps the greatest contribution by the Committee is contained in the phased approach, within which is envisaged a first stage in the context of territories seized after 5 June 1967, with everything else to be discussed and agreed upon between and by the sovereign entities of the area, including an independent Palestinian entity. Diplomatically, it is a message of the first order of importance. Such an approach has proved that the role and the presence of the PLO in the search for peace in the Middle East are irreplaceable. The PLO has once more strongly asserted the justice of the struggle of the Palestinian people and confirmed that it is the sole irreplaceable and legitimate representative of that people.

44. Unfortunately, Israel is continuing its policy of illegal occupation and its short-sighted policy of non-

recognition. By its intransigence, by establishing new settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories, and by changing the demographic structure of those territories, Israel is defying practically the whole world and making the prospects of peace seem even more remote and unreal. By ignoring the rights of the Palestinian people and the PLO as an essential and equal partner, Israel is jeopardizing not only peace in the Middle East and in the world in general, but also its own security.

45. The Government of Israel should realise that the rights of the Palestinian people have today the backing of the great majority—a growing majority—of the international community. The overwhelming majority of States in the world demand that Israel withdraw from the territories occupied in June 1967. There is virtually not a single State in the world that does not demand that Israel cease to establish settlements in the occupied territories, as such a practice is contrary to the principles of international law, and to the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention<sup>2</sup> and the Hague Conventions<sup>4</sup>. Is it possible that Israel really does not realise this?

46. Then the question arises as to what the real intentions of Israel are, and whether Israel intends to keep the whole world on the brink of war. A few days ago, Israel stated in the Council that it was ready to negotiate. It now has the opportunity to do so, and it should show whether this profession of readiness is real or is merely intended to achieve a propaganda effect. Israel says that it does not want to negotiate with the PLO, which is the legitimate representative of over 3 millions people, although it is clear that Israel cannot succeed in avoiding for ever the ever more inescapable necessity of dealing with the central issue and central factor of the situation. The Middle East problem—the Palestinian problem—cannot be dealt with by or through proxies, large or small. Is Israel not aware of the fact that its occupation cannot be recognized and that Israel cannot ensure its own security and peaceful life by occupying Arab territories?

47. The non-aligned countries have always supported the just struggle of the Palestinian people. They have constantly drawn attention to the untenability of the principle of the use of force for settling disputes between States and to the incompatibility of aggression and occupation with peace and security. The recent ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers, condemned Israel's aggression once again, stating, *inter alia*:

“The Bureau considers that Israel, by its continuous aggression against the Palestinian people and the Arab countries of the region, and by its systematic refusal to respect the decisions of the United Nations, is violating the fundamental principles of the Charter. Accordingly, recalling the



Declaration of the Lima Council of Foreign Ministers and the resolutions on the questions of the Middle East and Palestine, the Bureau considers that the United Nations should take effective steps, including those provided for by Chapter VII of the Charter, to ensure respect by Israel for the decisions taken by the United Nations."<sup>5</sup>

48. Experience gained over a number of years has shown that whatever happens, no proposal or action that fails to take adequately into account the rights of the Palestinian people can lead to a just and lasting peace. The rights of the Palestinian people are generally and increasingly recognized; they are legitimate and inalienable. They cannot be disallowed by any Power, by any passage of time or by any behind-the-scenes conspiracy of conquerors. The Palestinian people and its rights should not be the subject of bargaining or manœuvring on the part of anyone, not only because it would be immoral but also because it would not be realistic. The rights of the Palestinian people are a constituent element of the solution of the Middle East crisis, and they should and must be implemented.

49. There exist certain generally, or almost generally, recognized principles, which have been accepted by the international community as a foundation for a just solution of the Palestinian question and the establishment of peace in the Middle East in general. The report of the Committee is based on those principles, which should be reaffirmed by the Security Council. In this regard, we have primarily in view the withdrawal of Israel from the territories occupied since 5 June 1967. Never in history has an occupation brought either freedom to the occupied people or real security to the occupiers. Israel's withdrawal is a *conditio sine qua non*, both for the realization of the rights of the Palestinian people and for peace in the Middle East. In its recommendations, the Committee has proposed the establishment of a time-table for the withdrawal of Israel. My delegation considers this recommendation to be constructive and useful. We also believe that it would be appropriate to secure the presence of United Nations peace-keeping forces with a view to facilitating the process of withdrawal. The right of the Palestinian people to return to its homeland, its right to self-determination and its right to establish an independent State should be recognized, and the implementation of these rights should be undertaken in keeping with the recommendations of the Committee. In this respect, we underline in particular the necessity of implementing the provisions of Security Council resolution 237 (1967) calling for the return of displaced persons to the territories occupied by Israel in June 1967. The return of displaced persons should be effected in the shortest possible period of time and should not be made dependent on any other conditions. The United Nations, in co-operation with the States directly involved, should undertake preparations for the creation of conditions for the return of Palestinian refugees displaced between 1948 and 1967, in accordance with

the provisions of the relevant resolutions. An equitable and appropriate compensation should be paid to those who many not desire to return to their properties.

50. The right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty is a universal right that belongs to all the peoples of the world. This right cannot be denied to the Palestinian people. The Palestinian people itself should decide its own fate. This will become possible only if Israel withdraws from the occupied territories and if the displaced persons are enabled to return to their homes, in accordance with the provisions of resolution 237 (1967).

51. Israel should discontinue the illegal practice of establishing new settlements in the occupied territories and should withdraw the existing ones. Israel should put an end to the practice of displacing and oppressing the Palestinian people. It is a generally recognized principle of contemporary international law that military occupation resulting from a war of aggression does not confer any right of sovereignty over the occupied territory and, consequently, does not confer the right to dispose of such territory in favour of anyone.

52. As a logical consequence of the process of solving the Palestinian question, and thereby the problem of the Middle East as well, the Security Council should provide, in keeping with the Charter, guarantees of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all the countries in the region and of their right to live within secure and recognized borders. In order to create the proper conditions for a lasting and just peace in the Middle East, all the countries involved, including an independent Palestinian State, should resolve all outstanding questions on the basis of equality and of the provisions of the Charter, as well as on the basis of the rules of international law and the resolutions of the United Nations.

53. We would suggest that it would indeed be foolhardy for Israel to base its calculations on the short-range developments of the situation. The Arab peoples, and the Palestinian people especially, have suffered innumerable setbacks in the pursuit of their just causes in recent decades. But who can deny that, taking the developments of those decades as a whole, those just causes and their strength have progressed immeasurably?

54. Equally, the Palestinian people and their sole legitimate representative have weathered many a setback, always to come back with greater strength and international support. Like other peoples who were ready and able to fight, suffer, and even die for their right to survival and to an independent and equal existence, they cannot be swept away.

55. Therefore, whoever really desires a just and lasting solution of the Middle East crisis must work

for recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. The phased implementation of the recommendations in the report would constitute a great contribution towards that end. Neither the Security Council nor the General Assembly in the fall of this year can afford to turn away from it. We hope the Council will take the necessary steps to make it possible to implement the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as proposed in the recommendations of the Committee.

56. In the name of peace, humanity and justice, the Security Council and all the Member States should not postpone the solution of the Palestinian problem any longer. There is no valid justification or reason for doing so when the question of the peace and security of the peoples of the Middle East and of the world should enjoy its full rights. Those who did not understand this would assume a grave responsibility before the whole of mankind. In such a case the Palestinian question would also be a question of their own conscience, a test of their morals and sense of responsibility before mankind for world peace, as well as a touchstone of their attachment to the principles and provisions of the Charter.

57. The PRESIDENT: I invite the representative of the German Democratic Republic to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

58. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, it is a particular pleasure and honour for me to be addressing the Council while you are its President. The German Democratic Republic and the Republic of Guyana enjoy friendly relations which, I am convinced, will be ever further deepened and expanded on the basis of our common approach to the struggle for peace and progress. The German Democratic Republic has been following with great attention and sympathy the efforts of the Government of your country further to strengthen the independence and sovereignty of Guyana.

59. On behalf of the delegation of the German Democratic Republic I should like to express condolences to the delegation of the United States of America on the tragic loss of the American diplomats in Beirut. I should also like to offer our heartfelt comradely condolences to the delegations of the African countries on the criminal mass murder of their brothers in South Africa by the racist régime of Vorster, whose treacherous and inhumane nature has once again been revealed to us.

60. Over and over again the Security Council has had to deal with the situation in the Middle East, particularly the question of the need to implement the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine, rights recognized in decisions of the United Nations. As the delegation of the German Democratic Republic has repeatedly stressed, not only in the Council but also

in the General Assembly, the cause of the conflict in the Middle East is Israel's continuing aggression and its stubborn refusal to leave the Arab territories it occupied in 1967 and to recognize the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

61. As we are aware, the Government of Israel continues to ignore decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly that are based upon unshakable principles. Furthermore, once again it has preferred to take no part in the debate in the Council—the Council whose task it is to further a solution to the conflict in the Middle East.

62. Clearly, those forces in Israel which are inimical to the vital interests of the Israeli people, with their concepts of aggression and expansionist Zionism, feel they have the support of certain imperialist circles which are egging them on in political, military and, particularly, in financial fields. All this encourages them to take their reckless stand, which is so dangerous for peace. Those imperialist forces which are protecting Israel, the aggressor, are by the same token revealing their utter indifference to a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict and are doing everything they can to sow discord among the Arab States and peoples and to divert attention from the fundamental issues of a solution to the conflict.

63. The Government of the German Democratic Republic has repeatedly expressed its concern about what is going on in the Middle East. The intrigues of imperialism, of Israel and of other reactionary forces have led to tragic consequences and to unnecessary bloodshed. We are for an immediate cessation of the bloodshed in Lebanon, and we are against any imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of that State, which is a Member of our Organization. At the same time, my delegation categorically rejects any attempts to divert attention from the fundamental issue in the Middle East conflict, namely, the continuing aggression of Israel, whose prime target is the Arab people of Palestine. All actions which are directly or indirectly detrimental to the forces of the Palestine resistance movement play into the hands of the aggressor and do nothing to promote the necessary settlement of the Middle East conflict in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Today it has become clearer than ever that the so-called step-by-step approach, far from being able to take the place of the necessary comprehensive solution to the Middle East conflict, actually serves to make it more difficult to achieve.

64. The work of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, of which the German Democratic Republic is a member, and the report submitted by the Committee clearly bring out the importance of implementing the rights of the Palestinian people as the key to a just and lasting political settlement of the Middle East conflict. In that connexion I should like to quote the following

from paragraph 59 of the Committee's report: "no solution in the Middle East can be envisaged which does not fully take into account the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people". That historical fact, that historical necessity, cannot be challenged by anyone who is seriously interested in a just solution of the Middle East conflict.

65. The sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine has been and remains the Palestine Liberation Organization. That fact was recognized at both the twenty ninth and the thirtieth sessions of the General Assembly, after the role of that organization had been clearly laid down at the Conference of Heads of Arab States in Rabat. With growing frequency the representatives of the PLO are being invited to participate in international conferences and in the work of international organizations. A growing number of countries are establishing official relations with the PLO. All this goes to demonstrate the growing authority of that liberation organization. Recent events have clearly demonstrated that the PLO enjoys the support of the mass of the people in the territories occupied by Israel.

66. I should like to point out that the statement of the leadership of the PLO condemning the dastardly murder of the American diplomats by provocative elements testifies to the political personality of that organization and its leaders, who are defending their just cause.

67. On behalf of the delegation of the German Democratic Republic, I welcome the delegation of the PLO, which is taking part in the Council's discussion on an equal footing with the delegations of Member States. The world Organization is thus confirming the fact that the cause of the Arab people of Palestine is not a mere matter of refugees. This was stressed also by the Chairman of the Committee, the representative of Senegal, in his introduction of the Committee's report [1924th meeting].

68. In my delegation's opinion, it would be not only a mistake but also dangerous to distort the question of the just national demands of the Palestinian people and the implementation of those demands. Today everyone understands that the issues are the fundamental issues of peace in the Middle East.

69. On 4 May 1976 the Government of the German Democratic Republic published a statement with regard to the situation in the Middle East which reads:

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic confirms its view that a consistent and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East requires solutions to the following organically interdependent questions, on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly:

"1. The withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967;

"2. The satisfaction of the lawful national demands of the Arab people of Palestine, including the exercise of their inalienable right to establish their own State;

"3. The establishment of international guarantees for the security and the inviolability of the frontiers of all the States in the Middle East and their right to an independent existence and development.

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic is convinced that such a settlement would be in keeping with the interests of all the States and peoples of the area.

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic regards the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East as the appropriate international machinery for ensuring a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict. It is indispensable that the Conference resume its work, with the participation of all the parties directly concerned. Of course, the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the lawful representative of the Arab people of Palestine, should be represented from the very beginning. The proposal of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to hold this Conference in two stages has created new opportunities for the resumption of the work of the Conference."

That statement is in keeping with the spirit of the recommendations in the Committee's report, in paragraph 61 of which we read:

"The participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with other parties, on the basis of General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3375 (XXX) is indispensable in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East which are held under the auspices of the United Nations."

70. The German Democratic Republic believes that the results of the work of the Committee are a useful and valuable incentive to the attainment of a just, lasting and peaceful settlement in the Middle East. The report is the fruit of wide-ranging discussions and sober assessments. It was adopted by a consensus of all the 20 members of the Committee, who spared no effort in discharging the mandate entrusted to them by the General Assembly in resolution 3376 (XXX) and in accordance with resolution 3236 (XXIX). The delegation of the German Democratic Republic, as a member of the Committee, wishes to express the hope that all the members of the Council will impartially consider the document before them and, on that basis, will feel the need to take action commensurate with the importance of the problem.

71. In so far as we are able, we shall do everything in our power in the German Democratic Republic to further the elimination of existing sources of conflict in the world. At the recent Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the General Secretary of the Central Committee, Erich Honecker, stated:

“We stand solidly behind the Arab peoples struggling for liberation from the yoke of the aggressor. A key question in the political settlement, which is urgently needed in the interest of universal peace in the Middle East, is the total withdrawal of all Israeli troops from the territories they occupied in 1967 and the implementation of the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to create their own national State. The German Democratic Republic will always stand wholeheartedly and unreservedly behind those struggling against imperialism and colonialism and for national liberation in all continents.”

72. My delegation believes that if all Arab States, along with the PLO, favour overcoming the consequences of the continuing aggression of Israel and work for the establishment of a lasting and just peace in the Middle East, it will then be possible to thwart the attempts which are being made to maintain tension and conflict in that area. The German Democratic Republic, as a member of the Socialist community, stands shoulder to shoulder with all those who are acting on the basis of the relevant decisions of the United Nations in order to attain that end.

73. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of India. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

74. Mr. JAIPAL (India): Mr. President, may I express to you on behalf of my delegation our great pleasure at seeing you preside over the Security Council this month, and may I wish you all success in the very difficult and different roles that you are being called upon to play in such quick succession.

75. May I also at the outset join the others who spoke before me in deploring the senseless killing of the United States Ambassador and his colleagues in Beirut. It is surely a perverse act of madness to kill diplomats and it will be condemned by all men of peace and good will. We wish to convey to the delegation of the United States our deeply felt condolences.

76. My country is a member of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and since the report of that Committee is now before the Council, we thought that we ought to express our views here. Since we are a party to the report of the Committee, it is not my intention to discuss the substance of the report, but we should like to clarify the fact that the report in its present form is tentative; indeed it can be nothing more than that,

since the Committee was required to refer it to the Council first and only thereafter to finalize it for submission to the General Assembly.

77. However, despite its tentative character, the report has been formulated by the Committee with scrupulous adherence to the limited terms of the mandate given to it by the General Assembly. The Committee has also taken into account, as it was bound to do, all the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. Even so, the report is incomplete and it may be regarded by some as containing only half-measures. Its recommendations are not likely, therefore, to satisfy all the parties concerned. However, that was not the precise intention of the report. The Committee's objective was solely to stick to its terms of reference and to evolve a pragmatic approach to solving peacefully a complex problem which has defied several attempts at solution through the application of force.

78. The Committee's report, in our judgement, is only a first step in the right direction. But if that step should not be taken or cannot be taken for one reason or another, then surely another first step will have to be found. It is in that context that we expect the Council to examine not only the report of the Committee but also the underlying question of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and how and when and where they should exercise those rights.

79. The views expressed in the Council would be of great value to the Committee in finalizing its report for the General Assembly. Whether or not the Council adopts a resolution is a matter for it alone to decide, but what would be of great interest to the Committee is the actual debate in the Council on the question of Palestine, a question which has been before the United Nations since April 1947. The tragic history of this question since that time, as well as its legendary origins lost in the fogs of antiquity, is known to all of us. It is not the past that concerns us today but rather the present and the future, and the responsibility for both that has to be shared between the Council and the General Assembly. The core of the problem has always been Palestine and its people, and because Palestine was given to Great Britain to administer under a Mandate of the League of Nations, it became an international question, and hence the disposal of the Territory and the exercise of the rights of its people also became matters of concern to the United Nations. The subsequent series of conflicts were the effects of that original cause and the responsibility of the United Nations is therefore unmistakable.

80. When the rights of a people to self-determination and national independence are recognized by the international community as inalienable, but the exercise of those rights is prevented by the fact of Israeli occupation and aggression, then it is clear that the first thing to do is to secure the termination of that aggression and occupation. The Council has been given the

powers to do this under the Charter. It is therefore in the expectation that the Council will be successful in the exercise of its powers that the Committee has drawn up a tentative programme for the implementation of the rights of the Palestinian people within a time-frame that is by no means sacrosanct. If the Council should be unable to play its expected role, then the Committee's programme can only be of academic interest, since it is based on the assumption that the Council will secure its implementation.

81. Well, of course, the Council is entirely free to set aside the Committee's report, but then it must come up with its own programme for the exercise by the Palestinian people of their rights. It is because of its uncertainty of the position of the Council in this regard that the Committee's report does not attempt to answer all questions, but it certainly leaves the door open for the Council to find its own answers to the questions. The Committee was given a seemingly impossible task, but it has in fact come up with a plausible programme which could be refined by the Council for implementation in stages, if necessary, over a period of time to be determined by the Council itself.

82. I believe that the Committee's report provides a certain sense of psychological relief or psychological emancipation for the Palestinian people which for some 30 years have been denied all hope. More than ever now, and indeed at all times, the Palestinian people need the assurance that their rights in their own homeland will be respected. I hope that the Committee's report will be examined by the Council with the care that it deserves and not only with reference to its inherent merits but also from the point of view of formulating practical alternatives. For nothing could be more damaging to peace than silent indifference to the rights of the Palestinian people on the part of the only organ in the United Nations system which is in a position to deliver the goods. If it should fail to do so, it would not surprise us if the Palestinian people were to try to exercise their rights themselves.

83. The Committee's report was introduced by its Chairman and its contents were fully explained by him. As its Rapporteur has said, the report is biased in favour of a peaceful solution. May I express the hope that under your presiding genius, Mr. President, the Council will exercise its authority and influence as a matter of priority in the search for an implementation of an over-all peaceful settlement that will secure for the Palestinian people the early exercise of their inalienable rights. It is needless to stress that the great Powers should come to your assistance, and I trust that you will find them responsive to your longings and urgings.

84. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the members of the Council that a letter has been received from the representative of Saudi Arabia in which he

asks to be invited to participate in the debate, in accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure. Accordingly, I propose, with the Council's consent, in accordance with the usual practice, to invite the representative of Saudi Arabia to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Baroody (Saudi Arabia) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.*

85. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Saudi Arabia, whom I invite to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

86. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for affording me the opportunity to participate in the debate. I am indeed heartened, Sir, that a son of Guyana should be presiding over the deliberations of the Council. The United Nations has recognized that there is a distinct people which lives in an enclave of Latin America—none other than your own people, Sir. Again, I must say that we are fortunate to have you, Sir, presiding in order to affirm that, had it not been that the right of self-determination was assumed and exercised by your people, you would not be in that Chair—and we should not have an able gentleman to guide us. At one time people did not even know where Guyana was situated. That proves that the elaboration of the principle of self-determination into a full-fledged right, an elaboration in which I participated for eight years in the 1950s, has, so to say, paid dividends. The leaders of many peoples which were then under the colonial yoke are now raising their heads high, because we are all brothers under the skin and no one is higher than another in intellect, effort or yearning for liberty and freedom.

87. Having said that, I ask why then should the Palestinian entity be considered as not having a personality of its own?

88. We should thank the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, my good friend and brother, Ambassador Fall of Senegal. I have watched him ever since he became the representative of this country in the United Nations, and I believe we have benefited not only from his wisdom but from his candour and from his indefatigable efforts to ensure that people who still were under the colonial yoke or who were discriminated against should play the role that is their due. So it was the best of choices to make him Chairman of the Committee. The report of the Committee prepared under his guidance is both concise and comprehensive and, needless to say, every member of the Council can be guided by its contents.

89. Then, why have I asked to be allowed to speak? There is nothing that I or others have said about the

Palestine question since 1947 that has not already been mentioned here in the Council or in the General Assembly. Is it not superfluous that I should speak again? No. It seems that the animal called man is more a rationalizing creature than a rational one. We have to remind ourselves that we cannot find excuses for the injustices that we sometimes perpetrate against others on account of having too much power too much wealth or too much glory—vainglory, I should say.

90. I was at Lake Success when the partition of Palestine took place, and I remember how we walked out of the General Assembly because we all felt the pressure that had been brought to bear by those who exercised power then in order to bisect the land of Palestine. But then we were persuaded that we had better resume our participation in the United Nations because, after all, errors could be rectified.

91. But since then, year in, year out, those who exercise world power, instead of administering justice in the international community, have been serving their own interests, predicated on the balance of power, power politics and spheres of influence. Hence we in the Arab world happen to be in the sphere of influence of a big Power—not that I am exonerating other major Powers that have their own spheres of influence—and we are the victims, in our area, whether we are Palestinians, whether we are Lebanese, whether we are Iraqis, whether we are Egyptians.

92. They do not leave us alone. They created a problem so that they could interfere in our area. But anything that is based on injustice is bound, sooner or later, to totter and fall. Have they not read history? Have they not seen empires totter and fall—not only the empire of Rome and, before that of Alexander the Great, but even recent empires, without my having to name them? Where are they? They crumbled and went down the drain—and rightly so. We Arabs had three empires, but we got drunk with power and wealth and lost our heads, and our empires crumbled—and rightly so. So I feel sorry for those Zionists, because sooner or later, if not by war, they will be assimilated like those who have been assimilated before them.

93. Have we not learned any lesson from the First World War and the Second World War? Can there be no new approach to international affairs? Maybe the young will form a corps that will use different methods from those that are allegedly based on self-interest. Some call it enlightened self-interest, but it is misguided self-interest because, in the long run, as I said, anything that is based on injustice is bound to disintegrate.

94. Some of my colleagues today, and before, mentioned how even Israel undertook to respect the rights of the Palestinians within the territory that had been allotted to them—and, indeed, wrongly allotted to them. Time and again I have to remind the Council

that these people are Khazars, converted to Judaism in the eighth century A.D. They are not our Jews.

95. Yesterday, while I was making a call in the lobby of my hotel, somebody recognized me and said: "Ambassador Baroody." I said: "Who are you, young man?" He said: "I come from Jerusalem." "But", I said, "You are speaking to me in Arabic. I know our Jews; you look to me like an Oriental Jew." "Yes", he said, "we were Iraqis. Those Ashkenazis drove us from Iraq because of what they had done, and later we had to go to Jerusalem; we had to leave because they do not consider us as part of them: they are Eastern Europeans." This happened only last night. "And", he went on to say, "do you know that there are 250,000 Sephardic Jews in the United States? We are looked down upon." While that was no revelation to me, it was a surprise, coming from a 30-year-old man. I asked him: "What are you doing now?" He said: "I am in Brooklyn, trying to make a living: I have just opened a restaurant with some others"—a restaurant serving Arab food, not Jewish or Ashkenazi or Yiddish food.

96. I approach this subject now in an unorthodox manner, rather than referring to this or that paragraph and sub-paragraph. What has happened to the major Powers? They are the Powers, the five of them, that are responsible for peace in the world. Do they not see what is happening in my region? It is all the result of the injustice perpetrated against the Palestinians. The Palestinians are frustrated. Were not the French frustrated when the Nazis occupied part of their country during the Second World War, and did they not valiantly fight to liberate their country? There were the *maquisards*. Now, in every country, unfortunately, we find that where injustice is rampant people resort to terrorism. We do not condone terrorism, but if the members of the Council do not see to it that justice is meted out to those whose rights are trampled underfoot, what other resort can the victims have, even though it is inhuman to take the life of another person? And usually it is the innocent who suffer.

97. In my last statement on the question of Palestine not very long ago, I mentioned in reply to Mr. Herzog, who was occupying this seat, that the Zionists should not be blinded by what they consider to be a *fait accompli*. There is no such thing in history as a *fait accompli*. The world is based on change. No merit, not even a second one, duplicates itself for there is always something added to the old and even to the new. Therefore, if I have asked to be allowed to speak, it is not in order to describe or to elaborate on this concise, and in many ways exhaustive, report. My colleagues and others who have read it commended it to me. It is self-explanatory. It needs no further discussion. What is needed is the will of the Council, and especially of the permanent members, to act. If they do not act, they will one day fall, not they as individuals but those who issue instructions to them. If



they do not fall physically, they will fall politically, and unless there is a new approach to international affairs we are doomed as human beings. The leaders or misleaders nowadays speak out of one side of the mouth and say one thing, and speaking out of the other side of the mouth they connive and engage in conspiracies. I am not throwing mud at anyone. The things I am saying apply even to the leaders or misleaders in my own region—lest anybody should think I am picking a quarrel with anyone.

98. What shall we do? Does religion any longer constitute a nation? It has been tried. Remember the Holy Roman Empire in history. Temporal and religious power was vested in one person. It broke down. Nationalism became nefarious, as we know, following the French revolution. Ideology is bankrupt because nationalism is transcendent. What should we have instead? Capitalism? Socialism? Communism? There should be only one "ism"—humanism. This should be the religion of the United Nations. Are we treating those Palestinians with humanism, those Palestinians who are scattered and not only throughout the Arab world? You Arabs, why do you not absorb them? They do not want to be absorbed. They have a right not to be absorbed; they have a right to their own land.

99. Mr. President, as a leader of Guyana do you think your people would accept someone who said, "Yes, we will take you because we are stronger than you"? And then there would no longer be a Guyana, They say: "The Arab world is vast; let it absorb the Palestinians". The Palestinians have a right to their land, to their home. Whether we like it or not, it is not for me or for anyone to tell them what to accept. It is for them to decide. So the *fait accompli*, which the Zionists and their supporters are trying to rationalize, is doomed to failure.

100. Where are Alexander the Great and his legions? They reached India and Bactria. They ruled our part of the world. Where are the Selucids? Where is the Roman Empire? Where are the Crusaders whose castles are still in evidence along the coasts of Syria, Lebanon and further south? Where are the Mongols, who also passed through that area? Where are our brothers, the Ottomans, who ruled for 400 years? Where are our friends, the British and the French, who had mandates over those territories. Gone.

101. And those Ashkenazis—latter-day saints or devils, whatever one wants to call them—those Ashkenazis from central Europe who want to lord it over our area, they do not want a political peace they want an economic peace. But they have alienated the whole Arab world, and they cannot have an economic peace. I shall be frank with them—they will never have it, because they come as a superior people, as the chosen people of God—mythologically, of course.

102. I ask, as an aside: "Do we here in the Council still believe in the traditional God?" Ask me. I come

from the region from which the three monotheistic religions sprang—Judaism, Christianity and Islam. They arose amidst a tribal society. There was poetry, figures of speech, mythology. If one studied the origins of those mythological metaphors, one would find that they were necessary because the people were illiterate and one had to talk to them using poetry and figures of speech. And then come those Khazars, whose ancestors had never laid eyes on the Middle East since they had been converted to Judaism in the eighth century A.D., and they say, "God gave us Palestine". Whom do they think they are fooling? How many times have I said that God is not in the real estate business and that our English and American friends did not have a power of attorney to give away something that did not belong to those Khazars or to the British or to our American friends? I feel sorry for our American friends because it is now an election year.

103. My humble contribution today can be summed up very concisely in the following words. I plead with the representatives of the permanent members of the Council to reason with their Governments—which quite often, of course, provide them with a straitjacket of instructions—and to tell them that we can no longer go on like this, because the United Nations will become the laughing stock of the whole world. We should remove the injustice and allow the Palestinians to exercise their right of self-determination, not scatter them to the four winds, not compel them to take the law into their own hands because they are frustrated; their homeland should be restored to them, and then, and only then, would it be possible for them to come to an understanding with the Khazars.

104. But do you know, why the Khazars do not want this? It is because they know that they will have no future there. They would be assimilated, and if they wage war there will still be Arabs to wage war, unfortunately for both sides, and people will suffer. This is the truth. I am telling you the truth. We cannot afford dirty politics nowadays, whether on the international level or on the local level. The world is one. Distances have shrunk. Whatever happens here resounds in the hills of Asia, in the jungles of Africa, in the islands of the Caribbean and everywhere else.

105. We cannot isolate ourselves any more. In past times empires rose and fell, and other people were not aware of it. But now the world is one. We all fall together, if by miscalculation some mischievous elements take into their hands the destiny of the world and bring themselves and us down with them—and why? Look at nature. Look how beautiful spring is. Look at families, look at friendship. There is a lot to live for rather than antagonizing one another.

106. I feel sorry for the Zionists, because they are human beings. But if I feel sorry for them that does not mean that I exonerate them from the guilt of their actions. Let them and those who support them be-

ware: the end will not be very far off. Today, changes are accelerated by the will for good or by the misdeeds of men.

107. No religion forms a people. Nationality is predicated on a common culture, not necessarily on language, although that plays a good part. In Israel, they want to teach everybody Hebrew, thinking that the language is cohesive. Well, in the United States the same language has been spoken for 200 years, but the United States fought for its independence. Language is not enough. We very well know that in Belgium there are Walloons who speak French, and there are the Flemish. We know that although Robert Burns, a Scot, wrote in English, not long ago the Scots and the Welsh—the Celts—had a different language, but there were common interests.

108. Those Zionists want to ingather all the Jews of the world, but the Jews are clever and intelligent and do not want to be ingathered. There are 16 million of them.

109. Do you think we are so simple? Even if we were not Palestinians, would we be so simple as to allow a foreign element to come there? Our Jews are no problem. There is no problem with them. We live side by side. Sometimes we do not know they are Jews. We have no quarrel with Judaism, a noble religion. But those Khazars, eastern and central European Jews converted to Judaism—they have used a noble religion, Judaism, as motivation for a political and economic end. We will not accept it. If they had come without a flag, without a State, we would have received them with open arms. They are our brothers, although they may not be of the region. As I have said, nationalism has not solved world problems but has pushed many countries of the same religion into war. What happened in the First and Second World Wars? People of the same religion cut each other's throats.

110. It is not a question of religion. It is not a question of belonging. The Crusaders foundered. At one time, some Moslem countries wanted to use the Caliphate for political reasons, to extend their supremacy over other Moslem countries. They failed. And now those Zionists want to engage in something that is doomed to failure.

111. As I have said, let us only believe in humanism, and then the problem will be solved.

112. These are my last words. Perhaps I should summarize what I have already said today, what I have repeated time and again: it is up to those who exercise world power, the more so the United States, the Soviet Union, China, and, to a large extent, because they have had experience in our area, the United Kingdom and France, to put their heads together and teach their leaders, because they are the specialists here, that the world cannot go on like this. It is then, and only then, that peace may prevail.

#### Expression of condolences on the death of the United States Ambassador to Lebanon and his colleagues

113. The PRESIDENT: I should now like to make a statement on behalf of the members of the Council.

114. I am sure that I speak on behalf of all the members of the Council when I say that we wish to express our sense of grief at the recent tragic event in which the United States Ambassador, Mr. Meloy, and his colleagues lost their lives. I wish to extend to the Government of the United States and to the families of the deceased the heartfelt condolences and sympathy of the members of the Council.

115. Mr. SHERER (United States of America): Mr. President, I should like to express the sincere gratitude of the United States delegation for the expressions of sympathy and condolence made by you, Sir, and by the representatives of the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, Yugoslavia, the German Democratic Republic and India.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> For the report, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 35*.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2388th meeting.

<sup>4</sup> Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1915).

<sup>5</sup> A/31/110, annex, p. 7.