
**Twenty-first United Nations Seminar on the Question of Palestine
(Fifth African Regional Seminar)**

18 - 22 December 1988

**Second United Nations African Regional NGO Symposium
on the Question of Palestine**

18 - 21 December 1988

CAIRO - EGYPT

THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

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I

**TWENTY-FIRST UNITED NATIONS SEMINAR ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE
(FIFTH AFRICAN REGIONAL SEMINAR)**

Theme: "The Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People"

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INTRODUCTION

1. The Twenty-first United Nations Seminar on the Question of Palestine (Fifth African Regional Seminar) entitled "The inalienable rights of the Palestinian people", was held jointly with the African Regional NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine at the Ramses Hilton Hotel, Cairo, Egypt, from 18 to 22 December 1988, in accordance with the terms of General Assembly resolution 42/66 B of 2 December 1987.
2. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People was represented by a delegation consisting of H.E. Mrs. Absa Claude Diallo (Senegal), Chairman of the Committee, head of the delegation; H.E. Mr. Alexander Borg Olivier (Malta), Rapporteur of the Committee; H.E. Mr. Samuel R. Insanally (Guyana); H.E. Mr. Tom Obaleh Kargbo (Sierra Leone); H.E. Mr. Agus Tamidzi (Indonesia); Mr. Zehdi L. Terzi (Palestine). H.E. Mrs. Absa Claude Diallo was Chairman and H.E. Mr. Alexander Borg Olivier, Rapporteur of the Seminar.
3. Nine meetings were held and twenty-one panelists presented papers on selected aspects of the question of Palestine. In addition, representatives of 51 Governments, Palestine, 3 United Nations organs, 3 United Nations specialized agencies and bodies, 3 intergovernmental organization, 2 national liberation movements as well as 50 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) attended the Seminar.

A. OPENING STATEMENTS

Statement of the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt

4. The joint opening ceremony of the Seminar and NGO Symposium heard a statement from H.E. Dr. Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt, delivered by H.E. Aziz Seif El Nasr, Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs. In the statement it was stressed that the Seminar was particularly important for two reasons: first, because it was being held in Cairo, one of the main centres of Arab and international activity to stimulate and activate efforts aimed at achieving a peaceful, just and comprehensive settlement of the question of Palestine, and second, because of the new international and regional circumstances, which in the view of Egypt provided a suitable atmosphere for serious efforts to be made towards a settlement.
5. First and foremost among the regional developments was the continuation of the uprising of the Palestinian people, expressing its rejection of the perpetuation of the occupation and oppression and of the policies of fait accompli which weighed heavily on the conscience of the world and the international community.
6. The Palestinian political position had recently taken a radical turn through the adoption of the resolutions at the latest session of the Palestine National Council at Algiers. They included clear acceptance of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) thereby bringing Palestinian endeavours to the forefront of efforts to achieve a just and comprehensive peace in the region, as well as the declaration on the establishment of the State of Palestine, which proceeded from an open democratic concept.
7. The international community's support for the Palestinian cause had been given further concrete expression in the form of the agreement reached by the United Nations General Assembly at its historic meeting on 15 December 1988 at Geneva, by an overwhelming majority, including the European States, on resolution 43/176 on the need for convening the International Peace Conference on the Middle East.
8. The clear and well-defined position reflected in the statement by Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to the General Assembly of the United Nations at Geneva on 13 December 1988 and in his announcements to the press on 14 December 1988 pointed once again to the maturity of the Palestinian leadership, its objectivity, the sincerity of its peaceful intentions, its anxiousness to pave the way as best as possible for a better future to the people of the region.

9. The mandate given by President Reagan to the U.S. State Department to conduct a dialogue with the PLO reflected a positive attitude and was an important step in the right direction towards the constructive and historic resolutions and positions adopted by the Palestinian side. That dialogue would no doubt effectively contribute to the achievement of genuine progress towards a lasting, just and peaceful settlement.

10. Israel should be urged to respond favourably to the earnest and sincere call for peace. It is hoped that Israel would soon play its positive role at that historic stage, and that the people of Israel, like all the peoples of the region, would play its part in achieving a lasting and just peace.

11. The international community had a special responsibility for ensuring conditions conducive to progress towards a peaceful settlement, and the success of such progress presupposed: first, strong international support for the peaceful approach adopted by the Palestine National Council in Algiers; second, the initiation of consultations between the parties concerned, including the permanent members of the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, with a view to discussing arrangements for convening the International Peace Conference on the Middle East to be attended by all the parties concerned, including the PLO, on an equal footing; third, intensification of international efforts, within the framework of the International Peace Conference, to ensure that all parties respond favourably to this peaceful process and to prevent any single party from thwarting a process stemming from United Nations resolutions and the will of the international community.

12. Egypt, under the leadership of President Hosni Mubarak, would continue its efforts with patience, perseverance, determination and persistence to make use of the many positive factors that had emerged so that the question of Palestine would be levered out of its cycle of missed opportunities, by working seriously and earnestly, together with all the world's peace-loving forces, to achieve a lasting, just and peaceful settlement guaranteeing the rights of all the peoples of the region, without exception or discrimination.

Message of the Secretary-General of the United Nations

13. A message of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, H.E. Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, was read by his Representative, Mr. Naseem Mirza, Chief, Division for Palestinian Rights. In the message it was emphasized that the African countries had actively contributed to the important efforts undertaken at the United Nations to bring peace to the Middle East and to ensure recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The proximity to the region and the historical and close links with its peoples had put African countries in a unique position to actively participate and contribute to the international efforts to accelerate the peace process in the Middle East.

14. An enlightened and mobilized public opinion could play a very important part by making the facts of the question of Palestine better known and by mobilizing public opinion throughout the region and the world in support of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

15. The statement of Chairman Arafat at Geneva represented a new and very important contribution to the peace process. The United States Government's decision to open a dialogue with the Palestinians was an excellent decision and solved one problem. It was not, however, the end of the problem. It was indeed essential that the present momentum be maintained and transformed into a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. The United Nations had a well-known role to play and the Secretary-General would continue his efforts for an international peace conference of all parties concerned, including Palestine.

Statement of the Chairman of the Seminar

16. Mrs. Absa Claude Diallo, Chairman of the Seminar underlined that the Seminar and Symposium were held at a crucial time in the development of the Palestinian question that had been marked by two major events: the first anniversary of the Palestinian uprising, and the establishment of an independent State of Palestine. The courageous uprising by the Palestinian population in the occupied territories, the intifadah, had entered into its second year and unequivocally demonstrated the determination of the Palestinian people to wage a struggle against Israeli domination and occupation. The intifadah had taken on another dimension since the Palestine National Council adopted its historic decision on 15 November 1988 to proclaim the independence of the State of Palestine, thereby giving special impetus to the process of bringing peace to the Middle East. Already a large number of States had recognized the State of Palestine. Others which had not yet done so had expressed their support for the action taken and had greeted it as a concrete, and positive stage on the path to peace.

17. On 15 December 1988, the General Assembly of the United Nations had completed its consideration of the question of Palestine in Geneva, where, as a result of the decision of the United States of America not to issue a visa to Chairman Yasser Arafat, the Assembly had been compelled to travel to Geneva in order to hear the head of the Executive Committee of the PLO.

18. The Geneva session and the ensuing developments had been of a magnitude that could only be described as historic. The General Assembly had heard the very important statements by Chairman Yasser Arafat and a large number of Ministers for Foreign Affairs who had travelled specifically to Geneva to take part in the debate. Such a high level of representation had been without precedent. The participants in the General Assembly's deliberations had welcomed in particular the important clarifications by Chairman Yasser Arafat regarding the PLO's position, as well as the decision of the United States Government to establish a constructive dialogue by official contacts with the PLO through its Ambassador in Tunis.

19. The resolutions, adopted by an overwhelming majority, were marked by a spirit of moderation and objectivity. In adopting them, the General Assembly had undoubtedly made a positive and constructive contribution to peace, stability and security in the Middle East, thereby enabling the Palestinian people to move ahead towards the re-establishment of its legitimate and inalienable rights to self-determination, independence and the creation of a State of Palestine. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People considered that the adoption of those resolutions and recent developments brought the international community closer to a consensus on this crucial problem. For its part, the Committee continued to work towards convening the International Peace Conference.

20. The Committee was convinced that in order to arrive at a peaceful solution to the Palestinian question, the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict, it was essential to educate the public and to promote action at all levels in support of the struggle of the Palestinian people for the achievement of its inalienable rights, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and for the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East through the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East.

21. The situation in the occupied territories remained a matter of serious international concern. It had further deteriorated as a consequence of the repressive policies and practices of Israel, the occupying Power, in its efforts to quell the Palestinian uprising against the occupation. Despite the international outcry and the adoption by the Security Council of several resolutions requesting the occupying Power to abide by the relevant international instruments and United Nations resolutions, Israel continued to resort to military force against the Palestinians and to engage in armed attacks against the integrity and sovereignty of countries in the region.

22. The present situation called for taking measures to protect the Palestinian people under occupation, to guarantee the safety and security and the legal and human rights of the Palestinian refugees in all the territories under Israeli occupation and to alleviate their suffering. At the same time effective and sustained

collective international efforts to address the core of the problem - the ending of the Israeli occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories and the exercise of its inalienable rights by the Palestinian people - were urgently necessary. The Committee was firmly convinced that only the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, could provide a legal and political framework acceptable to the parties of the conflict and the great majority of the international community that would make it possible for negotiations to proceed with full respect for internationally recognized principles and on the basis of equality for all parties concerned.

Message from the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization

23. A message from Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, was read by Mr. Jamal Sourani, member of the Executive Committee of the PLO. In the message gratitude was expressed to all the States and peoples that upheld the Palestinian cause and whose position was reflected in their support for the Palestinian peace initiative taken at the Nineteenth Extraordinary Session of the Palestine National Council.

24. That peace initiative was the culmination of the continued liberation struggle waged by the Palestinian people and of the great intifadah sweeping across the occupied Palestinian territory, which were directed against the Israeli occupation forces and the repressive policies and practices of the Government of Israel. That Palestinian peace initiative was also an expression of the will and determination of the Palestinian people to achieve peace. Although the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territory, confronted with the repression, oppression and official Zionist terror practised by the Israeli occupation forces, had opted for a strategy of peace, the Zionist enemy had opted for injustice, stubbornness and forceful arrogance, pursuing policies of aggression, and denying the Palestinian people its inalienable national rights.

25. The peace initiative had been followed by important developments, namely, the statements made by many countries of the world, recognizing the independent State of Palestine; the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its latest session, accepting Palestine as an observer to the United Nations; and the support given to the appeal for the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East. The peace initiative had also been followed by a positive change in the position of the United States as reflected in its decision to initiate a dialogue with the PLO, which constituted an essential and constructive step in the furtherance of the peace process in the Middle East.

26. Those important developments highlighted the urgent need for the international community, and particularly the five permanent members of the Security Council, to continue to promote the peace process and adopt the proposal put forward at Geneva for the establishment of a preparatory committee for the International Peace Conference. Current developments inside the occupied territory, especially the continuation of brutal Israeli repression against unnamed Palestinian people, highlighted also the urgent need to place the occupied Palestinian territory under the temporary supervision of the United Nations in order to terminate the occupation of Palestinian territory and to put an end to the suffering and pain of its people by giving concrete shape to the establishment of the independent Palestinian State on its own land with Jerusalem as its capital.

Other Statements

27. Dr. Abdel Ahad Gamal El Din, President of the Supreme Council for Youth and Sports of the Arab Republic of Egypt and Chairman of the United Nations Association of Egypt, expressed full solidarity of the governmental as well as the NGOs and institutions in Africa and of many personalities from all over the world with the Palestinian people to achieve its legitimate rights in the near future. The United Nations Association of Egypt would continue to undertake every effort to assist the Palestinian people in that process. The Association would continue to organize meetings and conferences on different occasions in order to educate and inform the public on the question of Palestine and the activities of the United Nations in that regard. It would also contact other United Nations Associations and NGOs for the same purpose. The Association was confident that a practical programme of action to help to stop the Israeli violations of Palestinian rights and to support the intifadah could be reached and implemented.

28. Dr. Morad Ghaleb, President of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization, stated that local and international developments led to the belief and raised hopes that a historic opportunity had presented itself for a just and lasting peace, the settlement of the 40 years of conflict and the end of the suffering brought about by wars and destabilization.

29. The Palestinian people had formulated its programme of peace in the Nineteenth Extraordinary Session of the Palestine National Council, and the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO had reiterated in Geneva his call for peace.

30. The world at large was convinced that the Palestinian people and its sole and legitimate representative, the PLO, had done all they could for a peaceful settlement of the existing conflict. Hence, Israel should be asked to sincerely participate in the peace process and to agree on convening the International Peace Conference which would be both effective and have the necessary terms of reference.

31. NGOs would do all they could to consolidate solidarity with the Palestinian people in its just struggle for the realization of its legitimate rights and to enlist support for the Palestinian peace initiative, particularly represented in the resolutions of the Nineteenth Palestinian National Council and in Chairman Arafat's address to the United Nations General Assembly in Geneva. In so doing, they would endeavour to fully co-operate with international governmental and non-governmental organizations.

32. Mr. Tesfaye Tadesse (Ethiopia), Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, emphasized that the fundamental objectives of the United Nations on the question of Palestine were: the full and speedy exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable right to self-determination, national independence and establishment of its sovereign State, and the restoration of the right of the Palestinians to return to their country, their homes and property from which they had mercilessly been displaced and uprooted. Those goals were endorsed by the international community recently at the meetings in Geneva on the question of Palestine.

33. The imperative need for all to exercise the necessary political will and to exert every effort to bring the International Peace Conference into a reality in the shortest period of time could not be stressed too strongly. Time was overdue for concerted action to persuade the supporters of Israel to compel it to respond to relevant United Nations resolutions and to the will of the international community.

34. Recent events in the Middle East, in particular, the positive attitude of the PLO towards settling the problem, the uprising of the Palestinian people and the continuing loss of life and destruction of property in the occupied Arab land had further awakened the conscience of the international community and the Palestinian resistance had earned universal support and sympathy. Given the necessary will and commitment of all concerned and assisted by the continued endeavours of the Secretary-General, the day was in sight for the people of Palestine to exercise freely its inherent rights, including its inalienable right to self-determination within a comprehensive settlement based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

35. The Special Committee attached great significance to the mobilization of international opinion towards the attainment of the objectives of the United Nations

on the question of self-determination for all peoples under alien and colonial domination. The Special Committee was profoundly aware of the power of an alert and informed world public opinion in the struggle against injustice, oppression and alien and colonial domination.

36. Mr. Agus Tarmidzi (Indonesia), speaking on behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid, stressed that there were encouraging signs of newly emerged chances for a long-lasting and peaceful settlement of the conflict through negotiations at a Middle East peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations. At the other end of the African continent, however, there had been no progress on the international front in achieving the elimination of the policy and practice of apartheid perpetrated by South Africa against its black majority population. The international community would welcome the relaxation of tensions in both regions, leading to a resolution of the conflicts thereby strengthening the prospects for all to live in peace, security and harmony.

37. The arbitrary killing of men, women and children, of wanton violence and torture were the main features of Tel Aviv and Pretoria policies in their desperate but futile attempts to crush the heroic intifadah and the anti-apartheid opposition. It could not be overlooked that both régimes not only had carried out similar policies and practices, but also had enjoyed at least the tolerance if not support from some important quarters. In the annex of its annual report to the General Assembly, the Special Committee provided an overview concerning recent developments in relations between South Africa and Israel, which demonstrated that military collaboration between them continued. The increasing relations between Israel and South Africa, particularly in the military field, could not but be of serious concern to the international community. That collaboration now extended beyond the arms trade and the upgrading of the apartheid régime's weaponry systems to include training and advising South Africa's military forces and its proxies. As a consequence the situation of the Palestinians and black South Africans continued to deteriorate.

38. The Special Committee welcomed the results of the recent session of the Palestinian National Council held at Algiers and extended its warm greetings to the newly declared Palestinian State. It congratulated the PLO and its leadership for successfully clearing the path for a negotiated settlement of the conflict. The Special Committee hoped that the enhanced prospects for a just settlement of regional conflicts would not diminish, but would create new opportunities to intensify the search for a just, peaceful and negotiated solution also to South Africa's internal conflict, which had to include the total eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic, non-racial society based on majority rule.

39. The Seminar received a message from Dr. Daya Perera, Chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, which stated that the Special Committee in its latest report (A/43/694) to the General Assembly had reached the conclusion that the overall picture reflected a new phase in the evolution of the situation in the occupied territories. That new phase, stemming from the basic reality that occupation in itself constituted a violation of human rights, coincided with the start of the uprising of the Palestinian population against the occupation. It had been characterized by an unprecedented outburst of violence and repressive measures resulting in constant unrest and clashes and had been marked by a heavy toll of casualties among the civilians. Several hundred Palestinians had lost their lives, various forms of collective punishment had been repeatedly used against civilians, several limitations had restricted the freedom of expression, and measures such as declaring entire localities "closed military areas" had been implemented in particular to limit or prevent an adequate media coverage of the events related to the uprising.

40. The implementation of those policies and the increase in acts of violence and aggression by Israeli settlers against Palestinian civilians during the period under consideration had contributed to a further deterioration of the climate of tension prevailing in the occupied territories. In such tragic circumstances, the Special Committee appealed once again to the international community to take urgent measures to ensure the restoration of the basic human rights of the Palestinian civilian population, of which they had so long been deprived.

41. Mr. Al Mamoun Keita (Mali) speaking on behalf of the President of the Republic of Mali having assumed the Presidency of the Organization of the African Unity (OAU) said the question of Palestine had reached a decisive turning-point from which there was not turning back. Intifadah was a word that had entered into universal currency. African nations were called on to rededicate themselves to supporting the just struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO. Mali had been the first to recognize the new State of Palestine.

42. It was urgently needed to convene the International Peace Conference as called for by the General Assembly. It would be difficult to convince the Israeli and United States Governments to give up their reservations about the Conference, but he hoped the latter's new contacts with the PLO would have a positive effect. The importance of Afro-Arab solidarity to achieve the liberation of the peoples of Palestine and South Africa could not be overemphasized.

43. At its third meeting, Mr. Muhammed AL-Farra, Under-Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, in his statement expressed the hope that what had been achieved politically would not lead to ignoring Israel's attempts to totally dominate the occupied territories and to exploit its resources. Given the inability to cope with the intifadah, Israel had stepped up its armed policies of oppression and occupation, policies and actions which had only strengthened the determination of the Palestinians in the intifadah to resist as long as it would be necessary.

44. Israel was trying to create a fait accompli which would prevent the holding of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East. Even if the Conference were to be held Israel did not want the Conference to attain the objective for which it would have been convened. The holding of the Conference was not an end in itself, rather it was a means of achieving a goal. The attention of the world had to be attracted to that and the Security Council, in particular its five permanent members, should act urgently to facilitate the peace process. Israel had to be made aware that it had to give up the law of the jungle in its conduct and that the people of the region were longing to live in peace and security.

45. There was an historic opportunity which should not be missed to put an end to the dangerous conflict that could lead all of mankind into an extremely dangerous situation. It was high time for the international community to assert its will as expressed by the United Nations General Assembly and to give it concrete expression in adequate action so that the tragedy of the Palestinian people could be put to an end by enabling it to exercise its own national rights like all other peoples of the world. The PLO had taken a clear decision when on 15 November 1988 the Palestine National Council proclaimed a Palestinian State which had been recognized by more than 70 States. It was now up to the United Nations to show its responsibility to allow the Palestinian people to exercise its sovereignty over its national land.

46. At its fourth meeting, Mr. Sherif Refaat (Egypt) representing the United Nations Council for Namibia, stated that the Council was of the view that the problems in the Middle East were inextricably bound to the just solution of the question of Palestine and that any lack of solution to that question would continue to aggravate situations and intensify conflicts in the region as well as endanger international peace and security.

47. The question of Palestine was as much an opportunity as it was a problem for the United Nations. If successfully resolved, it would provide a demonstration that multilateral diplomacy was capable of significant accomplishments at the service of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and the rule of law. However, the approaches to the settlement of the question of Palestine had been contained by Israel. It replaced the "rule of law" by the "rule of force". The country's annexationist expansionist policy needed no comment.

48. The international community had recently witnessed successful efforts in bringing about peaceful solutions to a number of international problems. Much of this success was attributed to the untiring efforts undertaken by the United Nations and its Secretary-General. The Council for Namibia hoped that such successful efforts, in the midst of an international positive climate, could continue to prosper for the betterment of the world.

49. The Seminar also received a message of greeting from the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC).

Message sent by the Seminar

50. The Seminar adopted a message to Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO (annex I) and a motion of thanks to the Government and the people of the Arab Republic of Egypt (annex II).

B. PANEL DISCUSSION

51. Three panels were established. The panels and their panelists were as follows:

(a) "The uprising in the occupied Palestinian territories: the urgency of convening the International Peace Conference on the Middle East in accordance with United Nations General Assembly resolutions";

Mr. Lotfy El-Kholy (Egypt), Mr. Rafael Estrella (Spain), Mr. Y. V. Glukhov (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), Mr. Corentin Hervo-Akendengue (Gabon), Mr. Al Mamoun Keita (Mali), Mr. Jonathan Kuttub (Palestinian), Mr. Salah Ladgham (Tunisia), Mr. Ibbo Mandaza (Zimbabwe), Mr. Ahmed Osman (Egypt), Mr. S. Amos Wako (Kenya).

(b) "The role of the Palestine Liberation Organization";

Mr. Nabil Sha'ath (Palestinian)

(c) "The mobilization of African public opinion for the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people";

Mr. Farouk Abu Eissa (Sudan), Mr. Donald Betz (United States), Mr. Gipu Felix-George (Sierra Leone), Mr. Mohamed El-Sayed Gallab (Egypt), Mr. Gora Ibrahim (South Africa), Mr. Latyr Kamara (Senegal), Mr. Gabrallah Khamsin (Sudan), Mr. Assih Kossi (Togo), Mr. Dikhigang Masemola (South Africa), Mrs. Ruth Neto (Angola), Mr. Gesaya Nyama (Namibia), Mr. Abdel Moneim Said (Egypt).

52. The expert members of the panels agreed on summaries of the presentations and the discussions on the three topics. The Seminar decided to include those summaries in the report.

Panel I: "The uprising in the occupied Palestinian territories: the urgency of convening the International Peace Conference on the Middle East in accordance with United Nations General Assembly resolutions"

53. Despite the great complexity of the situation, broader opportunities than ever before had been opened up for the settlement of one of the most protracted of regional conflicts and for the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East. At its Nineteenth Extraordinary Session in November at Algiers, the Palestine National Council had taken important pragmatic steps with a view to creating more favourable conditions to end the deadlock in the Arab-Israeli conflict and solve its key issue - the question of Palestine.

54. The Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories, the intifadah, unequivocally demonstrated the determination of the Palestinian people to put an end to Israeli domination and occupation and to freely exercise its legitimate national rights. The intifadah was a spontaneous and irresistible movement as a reaction to the more than 21 years of Israeli policies and practices of occupation. It demonstrated the abnormality of a situation in which for decades an entire people had been deprived of its inalienable rights with its land occupied by others under unacceptable oppressive conditions including gross violations of human rights.

55. The view was expressed that the intifadah, now in its second year had focused world attention on the Arab-Israeli conflict and its core, the question of Palestine. The situation in the occupied territories, especially with respect to the younger generation, was one of an "entrenched position in deadlock".

56. The enforcement of the repressive measures of the military authorities including administrative detention, town arrest, torture, deportation, destruction of houses and collective punishment had repeatedly been condemned by the United Nations as contrary to the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilians in Time of War.

57. The intifadah, with the involvement of the Palestinians under occupation and those in exile, had already significantly undermined the basis structures of the military occupation and its political doctrine; it had significantly contributed to the creation of alternative social, economic and political structures with an increasing organizational and administrative authority thus constituting an effective challenge to the occupation and to the ability of the occupying authorities to maintain the status quo. Those new realities had helped in restoring the question of Palestine to its central position in the Middle East conflict.

58. Committees and commissions for the co-ordination of action and the maintenance of order, and organizations for supplying the population with food, medical assistance, etc. had sprung up and were actively functioning in the occupied territories. They were operating under the flag and under the leadership of the PLO. That fact in itself made it manifestly clear that any settlement of the Palestinian question and of the Middle East conflicts as a whole required the participation of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

59. The question of Palestine had been inseparably linked with the activities of the United Nations. On 29 November 1947, resolution 181 (II) was adopted by the General Assembly, by which the British Mandate was to end and two States, one Arab and one Jewish, were to be established. Jerusalem was to be a corpus separatum under a special international régime. Economic unity and the safeguarding of fundamental rights were to be ensured. But over 40 years after its adoption, the resolution had yet to be implemented in full. That resolution had been implemented allowing for the creation of the Jewish State, but its full implementation required also the creation of the Arab State envisaged in the resolution.

60. The International Peace Conference on the Middle East had been recognized as an indispensable element in achieving a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the area. The convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East enjoyed a general and clear consensus in the international community. The determination of the international community to convene that Conference was not meant to please or displease one part or the other in the conflict. The repeated calls for the convening of the Conference were prompted by objective factors and were facilitated by many positive and constructive features

inherent in the conception of the Conference.

61. The question of Palestine which was to be dealt with by the Conference was not a simple bilateral conflict between two local actors, or just a regional problem in the fullest sense of the word. It had threatened in the past, and may threaten in the future world peace and security. The serious, strategic, political and economic implications of the conflict in the Middle East affected the interests of each permanent member of the Security Council, as well as the interests of the continents of Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America.

62. The results of the Nineteenth Extraordinary Session of the Palestine National Council, the proclamation of the independent Palestinian State and the Palestinian peace initiative were logical outcomes of the intifadah. They opened up the way for a peaceful settlement of the question of Palestine on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, thereby bringing Palestinian endeavours to the forefront of efforts to achieve a just and comprehensive peace in the region.

63. The clear and well-defined position outlined in Mr. Yasser Arafat's address to the General Assembly of the United Nations at Geneva on 13 December 1988 and in his subsequent announcements to the press on 14 December 1988 pointed once again to the maturity of the Palestinian leadership, its pragmatism, its objectivity, the sincerity of its peaceful intentions and its anxiousness to pave the way for a better future for the people of the region. They offered a genuine opportunity for achieving peace in the region, and the momentum they have generated had to be further increased and utilized to promote efforts aimed at achieving a just and comprehensive peace in the region as soon as possible.

64. The adoption by the General Assembly on 15 December 1988 of resolutions 43/175, 43/176 and 43/177 was welcomed as a most significant achievement bringing the international community closer to consensus on this crucial problem. The resolutions were characterized by a spirit of moderation and objectivity. The Seminar supported the call of the General Assembly for convening the International Peace Conference on the Middle East to be held under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of all parties to the conflict, including the PLO, on an equal footing, and the five permanent members of the Security Council, on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, primarily its right to self-determination.

65. The Seminar also expressed support for the principles for establishing overall peace as contained in resolution 43/176, namely: (a) the withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and other occupied Arab territories; (b) guaranteeing arrangements for the security of all States in the region, including those named in General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, within secure and internationally recognized boundaries; (c) resolving the problem of the Palestinian refugees in conformity with General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948, and subsequent relevant resolutions; (d) dismantling of the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories since 1967; (e) guaranteeing freedom of access to Holy Places, religious buildings and sites.

66. The Seminar welcomed as a positive development the decision by the United States Government to open a substantive dialogue with the PLO. It was hoped that the dialogue would contribute to facilitating the early convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East.

67. In order to translate the positive developments regarding the question of Palestine in concrete action, it was felt that the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council should immediately engage in consultations among themselves and with the parties to the conflict in order to make the necessary preparations for the early convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East in accordance with General Assembly resolution 43/176.

68. Regarding the just expectations of the Palestinian people, and in particular those resisting Israeli occupation, the Seminar expressed its conviction that the international community should undertake concrete action in order to:

(a) Pursue a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the question of Palestine through the speedy convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East in accordance with United Nations General Assembly resolution 43/176;

(b) Ensure the physical safety and legal protection of the Palestinian population in the occupied Palestinian territory, among other measures, through the placing of international observers;

(c) Provide financial, legal and moral support for setting up of the infrastructure for services to the Palestinian population which could serve as infrastructure of the Palestinian State.

69. The position of Israel continued to be an obstacle in the way of the convening of the International Peace Conference. It was obvious that certain key elements in Israel's political and military circles opposed a comprehensive negotiated settlement to the Middle East conflict. The seemingly unscalable barriers to peace created by Israel weighed against the swelling tide of refusal by the Palestinian residents of the occupied territories to accept any longer the intolerable conditions of existence under occupation. That, coupled with increasing awareness of the ultimate futility and dangers of attempting to maintain illegal possession of lands where they were outnumbered demographically by a people that could not be forced into submission, had for the first time raised serious doubts in the minds of many Israeli citizens about the wisdom of the policies of their Government.

70. The Seminar was informed about the position of the European Economic Community (EEC) on the settlement of the question of Palestine and about measures to assist the Palestinian population under occupation. It welcomed the fact that EEC countries had for the first time adopted a common position and joined in the consensus on resolution 43/176. It also expressed the hope that EEC and its member States would collectively and individually take further steps to facilitate the convening of the International Peace Conference. In that regard the Seminar was informed of a decision by a meeting of EEC Foreign Ministers on 19 December to dispatch a mission to the region to undertake consultations with parties to the conflict, including the PLO. The view was expressed that EEC should strengthen its trade with the occupied Palestinian territories and should ensure that exports from the territories to EEC countries would not be hindered by the Israeli authorities.

Panel II: "The Role of the Palestine Liberation Organization"

71. The PLO was the national liberation movement of the Palestinian people, and the leader of its struggle. As such its basic role was to channel and lead all Palestinian activities and capabilities, and direct them to the attainment of Palestinian inalienable rights. Those rights included the Palestinian people's right to return and its right to self-determination on its own land, to sovereignty and statehood.

72. However, the PLO had to play other important roles because of the specific nature of the Palestine tragedy. Unlike classical colonialism, Palestine had been subjected to settler colonialism that attempted to destroy Palestinian society and displace it from its land. Furthermore, the Israeli invasion of Palestine attempted to dismantle the very corporate entity of the Palestinians, and destroy their national identity. More than 60 per cent of the Palestinian people were uprooted and dispersed outside Palestine, one third of them in refugee camps. The remaining 40 per cent was dispersed between the Palestinian areas annexed to Israel in 1948 and those occupied in 1967.

73. The PLO had to play the role of instator of the Palestinian identity, a catalytic role, that succeeded in mobilizing Palestinian energies, and reviving

Palestinian pride and self-respect.

74. A second important role was that of institution-building. Such process was imperative when nation-building was attempted. The PLO built social, educational, health, artistic, economic and political institutions in the occupied territories and outside it (where Palestinians live in exile) in its effort to reconstruct Palestinian society. As the struggle for self-determination continued for a long time, the needs of the Palestinian communities scattered around the world and under occupation increased and multiplied.

75. That made the institution-building role so important, as the PLO became practically a prototype provisional government even before a State had been declared. The nature of the struggle, the high degree of education and political consciousness of the Palestinians had become an excellent breeding ground for political parties and leaders who believed in democracy and practised it. The result had been the building of democratic institutions all through the structure of the PLO. To achieve democratic representation of the dispersed Palestinians, a variety of forms had been used, making PLO political institutions quite complex. Direct elections had been used whenever possible; also geographical, syndicate and professional elections. Party representation in the Palestine National Council, Central Council, Executive Committee and regional committees, was very important, but the relative size of each party delegation reflected closely its popular size and strength among Palestinians.

76. The practice of democracy in PLO institutions had helped invigorate Palestinian identity as well as cope with the multitude of problems and functional needs of the Palestinian people.

77. The PLO supported and protected Palestinians wherever possible, and created specific functional institutions to fulfill their needs. The practice of Palestinian democracy, however, had been constrained by the quest for unity and led to the insistence on unanimity in PLO decision-making. That meant that the leadership could rule only by persuasion, compromise and consensus building. But that also meant at times the rise of the tyranny of the minority.

78. The intifadah of December 1987, which continued to escalate and grow, had serious effects on the roles of the PLO and its political processes and structures. It had reversed priorities of the PLO, reinstated the centrality of the occupied Palestinian territories and its needs for support and protection. The "Interior" had become the initiator of action and inspiration, even though it remained a loyal and committed organ of the PLO. The intifadah had helped inspire the new pragmatic, flexible political approach resulting in the Palestinian peace initiative.

79. The intifadah had inspired a tenacious commitment to unity to such an extent that it fed the PLO political process from the paralysis of unanimity to the effectiveness of majority democracy. The Palestine National Council meeting in Algiers in November 1988 had utilized that new approach to achieve the peace plan and the declaration of the Palestinian State.

80. The PLO was moving into the formation of a provisional government in preparation for real independence on Palestinian soil. It had to make good use of the identity it inspired, the Palestinian entity it created and the institutions it established. All of those elements were important for the building of the State. PLO social institutions concentrated on the youth, and on education. In the 25 years of its existence, the PLO had helped to build a university-educated high level manpower force of 250,000 Palestinians with a variety of nation-building skills. The PLO's armed and political struggle had given the PLO its legitimacy in calling for Palestinian inalienable rights and coming close to achieving them.

81. However, Palestine is not yet liberated, Palestinian rights are not exercised, and Palestinian lives remain jeopardized. The reason was Israeli brutality and intransigence supported by America's might. Until those major obstacles were removed, Palestinians and the PLO would need the support of all peace-loving people and organizations, above all the protection of the United Nations and the vital support of all NGOs.

Panel III: "The mobilization of African public opinion for the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people"

82. The plight of the Palestinian people was one that was viewed with profound sympathy by the peoples and Governments of Africa. There had been support for the struggle of the Palestinian people from the earliest stages of the independence of Africa's countries themselves, and special attention had always been paid to the question of Palestine.

83. The African people were linked to the Palestinian people for a combination of historical, philosophical, economic, cultural and sentimental reasons. The two peoples were waging a struggle for the exercise of their right to self-determination, dignity and control of their destiny. Having endured colonial domination for more than 300 years, Africans could not forget that the Palestinians people was also enduring an unacceptable and unjust de facto situation because it was arbitrarily denied its most basic right, its inalienable right to freely exercise self-determination and sovereignty in its own land.

84. The similarity of the nature, development and practices of Israel and the apartheid régime in South Africa prompted them to enter into special, privileged relations in the economic, technical and military spheres. Their co-operation had been expanded to include the nuclear sphere, thereby even further endangering peace and security in the African continent as a whole and the entire Arab region in particular.

85. The relationship between the member States of OAU and the States and people of the Middle East, especially the Palestinian people and its representative, the PLO, had been consolidated in the aftermath of the 1967 war. Whilst OAU was battling with the last pockets of colonialism in Southern Africa, the Palestinians were still experiencing effects of colonial and military oppression in the land of their ancestor. The 1967 conflict had paved the way for the firm establishment of relations between OAU member States and the PLO.

86. At the regional level, the activities of OAU played an important role in mobilizing and sensitizing African public opinion on the question of Palestine. OAU policies, which are defined and regularly updated by the Assembly of Heads of State of OAU are the basis for action of the African States and African organizations. The fact that the PLO enjoyed observer status in OAU and that most of the OAU members had immediately recognized the Palestinian State proclaimed by the Nineteenth Extraordinary Session of the Palestine National Council attested to the strong bonds of solidarity between the two organizations.

87. African countries had actively contributed to the important efforts undertaken at the United Nations to bring peace to the Middle East and to ensure recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The historical and close links of Africa with the States and peoples in the Middle East, among them the Palestinian people, have put it in a unique position to actively participate in and contribute to the international efforts to accelerate the peace process in the Middle East.

88. The Seminar was informed of the activities of the International Co-ordinating Committee for NGOs on the Question of Palestine (ICCP). It also heard an account of the results of the Fifth International NGO Meeting on the Question of Palestine held in September 1988 at Geneva. Since 1983, as a result of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine a co-ordinated NGO movement on Palestine had been developing in close co-operation with the United Nations. Its activities continued to grow in scope and intensity.

89. NGOs had to play their part in informing the public what was happening to the Palestinians whether under occupation or in refugee camps. The global public and Governments had to be informed and the concerned public mobilized behind a programme that would put an end to occupation and would support a viable peace process based on the United Nations resolutions. In that regard it was also necessary to explore new ways of promoting co-operation between African NGOs and their counterparts in other regions. One of the examples of consolidating African public opinion was the formation in Egypt of the Egyptian National Committee to Support the Palestinian intifadah, a committee of all Egyptian parties, political bodies and general trade unions. The Committee had provided some material and humanitarian assistance to the Palestinians in the occupied territory and published an information bulletin on developments in the occupied territory.

90. The media played a significant role in the formation of public opinion. Through the media, the public received information on events and developments regarding the Middle East and the plight of the Palestinian people. The way the information was prepared and reached the public, as well as the political and social environment to which the information was presented, were significant. The Seminar was of the view that objective reporting was essential to mobilize public opinion in support of bringing about a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

91. More publicity had to be given to the situation prevailing in the occupied territories. Attention had to be given to the various issues of different sectors of the society. Journalists had to be mobilized against the arrest of colleagues in Israel or the occupied territories. Intellectuals and artists had to be more aware of the persecution of and discrimination against Palestinian and Jewish intellectuals and artists for their support of the Palestinian cause.

92. The view was expressed that particular attention in further mobilizing African official and public opinion should be devoted to African parliaments. Parliamentarians were in a position to play an effective part in that effort.

93. The better understanding of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people had also been a result of the sustained, intensive efforts made by the United Nations. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People played a prominent role in those efforts through the holding of regional seminars and symposia and international meetings for NGOs. The Committee should continue those efforts and expand them taking into account the recent developments, and in particular with a view to promoting the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East on the basis of General Assembly resolution 43/176 of 15 December 1988.

94. Among others, the following suggestions were made:

(a) It was of vital importance to strengthen Palestinian-African relations. A vital forum in that respect was OAU. It was equally important to involve Pan-African organizations like trade unions, women, lawyers, youth and students, journalists, churches and other organizations;

(b) The promotion and the development of political, economic, social and cultural relations existing between African and Arab peoples should take place within the framework of the Afro-Arab co-operation, the United Nations, OIC and the Movement of Non-aligned Countries;

(c) The African solidarity movement with the struggle of the Palestinian people should work with African Governments and make use of the possibilities at their disposal: mass media and the possible help the Governments could render to NGOs active on the question of Palestine. It was equally important to reach for political parties, trade unions, religious groups, women, youth and student organizations, professional bodies and others at the national level;

(d) The African media, political leaders and other groups should reach out not only to the African people but also to world leaders, international agencies, and private lobby groups and demonstrate that Africa was strongly behind the Palestinians and that it was time to put an end to the denial of the Palestinians' inalienable rights.

C. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

95. The participants in the Seminar expressed their conviction that recent developments regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict and its core, the question of Palestine, have created a new momentum for bringing about a solution to this complicated and dangerous conflict on the basis of resolutions of the United Nations and within its framework. These developments are mainly due to the courageous and determined struggle of the Palestinian people to attain and to exercise its inalienable rights, primarily the right to self-determination, as dramatically manifested in the continuing Palestinian intifadah in the occupied Palestinian territory. They have been facilitated by a conducive international climate characterized by increasing co-operation and the political will to solve regional conflicts in a peaceful way through negotiations.

96. Participants welcomed the results of the Nineteenth Extraordinary Session of the Palestine National Council at Algiers and in particular the proclamation of an independent Palestinian State as a positive contribution towards a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the region. The decision adopted by the Palestine National Council and the position outlined by Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, in his address to the United Nations General Assembly on 13 December 1988, as well as in other forums, are important landmarks in the endeavours of the international community towards achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the question of Palestine which have resulted in increased support by all sectors of the international community for the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East and have made possible the initiation of a dialogue between the United States and the PLO. The decision of the United States Government to establish contacts with the PLO and to participate in a substantive dialogue with the PLO was welcomed as a positive development, and the hope was expressed that such contacts would lead to concrete developments and to a comprehensive settlement of the conflict.

97. The participants agreed that it was now incumbent upon the Government of Israel to respond positively to the stand taken by the PLO which has been welcomed and praised by the international community. Israel can no longer ignore the national aspirations of the Palestinians in the occupied Palestinian territory. The ongoing intifadah of the Palestinian people, which entered its second year on 9 December 1988, confirms in no uncertain terms that the Palestinians are determined to resist, to reject and to end Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967. The proclamation of the independent State of Palestine by the Nineteenth Extraordinary Session of the Palestine National Council has received enthusiastic support from an overwhelming majority of States. The same States have hailed this proclamation as a concrete contribution towards peace. Significantly, a large number of States have already formally recognized the State of Palestine proclaimed at Algiers on 15 November 1988.

98. The Seminar took note of and welcomed the resolutions on the item "Question of Palestine", adopted by the forty-third session of the General Assembly on 15 December 1988 in Geneva. In particular it noted with satisfaction the call for the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of all parties to the conflict, including the PLO, on an equal footing, and the five permanent members of the Security Council, based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, primarily the right to self-determination. It expressed its full support for the principles contained in operative paragraph 3 of resolution 43/176 of 15 December 1988, as a basis for the achievement of a comprehensive peace. Cognizant of the role of the Security Council in maintaining international peace and security, participants in the Seminar endorsed the request to the Council to consider measures needed to convene the International Peace Conference on the Middle East, including the establishment of a preparatory committee, and to consider guarantees for security measures to be agreed upon by the Conference for all States in the region as well as interim

measures to safeguard the physical security of the inhabitants of the occupied territories pending agreement on a final comprehensive settlement. The participants considered that it was now incumbent upon Israel to accept the terms for a lasting and comprehensive settlement, which have been agreed by the international community as a whole, and which should be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, primarily the right to self-determination.

99. The participants also welcomed the decision by the General Assembly that the designation "Palestine" should be used in the United Nations system instead of "Palestine Liberation Organization". The participants regarded the decision as a recognition of the aspirations of the Palestinian people and a reaffirmation of the PLO as its sole legitimate representative, and also as an endorsement of the courageous steps taken during the intifadah to end the occupation and to set up the infrastructure for an independent and sovereign Palestinian State. The participants urged that every assistance should be provided by the international community to the Palestinian people in its endeavours to accomplish this important objective.

100. The international community is becoming more deeply convinced of the need to find a just, comprehensive and lasting political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This is evidenced by the growing support for the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East. That support is clearly reflected in the position adopted by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the League of Arab States, OAU, OIC, the European Community, the Nordic countries, as well as by the USSR, China and other socialist countries. In that regard, the Seminar noted with appreciation the sustained and continuing support by African States and peoples for the exercise by the Palestinian people of its legitimate national rights and for the convening of the International Peace Conference.

101. The participants noted that while strenuous attempts have been made to bring about a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, the situation in the region remains tense. It is aggravated by Israel's brutal suppression of the Palestinian uprising through military might, beatings, detentions, deportations, its policies of illegally maintaining and expanding Jewish settlements as well as confiscating Arab-owned lands and diverting scarce water resources to its own use in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories. The "iron-fist" policy of Israel has further stifled all forms of political, cultural, social and economic expressions of the Palestinian people. Israel continues to strengthen its control over most aspects of life, with the objective of obstructing a self-sustained development of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. Such policies are in violation of United Nations resolutions, the Geneva Conventions of 1949, in particular the Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (1949), and other forms of international law and exacerbate tension in the area, thus hindering attempts to find a peaceful solution to the question of Palestine. The participants noted further that these massive violations of human rights had not succeeded in ending the intifadah and were unlikely to achieve for Israel its objectives. Persistence by Israel in acts of aggression against neighbouring States, in particular Lebanon, endangered security in the region.

102. The Seminar appealed to the United Nations to take urgent measures to protect the Palestinians under occupation, to guarantee the safety and security and the legal and human rights of the Palestinian refugees in all territories under Israeli occupation and to alleviate their suffering. Adequate assistance should also be provided on a regular basis to the Palestinian refugees in the neighbouring and other countries. The United Nations system as well as international, regional and national organizations should continue and strengthen their humanitarian assistance to the Palestinians under occupation and to Palestinian refugees. In particular, sustained and increased support should be channelled through the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, as well as NGOs working directly in the occupied territories.

103. The Seminar affirmed that the denial of the exercise of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people remains the core of the conflict in the Middle East and that a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region cannot be achieved without the full exercise of those rights, and without the withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and other occupied Arab territories. It further affirmed that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and as such is an essential party to any negotiations aimed at resolving the conflict by peaceful means.

104. The Seminar took note with appreciation the efforts of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to secure universal recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, and of its recommendations, made in its report in 1976 and repeatedly endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly since then, for ensuring the exercise by the Palestinian people of those rights. The Seminar also noted with satisfaction the increased support at the United Nations for the programme of action undertaken by the Committee. It urged the international community to sustain and strengthen its support for the Committee's activities and endeavours, in particular its efforts for facilitating the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East.

105. The position of the African countries, as manifested in the declarations and resolutions of OAU was one of solidarity with and support for the struggle of the Palestinian people for the exercise of its inalienable rights, in particular the right to self-determination and to have a State of its own. Many of the participants drew parallels between the cause of the Palestinian people and the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. These participants noted that as the international community welcomed the signing of the Brazzaville agreements on the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) regarding Namibia, South Africa continued its abhorrent policies and practices of apartheid, which the participants condemned, and Israel persisted in its attempts to stifle, by brutal force and oppressive policies the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories. Both the policies of Israel and the apartheid policies in South Africa endanger international peace and security and were of gravest concern to the international community. Participants also expressed concern at the collaboration between South Africa and Israel which they condemned.

106. The Seminar viewed with appreciation the support OAU and Governments and peoples of Africa have extended at the United Nations and in other forums to the Palestinian cause and for the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It agreed that efforts should be continued and intensified to mobilize official and public opinion in Africa through the use of the media and activities of NGOs. Participants expressed the view that the co-operation of African organizations, trade union, solidarity groups, etc. among themselves as well as between them and their counterparts in other regions should be expanded. The United Nations should undertake additional efforts to disseminate factual and up to date information on the question of Palestine and the measures required to be taken for the achievement of a just settlement to the question of Palestine. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and the Division for Palestinian Rights have an important role in the dissemination of such information. Moreover, the United Nations Department of Public Information should make every effort to ensure that accurate information on the question of Palestine received the widest possible dissemination.

II

ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE

CAIRO - EGYPT

18 - 21 December 1988

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INTRODUCTION

1. The Second African NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine was held in accordance with the terms of General Assembly resolution 42/66 B of 2 December 1987, under the auspices of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People at the Ramses Hilton Hotel in Cairo from 18 to 21 December. This symposium was held in part together with the Twenty-first United Nations Seminar on the Question of Palestine (Fifth African Regional Seminar) on the theme "The inalienable rights of the Palestinian people" (report attached).
2. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People was represented by a delegation consisting of Mrs. Absa Claude Diallo (Senegal), Chairman of the Committee, head of the delegation; Mr. Alexander Borg Olivier (Malta), Rapporteur of the Committee; Mr. Samuel R. Insanally (Guyana); Mr. Tom Obaleh Kargbo (Sierra Leone); Mr. Agus Tamidzi (Indonesia); and Mr. Zehdi Labib Terzi (Palestine).
3. The meeting was attended by 50 non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 6 of them participating as observers. Also present were representatives of 51 Governments, Palestine, 3 United Nations organs, 3 United Nations specialized agencies and bodies, 3 intergovernmental organizations, and 2 national liberation movements.
4. Three panels were established for joint consideration by the Symposium and Seminar participants.
5. Two workshops specifically related to NGO activities were established for the Symposium to consider the following topics:
 - (a) "Mobilization and networking by African NGOs to end Israeli violations of Human Rights of Palestinians in the occupied territories and to promote international protection for Palestinians under Israeli occupation";
 - (b) "NGO activities to further mobilize African public opinion and the relationship between the Palestinian uprising and the struggle of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa".
6. The Symposium participants adopted a Declaration as well as action-oriented proposals emanating from the two workshops and elected an African Co-ordinating Committee for NGOs on the Question of Palestine.

A. OPENING STATEMENTS

7. A summary of the opening statements is included in the attached report of the Twenty-First United Nations Seminar on the Question of Palestine (paragraphs 4-50).

B. PANEL DISCUSSION

8. A summary of the presentations and the panel discussions are included in the attached report of the Twenty-First United Nations Seminar on the Question of Palestine (paragraphs 51-94).

C. DECLARATION ADOPTED BY THE SECOND AFRICAN NGO
SYMPOSIUM ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE

9. We, the non-governmental organizations - NGOs - participating in the Second United Nations African Regional Symposium on the Question of Palestine, are gathered in Cairo at a historic moment when the Palestinian struggle for self-determination and independence has entered a decisive phase. We hail and support the determination of the Palestinian people in its quest for national liberation and the establishment of its own independent sovereign national State.
10. We fully support the peace project enunciated at the Nineteenth Extraordinary Session of the Palestine National Council convened from 13-15 November 1988 at Algiers as now reflected in United Nations General Assembly resolutions 43/176 and 43/177 of 15 December 1988.
11. Specifically we welcome and express our support for the historic proclamation of the State of Palestine in line with General Assembly resolution 181 (II).
12. We call upon all Governments that have not recognized the new State of Palestine to do so and urge governmental and non-governmental organizations to extend every assistance for the strengthening of the educational, medical, economic and social institutions in the occupied territories, a necessary step for the establishment of the Palestinian State.
13. Further, we hail the struggle of the Palestinian people through the intifadah, now over one year old, as the popular expression of its irrepressible will to create circumstances for self-determination and independence. We call upon the international community to give unflinching support to the intifadah and unite in pressing for an end to illegal Israeli occupation, denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and gross human rights violations.
14. We call for the prompt convening of the Middle East international peace conference under United Nations auspices in accordance with the guidelines spelt out under relevant United Nations resolutions, particularly resolution 43/176 of December 1988.
15. We are aware of the major obstacles that have thwarted the convening of the International Peace Conference until now and the impediment that remain. But we are united in our determination to overcome any barriers to the peace process and the convening of the Conference. We undertake to arouse international public opinion for the holding of the International Peace Conference until it is convened.
16. We reaffirm that peace in the Middle East is unachievable without a just solution of the Palestine problem and recognize that peace efforts in the Middle East and particularly the new thrust of Palestinian self-determination reflecting a realistic and genuine desire for principled peace facilitate and form part of a broader international peace initiative. We firmly believe that independence and peace for Palestine would contribute positively to global peace.
17. We condemn the repression in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and its escalations. International vigilance in monitoring human rights violations perpetrated against Palestinians is required now more than ever.
18. We therefore, especially in view of the international legitimacy gained by the Palestine National Council's declaration of a Palestinian State to be established on the Palestinian homeland, call for the immediate implementation of United Nations General Assembly resolution 43/176 concerning the placing of the Palestinian territory occupied by Israel since 1967 under the supervision of the United Nations for a limited period, as an essential part of the peace process. Such an important international presence will ensure the physical protection of the Palestinian people of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The United Nations and international community are called upon to bear full responsibility for the protection and safety of the Palestinian people under occupation.
19. We reaffirm that Israeli settlements in the occupied territories are illegal and reassert the international call for the dismantling and evacuation of those settlements on the West Bank and Gaza Strip as proclaimed in United Nations General Assembly resolution 43/176. We call upon the United Nations, Governments and NGOs to take concrete actions to prevent the Israeli rulers from establishing new settlements. We also reaffirm our pledge to further our support for the right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland in accordance with United Nations resolution 194 of 1948.
20. We further reaffirm the strong connection between the struggle for national liberation and peace with justice in the Middle East and that in Southern Africa. We express our total and unflinching support for the struggle for the realization of the rights of self-determination, independence and other human rights in Namibia and South Africa, which must be enjoyed on the basis of equality and non-discrimination. We call upon all States and the international community to stop aiding Israel and apartheid South Africa, and urge African States to continue the severance of all relations with and the isolation of both régimes until the people realize its inalienable rights.
21. We reaffirm the necessity of strengthening Afro-Arab co-operation as an indispensable medium of promoting the development of the two (African and Arab) people as well as the struggle against domination and racial discrimination in Southern Africa and in Israeli occupied Palestine.
22. As NGOs, we resolve to exert every effort to oppose the co-operation between Israel and apartheid South Africa. We condemn their military nuclear build-up which is a serious threat to regional and international peace and security.
23. We express our solidarity with democratic and peace-loving forces in Israel, which struggle against Israeli occupationist, expansionist and militarist policies and actions, and which support the intifadah, the proclaimed independent Palestinian State on Palestinian land and the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. We strongly condemn the unjust Israeli law which prohibits contacts between the people of Israel and the PLO and demand its total and immediate abrogation.
24. We append the Workshop Reports and urge African NGOs to work in a co-ordinated way to implement the recommendations. We note the comments of the International Co-ordinating Committee for NGOs on the Question of Palestine (ICCP) and its expression of assistance in the development of our work.
25. We have further decided to organize our work through an African co-ordinating committee. Its membership is also appended to this report. We ask that this report be disseminated as widely as possible throughout Africa and through the NGO international network as well as to the media. We request the United Nations to provide the financial means for one meeting of the African Co-ordinating Committee per year, in conjunction with the International NGO Meeting on the Question of Palestine.
26. We thank the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, the Division for Palestinian Rights, the Department of Conference Services and our gracious Egyptian hosts for their efforts to ensure the success of the African NGO Symposium.

D. AFRICAN CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE
FOR NGOS ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE

Membership of the Committee

1. Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO)
2. African Society (Egypt)
3. Arab Lawyers' Union, Cairo (Egypt)
4. The Association of Solidarity and Friendship among the People (Algiers, Algeria)
5. Egyptian United Nations Association, Cairo (Egypt)
6. Mauritius Palestine Friendship Society (Mauritius)
7. Organization of All African Trade Unions Unity, Accra (Ghana)
8. Palestine Committee for NGOs, Tunis (Tunisia)
9. Pan African Women's Association, Luanda (Angola)
10. Sudanese Women Union, Khartoum (Sudan)
11. Union of Journalists of Sierra Leone
12. Zimbabwe Palestinian Friendship

E. WORKSHOP REPORTS

WORKSHOP I:

On the mobilization and programme of work of African NGOs to put an end to Israel's violation of the human rights of Palestinians in the occupied Arab territories and to emphasize international protection for Palestinians under Israeli occupation

Chairman: Mr. Jonathan Kuttub (Palestinian)

Rapporteur: Mr. Mohamed A. El Saket (Egypt)

At the beginning of the meeting, mention was made of some aspects of inadequacy of the work of African NGOs owing to:

1. Their lack of previous practice and experience in the field of the defence of national causes in the international arena, especially with regard to the question of Palestine;
2. Lack of the means and ability to influence the decision-making of national Governments on the question of Palestine, in contrast to the situation in Europe and North America, where NGOs play an important role in influencing public opinion and, hence, the governmental bodies concerned;
3. The scant financial resources available to these organizations for operating purposes: this is the predicament also of national Governments in this field;
4. African NGOs are always regarded as being a part of the governmental machinery, not as autonomous.

Those members who expressed their view agreed regarding the need to strengthen the role of African NGOs, because these organizations are supposed to have freedom of movement, removed from the constraints of official business, and because they are supposed to have the creative human element, since they are not linked to Governments and their régimes, so that they should be distanced from the unproductive bureaucratic modus operandi in such areas as the defence of the rights of the Palestinian people and the halting of the Israeli violations.

Some examples were cited of the work being done in this area by some African NGOs, such as the Egyptian United Nations Association, whose Governing Board is chaired by the Egyptian Minister for Youth and Sports and which consequently plays a major role in enlightening a broad sector of Egyptian public opinion regarding the dimensions of the question of Palestine. Moreover, one of the members of the Association's Governing Board is Honorary Chairman of United Nations Associations in various parts of the world. Also cited were the Federation of Arab Jurists, which issues an annual publication addressing international public opinion concerning the dimensions of the Palestinian problem, and the Institute for Arab Research and Studies, which has a special graduate department on the question of Palestine. The Institute also encourages students to prepare Master's and doctoral dissertations on the dimensions of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the rights of the Palestinian people and ways to halt Arab violations. It also prepares agreements of co-operation with similar institutions that deal with the Middle East problem in some African and international capitals. All this meets the need, as urged by members, for the dissemination of accurate information on the question of Palestine, free from slogans and political bias.

There was also a consensus among members regarding the need for attention to economic questions relating to the question of Palestine, the most important being:

1. The necessity of giving Palestinians in the occupied Arab territories an opportunity for direct contact with economic institutions in the outside world; they should not be under tutelage with respect to such matters, as is the case with regard to Israel's agreements with the European Common Market;
2. The need to lay the foundations for the economic, social and cultural assistance that must be furnished to the new Palestinian State, rather than waiting until the Palestinian Provisional Government assumes the administration of the new Palestinian State;
3. That the United Nations should take over the territory of the new Palestinian State so that Israel not be given any opportunity for fresh manoeuvres;
4. Continuation of international economic and political pressure on Israel until it complies with the latest resolutions on the question of Palestine adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in December 1988;
5. The convening of a tribunal of the African NGOs to conduct a trial of the crimes being committed by the Israeli authorities against the Palestinian people;
6. The continued convening of symposia and seminars on the rights of the Palestinian people and Israel's continuing violations thereof.

Many members expressed apprehension that the recent shift in the United States position and the commencement of the dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) might be a manoeuvre to gain time for the Israeli side. It was therefore necessary to continue the struggle to put an end to this Israeli obduracy by the various means available to the NGOs and through the various activities open to them and to ensure continuous follow-up of the implementation of the recommendations agreed on at the Symposium, in particular at joint meetings of African and Arab NGOs.

Mention was made of the role being played by Arab-African women, through many of the organizations to which they belong, in the field of propaganda for the rights of the Palestinian people. There was a consensus of opinion among members that that role was essential and must be continued.

Members also urged the necessity of setting up embassies of Palestine in all African States as soon as possible and the need for African NGOs to play their role in enlightening African public opinion everywhere through information campaigns, by direct and indirect contacts, in order that the Palestinian people might attain all its rights as soon as possible; in order to set up obstacles in Israel's way so that it would desist from its activities; and in order that efforts might be directed not only towards giving accounts of Israeli violations but towards halting those violations once and for all. That would unquestionably help the Palestinian people to attain its legitimate rights, in the light of the previous detailed recommendations put forward by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to that end and in the light of all the resolutions of the United Nations and its specialized agencies on the question of Palestine.

WORKSHOP II:

On the NGO activities to further mobilize African public opinion and the relationship between the Palestinian uprising and the struggle of the people of Namibia and South Africa*

Chairman: Mr. Ibo Mandaza (Zimbabwe)

Rapporteur: Mrs Adilf Zeibay Abdel Rahman (Sudan)

The participants of the workshop request that African NGOs:

1. Maintain contact with ICCP;
2. Utilize the assistance and the facilities of the United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights in New York;
3. Use significant days of the Palestinian agenda such as November 29, December 9 and March 30 for popular activities in their communities;
4. Urge Governments to contact the United States Government to continue dialogue with the PLO;
5. Form an African NGOs co-ordinating committee;
6. Form an "Action Alert" network in Africa to respond quickly to Palestinian emergencies;
7. Use United Nations resolutions as guidelines for action towards the convening of the International Peace Conference, particularly resolutions 38/58 and 43/176;
8. The participants also request that Israel withdraw its forces from Palestinian land and replace them by United Nations forces with the co-operation of the PLO;
9. Continue the Arab and African boycott of Israeli goods and activities;
10. Promote the implementation of the Palestine National Council resolutions adopted in Algeria;
11. Form a legal and political committee with the co-operation of African NGOs to give the Palestinian State its formality;
12. Initiate a campaign for the release of Palestinian prisoners in the occupied territories and adopt lists of well-known names of prisoners;
13. Increase efforts to provide treatment for the war handicapped;
14. Adopt organizations that provide social and psychological support to Palestinian families under occupation;
15. Send NGO groups to the occupied territories for monitoring and support;

16. Establish a peace voyage to explain the question of Palestine;
17. Designate African Week with exhibitions containing pictures, video films and posters about the crimes committed in the occupied territories;
18. Provide protection against the growing miscarriages among the Palestinian women in the occupied territories caused by poisonous gas fired by Israeli troops;
19. Initiate a campaign of mass media communication with the co-operation of artists, musicians and sports groups, so as to make the question of Palestine well-known throughout the world.

*At the meeting held on 21 December 1988 for the adoption of the Declaration and the workshop reports, it was decided that the present workshop report presented to the meeting under this format would be adopted as such.

Annex I

MESSAGE FROM THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE SEMINAR AND THE NGO SYMPOSIUM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

We, the participants in the African Regional Seminar and NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine, being held from 18 to 22 December 1988, in Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt, wish to express our deepest gratitude for your gracious message of support conveyed to the Seminar and NGO Symposium by Mr. Jamal Sourani, Member of the Executive Committee of the PLO. We take this opportunity to applaud the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and endorse your extraordinary efforts to open a substantive dialogue for peace in the Middle East and to introduce a new way of thinking about the future.

We reaffirm our solid support for the struggle of the Palestinian people to exercise its legitimate and inalienable national rights, as dramatically demonstrated over the past year in the intifadah in the occupied Palestinian territory. We salute the historic Palestinian peace initiative launched by the Nineteenth Extraordinary Session of the Palestine National Council held at Algiers from 12 to 15 November 1988, and in particular the proclamation of the State of Palestine, as a bold and significant contribution towards the achievement of peace in the Middle East.

We sincerely hope that the results of the Seminar and the NGO Symposium will contribute positively to the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict of which the question of Palestine is the core. We reaffirm our unconditional commitment to support the people of Palestine until the full realization of an independent and sovereign Palestinian State is achieved.

We regard the significant results achieved at the Geneva session of the General Assembly and in particular the adoption of General Assembly resolution 43/176 of 15 December 1988 as an important step towards convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East and express our genuine support for the Secretary-General of the United Nations in his endeavours for the early realization of this objective as demanded by the international community.

Annex II

MOTION OF THANKS

The participants in the African Regional Seminar and NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine being held from 18 to 22 December 1988 in Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt, express their profound thanks to the Government and people of the Arab Republic of Egypt for generously providing a venue for this Seminar and for the excellent arrangements made which greatly contributed to the Seminar's success. The participants wish also to convey their sincere gratitude and appreciation to H.E. Dr. Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt for his statement of warm support for the Palestinian cause and our Seminar and NGO Symposium. The participants wish to express their appreciation also to H.E. Mr. Aziz Seif El-Nasr, Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs and to H.E. Mr. Amre Moussa, Director, International Organizations Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, for their contribution to the Seminar and the NGO Symposium. The participants take this opportunity to convey their sincere appreciation to the Government and people of the Arab Republic of Egypt, one of the founding fathers of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, for their consistent support for the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights and for the active role they have played in advancing the cause of peace and justice in the Middle East on the basis of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations.

Annex III

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND OBSERVERS IN THE SEMINAR AND THE NGO SYMPOSIUM

Panelists

Mr. Farouk ABU EISSA (Sudan)
Mr. Donald BETZ (United States)
Mr. Lotfy EL-KHOLY (Egypt)
Mr. Mohamed EL-SAYED GALLAB (Egypt)
Mr. Rafael ESTRELLA (Spain)
Mr. Gipu FELIX-GEORGE (Sierra Leone)
Mr. Y. V. GLUKHOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
Mr. Corentin HERVO-AKENDENGUE (Gabon)
Mr. Gora IBRAHIM (South Africa)
Mr. Latyr KAMARA (Senegal)
Mr. Al Mamoun KEITA (Mali)
Mr. Cabrallah KHAMISIN (Sudan)
Mr. Assih KOSSI (Togo)
Mr. Jonathan KUTTAB (Palestinian)
Mr. Salah LADGHAM (Tunisia)
Mr. Ibbo MANDAZA (Zimbabwe)
Mr. Dikhigang MASEMOLA (South Africa)
Mrs. Ruth NETO (Angola)
Mr. Gesaya NYAMA (Namibia)
Mr. Ahmed OSMAN (Egypt)
Mr. Abdel Moneim SAID (Egypt)
Mr. Nabil SHA'ATH (Palestinian)
Mr. S. Amos WAKO (Kenya)

Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People

H.E. Mrs. Absa Claude DIALLO
Permanent Representative of Senegal to the United Nations
Chairman of the Committee,
Head of the delegation

H.E. Mr. Alexander BORG OLIVIER
Permanent Representative of Malta to the United Nations
Rapporteur of the Committee

H.E. Mr. Samuel R. INSANALLY
Permanent Representative of Guyana to the United Nations

H.E. Mr. Tom Obaleh KARGBO
Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone to the United Nations

H.E. Mr. Agus TARMIDZI
Deputy Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations

Mr. Zehdi L. TERZI
Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations

Representative of the Secretary-General

Mr. Naseem MIRZA, Chief, Division for Palestinian Rights

Member States

Algeria
H. E. Mr. Djanet El Mokrani
Ambassador to Egypt

Angola
Mr. Lorenzo da Silva Fernandes
First Secretary
Embassy in Cairo

Argentina
Ms. Ana Maria Del Valle
Assistant to the Ambassador
Embassy in Cairo

Australia
Mr. John F. Godfrey
Counsellor
Embassy in Cairo

Austria
H. E. Dr. Helmo Kellner
Ambassador to Egypt

Dr. Ferdinand Maultaschl
Minister Counsellor
Embassy in Cairo

Bahrain
H. E. Mr. Mohamed Hamad El-Mahmid
Ambassador to Egypt

Bangladesh
H. E. Mr. Mohammed Siddiquer Rahman
Ambassador to Egypt

Mr. Sarwar Hossain Molla
Counsellor
Embassy in Cairo

Brazil
Mr. Mauricio C. Magnavita
Minister Counsellor
Embassy in Egypt

Brunei Darussalam
H. E. Mr. Dato H.M.K.B.H. Daud
Ambassdaor to Egypt

Bulgaria
Mr. Lashev Rakovski
Third Secretary
Embassy in Cairo

Cameroon
Mr. Celestin Onana Ayissi
Chargé d'Affaires
Embassy in Cairo

Canada
Mr. James Gould
Embassy in Cairo

Chile
Mr. Rodolfo Russing
Counsellor
Embassy in Cairo

Central African Republic
Mr. Gabriel Griss-Bembe
First Counsellor
Embassy in Cairo

China
Mr. Li Liugen
Counsellor
Embassy in Cairo

Cuba
Mr. Pelayo Ruenes
Embassy in Cairo

Ecuador
Mr. Eugenio Vazques
Chargé d'Affaires
Embassy in Cairo

Egypt
H. E. Mr. Amre Moussa
Ambassador, Head
International Organizations Department

H. E. Mr. Mahmoud Gomaa
Ambassador, Head
Palestine Department

H. E. Mr. Ahmed Gomaa
Ambassador
International Organizations Department

Mr. Mohamed Ghoneim
Counsellor
Palestine Department

Ms. Doria Attia
Second Secretary
Conference Department

Mr. Tarek Adel
Attaché
International Organizations Department

German Democratic Republic
Mr. Hans-Joerg Graff
Counsellor
Embassy in Cairo

Mr. Wolfgang Grieger
Second Secretary
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. Frank Remus
Third Secretary
Embassy in Cairo

Ghana
H. E. Dr. W.C. Yow Anoff
Ambassador to Egypt

Mr. Patrick R.D. Hayford
Minister Counsellor
Embassy in Cairo

Mr. Thomas K. Quartey
Counsellor
Embassy in Cairo

Guatemala
Mrs. Josefina de Leon
Embassy in Cairo

Ms. Randa Hussein
Embassy in Cairo

Hungary
H. E. Dr. Erno Simonyi
Ambassador to Egypt

Mr. Laszlo Vaczi
First Secretary
Embassy in Cairo

India
Mr. Inder V. Chopra
Minister
Embassy in Cairo

Indonesia
Mr. Anwar Yassin
Counsellor
Embassy in Cairo

Mr. Zakaria Anshar
Third Secretary
Embassy in Cairo
Iraq
Mr. Talal Nadim Al-Pachachi
Minister Plenipotentiary

Embassy in Cairo

Mr. Hassan Aladhmi
Embassy in Cairo

Ireland
H. E. Mr. Eamon O. Tuathail
Ambassador to Egypt

Mr. James Joseph Carroll
First Secretary
Embassy in Cairo

Jordan
Mr. Khalid Ahmed Al Adwan
Counsellor
Embassy in Cairo

Mr. Atef Hlasa
Embassy in Cairo

Mali
Mr. Al Mamoun Keita
Counsellor
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. Ba Bassirou
First Secretary
Embassy in Cairo

Mauritius
H. E. Mr. Mahmoud Adah Tally
Ambassador to Egypt

Mr. Rashad Daugeawo
Embassy in Cairo

Mongolia
Mr. Kadyryn Sairaana
Third Secretary
Embassy in Cairo

Nigeria
Mr. Dolapo Osunmakinde
Second Secretary
Embassy in Cairo

Mr. Saad Baba
Third Secretary
Permanent Mission, New York

Panama
H. E. Mr. Phillip Feigenblatt Rojas
Ambassador to Egypt

Poland
Mr. Andrzej Biera
First Secretary
Embassy in Cairo

Qatar
Mr. Khaled M. Nassir Fakhroo
First Secretary
Embassy in Cairo

Mr. Tewfik El Mobayied
Embassy in Cairo

Mr. Abdel Aziz El Sebaie
Embassy in Cairo

Romania
Mr. Constantin Preotessa
Counsellor
Embassy in Cairo

Mr. Gheorghe Biltu

First Secretary
Embassy in Cairo

Mr. Sever Cotu
Embassy in Cairo

Rwanda
H. E. Mr. Celestin Kabanda
Ambassador to Egypt

Saudi Arabia
Mr. Eid M. Al-Thaqafi
Third Secretary
Foreign Ministry

Singapore
Mr. Theo Kah Beng
First Secretary
Embassy in Cairo

Spain
Mrs. Almudena Mazarrasa
Counsellor
Foreign Ministry

Thailand
Ms. Patchara Lamubol
Second Secretary
Embassy in Cairo

Togo
Mr. Koffi Ouyi Woake
Second Secretary
Embassy in Tripoli

Tunisia
Mr. Habib Bentekaya
First Secretary
Embassy in Cairo

Ukrainian Soviet
Socialist Republic
Mr. Pavel F. Kirpenko
Foreign Ministry

Union of Soviet
Socialist Republics
H. E. Mrs. Rosa Otunbaeva
Minister for Foreign Affairs
Kirgiz SSR

Mr. Nikolai Tikhomirov
Minister Counsellor
Embassy in Cairo

Mr. Nikolai Elistretov
Second Secretary
Embassy in Cairo

Mr. Ovannes Aroutunian
Third Secretary
Foreign Ministry

Venezuela
Mr. Miguel Raidi Raidi
Minister Counsellor
Embassy in Cairo

Yemen
Mr. Hamoud Mohamed Alshami
Counsellor
Embassy in Cairo

Zimbabwe
H. E. Mr. Mose Jackson Myenge
Ambassador to Egypt

Mr. Max Mukova
Minister Counsellor
Embassy in Cairo

Mr. Dominic Buhera
Embassy in Cairo

Non-member States represented by observers

Republic of Korea
H.E. Mr. Kee Bock Shin
Ambassador
Consul General, Cairo

Mr. Joo Seok Kim
First Secretary
Permanent Mission, New York

Mr. Chan Woo Kim
UN Division
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Switzerland
Mr. Timotheus Guldemann
Second Secretary
Embassy in Cairo

United Nations organs

Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the
Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of
Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

H.E. Mr. Tesfaye Tadesse (Ethiopia), Chairman of the Committee

Special Committee against Apartheid

H.E. Mr. Agus Tarmidzi (Indonesia)

United Nations Council for Namibia

Mr. Sherif Yehia Refaat (Egypt)

United Nations specialized agencies, bodies and programmes

ILO
Mr. Osman Mohamed Ahmed, Director
ILO Office Cairo

Mr. Yehia El-Shaarany, Deputy Director
ILO Office Cairo

UNEP
Mr. Salih Osman
Director and Regional Representative
UNEP Regional Office for West Asia

WHO
Mr. Ashour Omar Gebreel

Intergovernmental organizations having received
a standing invitation to participate in the
sessions and the work of the General Assembly as observers

League of Arab States
Dr. Muhammad El-Farra
Under Secretary-General

Mr. Yousef Fayoumi

European Economic Community

Mrs. Francine Henrich
Chief of Delegation in Cairo

Other organizations having received a standing
invitation to participate in the sessions and the
work of the General Assembly as observers

Palestine
H. E. Mr. Jamāl Sourani
Secretary of the Executive Committee of the PLO

Mr. Zuhdi Al-Qudrah
PLO Office in Cairo

Dr. Barakal Al-Farrah
President
Union of Palestinian Engineers

Mr. Osama Ali Sharab
PLO Office in Cairo

Mr. Abdel Ilah Al-Karzoun
Union of Palestinian Jurists

South West African People's Organization
Mr. Gesaya Nyama
Mr. Kahima Embubulu
SWAPO Office in Cairo

National Liberation Movements recognized by
the Organization of African Unity

African National Council of South Africa
Mr. Dikhhigang Masemola

Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania
Mr. Gora Ibrahim
Secretary for Foreign Affairs

Non-governmental organizations

African Association of Political Science
Helmi El Sharawy

African Farmers Union
Mohamed Idris

African Society, Egypt
Adel Ahmed Moustafa
Mohamed El-Sayed Ghallab
Nabil Abdel Hamid Hassan
Soad Khaled

Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization
Mourad Ghaleb, President
Sydney Molifi
Thomas Schubert
Talaat Mosallam
Erabaddegode A. Vidyasekera
Mounif Hourani
Daniel Kouyela
Panteley Spasov
Saif Saeeda Al-Khamri
Nouri Abdulrazzak
Hala El-Asmar
Fakhry Labib
Hamed Zidan
Saad Luka Mikhail
Mir Pasma Zeinalov
Awatef Abdel Rahman

Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization of Madagascar

Julien Randriamasivelo

Algerian Council for Friendship and Solidarity among Peoples
Zoubeir Seif El Islam

Arab Association for Integration of Culture
Mohamed Aly Al-Lakany

Arab Lawyers Union, Cairo
Farouk M. Abu Eissa
Kamal Ramadan
Abdel Azim El-Maghraby
Mohamed Rizk El-Gammal
Fayza Obied

Arab Organization for Human Rights
Moustapha Kamel El Sayed
Tawhida Tawfik
Mohamed Fayek
Yehia El Gamal
Naguib Fakhry

Arab Organization for Human Rights of Afro Asian Solidarity
Baheiddin Al-Rashidy

Arab Political Science Association
Hassan Nafaa

Arab Tourist Union, Baghdad
Moufid Shehab

Arab Women Solidarity Association, Cairo
Dr. Nawal El Saadawi

Association of Journalists of Sierra Leone
Gipu Felix-George

Center of Trade Union Studies Cairo
Abdel Aziz Bayoumi
Mahmoud Attar

Committee for Israeli-Palestinian Dialogue
Latif Dori
Muhammad Wattad

Egyptian Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee
Zain Salit
Nalia Kamel
Mahmoud Tawfik
Sohir Sadik
Mohamed Auda
Roshdi Aboul Hassan
Mohamed Kalafalla

Egyptian Building and Trade Union Workers
Kamal Eldin Wassef

Egyptian Committee for Peace and Disarmament
Soraia Adham
Salah Azzam
Khaled Mohieldin
Mahmoud Hamed Mohamed
Said Khayyat
Hussein Fahmy
Saffa Farahat
Inji Eflatoun

Egyptian Committee in Support of Intifadeh
Baheiddin Al-Rashidy
Ahmed Sharaf

Egyptian Organization for Human Rights
Mustafa Abdelaal
Mohamed Mandour
Mohamed Said
Amir Salem
Bahy El Din Hassan

Egyptian Partisan Human Rights Alexandria
Soad Abdel Wahed Hammad

Egyptian Peace Council
Khalid Mohieldin

Egyptian People's Solidarity Committee with the Intifadeh
Najim Nessim

Egyptian Pugwash, Cairo
Ezzat Ezz
A. Emara
Hasan Mahmoud
Eassam Galal
Mohamed Raouf Hamid

Egyptian Supreme Council for Youth and Sports
Hosam Kamal

Federation of Arab Engineers Baghdad
Abdul Sattar Al-Rawi
Marwan Abdel Hamid

Federation of Palestinian Engineers - Cairo
Barakat El-Farra

General Union of Palestinian Women
Hanaa Al Ahmed
Abla Dajani
Dorris Franjia

International Co-ordinating Committee for NGOs on the Question of Palestine
Donald Betz
Jean-Marie Lambert

Mauritius-Palestine Friendship Society
Rashad Daureeawo

Mauritius Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs
Rashad Daureeawo

Muslim World League
Mohamed El Hassani

Organization of African Trade Union Unity
Assih Kossi

Palestine Committee for NGOs, Tunis
Rev. Ibrahim Ayoud, President
Marai Abderahman

Palestine Committee for NGOs, Cairo
Amal Alagha
Mysoon Shaath
Hasna Mekdashi

Palestine Red Crescent Society Cairo
Fathi Arafat
Shadia Khader
Emad Tarawiyeh

Pan-African Women's Organization
Mrs. Maria Ruth Neto
Luanda

Peace Committee, Suez
A. Kamal

Progressive Women's Union Cairo
Showkia El Kordy
Maha Saleh
Fawzia Toulba
Zenat Risk

Progressive Youth Union Cairo

Hazim Mounir
Hisham Baiony
Emad Nabawi Said

Socialist Labor Union, Cairo
Khaled Shawki

Sudanese Women's Union
Adilf Zeibay Abdel Rahman

Swiss Palestine Organization
A. V. Hardt-Makarova

Tanzania-Palestine Solidarity Committee
J. L. Kanywanyi

Third World Forum
Ibrahim Abdalla

Union of Arab Jurists

United Nations Association of Egypt
Abdel Ahad Gamal Eldeen
Mohamed A. El Saket
Ali Khalil
Mamdooh Azzam

World Peace Council
Bahig Nassar

Zimbabwe Palestine Friendship
Ibbo Manadaza

Press

Al Ahram
Lotfi El-Kholy
Mour Eldine Sobeih
Mohamed Ahd Elhady

Al Akhbar
Makram Gad El-Kareem

Al Gomhouriya
Mahfouz El-Ansari
Galal El-Sayed
Mohamed G. Mohamed

Al Messa News
Elsayed Hani Youssef

Akbar El Yom
Usama Agag

Ashab
Salah Aldakila

Azbet Al Nakhl
Saleh Rageeb

Dar El-Helal
Nabil Mostafa

Egyptian TV
Maher Abdel Aziz
Saber Ahmed
Abdel Raouf El Baz
Hussein Abdel Aziz
Mohamed Sayed Adel
Shaaban Rady
Sobhy Abou Shady
Essam Tantawi

Egyptian Radio

Alaa Aly El-Meligui
Mahmoud Fahmy
Hamdy Gohar
Shafie Shalaby
Mohammed Hussein Bassiouny
Nihal Saad
Mos'uud Abdul Ganiyi
Mamadou Oury
Tidjane K. Ouattara
Ibrahima Seck

El Ahly
Ahmed Hassan
Mohamed Hanafy

El Wafd
Mohamed El Halawany

El Hakika
Mohamed Saad Galal

Shoubra El Khima
Mahmoud Zakaria

Youth and Sports
Mohamed Abdel Wahab

Foreign Press

ABC News
Hassan Abdallah Hassan
Ahmed Khalifa
Zakaria Rabi

Adshtor
Abdelftah Tahaat

Al Haq
Jonathan Kuttub

As-Safir Newspaper
Amin Radwan Mohamed

CBS News
Aly Abed
Mohamed Badr Fath El-Bab
Youssef El Alfy

D.T.F.
Andrea Bertolini
Abdel Hafidy Bouassida

El Haya
Maha Gad

El Pais Newspaper
Angeles Espinosa

Falestin Al-Thawra
Mujahid Ali Shurab

GDR Radio
Detlef Schmidt

GDR TV
F. Gaubitz

Gulf News Agency
Sania Mohamed Adel

Iraqi News Agency
Emad Eid Aly

Izvestia Newspaper
Dimitri Veliki

Kuwait News Agency
Dina Adrawes
Samir Sadek
Sawsan Abo Hussein

Middle East News Agency
Salah Abdel Latif
Ehab Abou Seif
Mohamed Abou Seif
Bassima Naffady
Rifaat Ouda

Qatar News Agency
Aly Maher Abdel Aziz

Reuters
Sara El Gammal
Frederic Neema

Saudi News Agency
Nasr Anwar

Soviet TV
Alexander Arbouzov
Kim Guerassimov

W.T.N.
Khalifa Salem

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