

# REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE

Geneva, 29 August-7 September 1983

United Nations  
New York, 1983

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## Part one

### I. ACTION TAKEN BY THE CONFERENCE

#### A. Geneva Declaration on Palestine

In pursuance of General Assembly resolutions 36/120 C of 10 December 1981, ES-7/7 of 19 August 1982 and 37/86 C of 10 December 1982, an International Conference on the Question of Palestine was convened at the United Nations Office at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983 to seek effective ways and means to enable the Palestinian people to attain and to exercise their inalienable rights. The Conference was opened by the Secretary General of the United Nations, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and presided over by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal, Moustapha Niassé.

\* \* \*

1. The Conference, having thoroughly considered the question of Palestine in all its aspects, expresses the grave concern of all nations and peoples regarding the international tension that has persisted for several decades in the Middle East, the principal cause of which is the denial by Israel, and those supporting its expansionist policies, of the inalienable legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The Conference reaffirms and stresses that a just solution of the question of Palestine, the core of the problem, is the crucial element in a comprehensive, just and lasting political settlement in the Middle East.

2. The Conference recognizes that, as one of the most acute and complex problems of our time, the question of Palestine - inherited by the United Nations at the time of its establishment requires a comprehensive, just and lasting political settlement. This settlement must be based on the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions concerning the question of Palestine and the attainment of the legitimate, inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination and the right to the establishment of its own independent State in Palestine and should also be based on the provision by the Security Council of guarantees for peace and security among all States in the region, including the independent Palestinian State, within secure and internationally recognized boundaries. The Conference is convinced that the attainment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, as defined by General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974, will contribute substantially to the achievement of peace and stability in the Middle East.

3. The Conference considers the role of the United Nations in the achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East to be essential and paramount. It emphasizes the need for respect for and application of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the resolutions of the United Nations relevant to the question of Palestine and the observance of the principles of international law.

4. The Conference considers that the various proposals, consistent with the principles of international law, which have been presented on this question, such as the Arab peace plan adopted unanimously at the twelfth Arab Summit Conference held at Fez, Morocco, in September 1982, should serve as guidelines for concerted international effort to resolve the question of Palestine. These guidelines include the following.

- The attainment by the Palestinian people of its legitimate inalienable rights, including the right to return, the right to self-determination and the right to establish its own independent state in Palestine;
- The right of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate on an equal footing with other parties in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East;
- The need to put an end to Israel's occupation of the Arab territories, in accordance with the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, and, consequently, the need to secure Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem;
- The need to oppose and reject such Israeli policies and practices in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and any de facto situation created by Israel as are contrary to international law and relevant United Nations resolutions, particularly the establishment of settlements, as these policies and practices constitute major obstacles to the achievement of peace in the Middle East;
- The need to reaffirm as null and void all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, the occupying Power, which have altered or purported to alter the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, including the expropriation of land and property situated thereon, and in particular the so-called "Basic Law" on Jerusalem and the proclamation of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel;
- The right of all States in the region to existence within secure and internationally recognized boundaries, with justice and security for all the people, the sine qua non of which is the recognition and attainment of the legitimate, inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as stated in paragraph (a) above.

5. In order to give effect to these guidelines, the Conference considers it essential that an international peace conference on the Middle East be convened on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, with the aim of achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, an essential element of which would be the establishment of an independent Palestinian State in Palestine. This peace conference should be convened under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, as well as the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and other concerned States, on an equal footing. In this context the Security Council has a primary responsibility to create appropriate

institutional arrangements on the basis of relevant United Nations resolutions in order to guarantee and to carry out the accords of the international peace conference.

6. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine emphasizes the importance of the time factor in achieving a just solution to the problem of Palestine. The Conference is convinced that partial solutions are inadequate and delays in seeking a comprehensive solution do not eliminate tensions in the region.

#### B. Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights

The International Conference on the Question of Palestine agreed that no effort should be spared to seek effective ways and means to enable the Palestinian people to attain and exercise their rights in Palestine in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights <sup>1/</sup> and the principles of international law. The Conference, taking into consideration the Geneva Declaration on Palestine (sect. A above), recommended the following Programme of Action.

##### I

The International Conference on the Question of Palestine recommends that all States, individually or collectively, consistent with their respective constitutions and their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with the principles of international law, should:

- (1) Recognize the great importance of the time factor in solving the question of Palestine;
- (2) Intensify efforts for the establishment of an independent Palestinian State within the framework of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the relevant United Nations resolutions and the guidelines of the Geneva Declaration on Palestine;
- (3) Consider the continued presence of Israel in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem as exacerbating instability in the region and endangering international peace and Security;
- (4) Oppose and reject, as a serious and continuing obstacle to peace the expansionist policies pursued by Israel in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and in particular the alteration of the geographic nature and demographic composition, and the Israeli attempt to alter, through domestic legislation, the legal status of those territories, and all the measures taken in violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War <sup>2/</sup> and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, <sup>3/</sup> both of 12 August 1949, and of the Hague Regulations of 1907, <sup>4/</sup> such as the establishment and expansion of settlements, the transfer of Israeli civilians into those territories and the individual and mass transfers therefrom of the Arab Palestinian population;
- (5) Refrain from providing Israel with assistance of such a nature as to encourage it militarily, economically and financially to continue its aggression, occupation and disregard of its obligations under the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations;
- (6) Not encourage migration to the occupied Arab territories until Israel has put a definitive end to the implementation of its illegal policy of establishing settlements in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967;
- (7) Fully comply with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and its specialized agencies on the Holy City of Jerusalem, including those which reject Israel's annexation of Jerusalem and its declaration of that city as its capital;
- (8) Undertake universal efforts to protect the Holy Places and urge Israel to take measure to prevent their desecration.
- (9) Consider ways and means of meeting the threat that Israel poses to regional security in Africa in view of Israel's disregard of United Nations resolutions, and its close collaboration with the apartheid regime in the economic, military and nuclear fields, thereby contributing to the continued illegal occupation of Namibia and enhancing the regime's repressive and aggressive capacity.
- (10) Encourage, through bilateral and multilateral contacts, all States, including Western European and North American States which have not done so, to welcome all peace initiatives based on the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, which were also welcomed by Chairman Yasser Arafat in his address to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine;
- (11) Seek and develop ways and means to enable the Palestinian people to exercise sovereignty over their national resources;
- (12) Express concern that Israel debars Palestinians from economic activity and access to national resources on Palestinian territory, in consistent violation of General Assembly resolutions on the right of the Palestinians to permanent sovereignty over their national resources;
- (13) Declare null and void and counter such measures and practices applied by Israel in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, as the annexation and the expropriation of land, water resources, and property and the alteration of the demographic, geographic, historical and cultural features thereof;
- (14) Undertake measures to alleviate the economic and social burdens borne by the Palestinian people as a result of the continued Israeli occupation of their territories since 1967;
- (15) Consider contributing or increasing special contributions to the proposed budgets, programmes and projects of the relevant organs, funds and agencies of the United Nations system that have been requested to provide humanitarian, economic and social assistance to the Palestinian people, with particular reference to:
  - (a) General Assembly resolution 33/147 of 20 December 1978 and the appeal of the Governing Council of the United Nations Development Programme at its thirtieth session for additional special contributions amounting to at least \$8 million during the third programming cycle (1982-1986) aimed at helping to meet the economic and social needs of the Palestinian people; <sup>5/</sup>
  - (b) The proposed programme budget of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development for the biennium 1984/1985 regarding the establishment within the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development of a special economic unit, <sup>6/</sup> as requested by that Conference at its sixth session at Belgrade; <sup>7/</sup>
  - (c) Establishing a special legal aid fund to assist Palestinians in securing their rights under conditions of occupation, <sup>8/</sup> in accordance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War;
- (16) Ensure that the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East can meet the essential needs of the Palestinians without interruption or any diminution in the effectiveness of its services;
- (17) Review the situation of Palestinian women in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories and, in view of their special hardships, urge the Preparatory Committee of the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, to be held at Nairobi in 1985, to include this item on the agenda of the Conference;
- (18) Review, if they have not yet done so, in conformity with their national legislation, their economic, cultural, technical and other relations with Israel, and the agreements governing them with the aim of ensuring that these regulations and agreements will not be interpreted or construed as implying in any way recognition of any modification of the legal status of Jerusalem and of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, or an acceptance of Israel's illegal presence in those territories;
- (19) Recognize that the process of enabling the Palestinian people to exercise its inalienable rights in Palestine is a significant contribution to the restoration of the rule of law in international relations;
- (20) Assure the observance of the stipulations provided in General Assembly resolution 181 (II) guaranteeing to all persons equal and non-discriminatory rights in civil, political, economic and religious matters and the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of religion, speech, publication, education, assembly and association;
- (21) Express concern that the laws applicable in the occupied Arab territories have been totally eclipsed by a plethora of military orders that have been designed to establish a new legal regime in violation of the Hague Regulations of 1907, and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.
- (22) Act in accordance with their obligations under existing international law, in particular with regard to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 which require States Parties to respect and to ensure respect for those Conventions in all circumstances, and

- in particular ensure the respect by Israel for the Geneva Conventions of 1949 in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories;
- (23) Express concern that the Palestinians and other Arabs in the occupied territories are deprived of juridical and other kinds of protection, that they are victims of repressive legislation, involving mass arrests, acts of torture, destruction of houses, and the expulsion of people from their homes, acts which constitute flagrant violations of human rights;
- (24) Recognize the necessity that Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners detained by Israel be accorded the status of prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of 1949, 2/ if combatants, or in accordance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 1949, 3/ if civilians,
- (25) Strive for the adoption of international measures so that Israel will implement in the West Bank and Gaza the provisions of the Hague Regulations of 1907 and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons, in the light of Security Council resolution 465 (1980);
- (26) Recognize, if they have not yet done so, the Palestine-Liberation organization as the representative of the Palestinian people and establish with it appropriate relations;
- (27) Encourage, in conformity with their national legislation, the formation of national committees in support of the Palestinian people;
- (28) Encourage the observance of 29 November as the International Day of solidarity with the Palestinian People, in a most effective and meaningful way;
- (29) Request the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session to designate a Year of Palestine, to be observed at the earliest possible time, taking into consideration the factors necessary to ensure its effective preparation for the purpose of galvanizing world-wide public Opinion and support for further implementation of the Geneva Declaration on Palestine and the Programme of Action.

## II

The International Conference on the Question of Palestine stresses the obligation of all Member States, under the Charter of the United Nations, to enable the United Nations through an expanded and more effective role to fulfil its responsibility for achieving a solution to the question of Palestine. To this ends:

### A

States participating in the Conference invite the Security Council, as the organ with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security:

- (1) To suppress continuing and growing acts of aggression and other branches of the peace in the Middle East which endanger peace and security in the region and the world as a whole;
- (2) to take prompt, firm and effective steps and actions to establish an independent sovereign Palestinian State in Palestine through the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, by facilitating the organization of the international peace conference on the Middle East, as called for in paragraph 5 of the Geneva Declaration on Palestine, and by creating in this context the appropriate institutional arrangements on the basis of relevant United Nations resolutions in order to guarantee and carry out the accords of the international peace conference, including the following:
  - (a) Taking measures consistent with the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force to ensure Israel's withdrawal from the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, with a specific timetable;
  - (b) Undertaking effective measures to guarantee the safety and security and legal and human rights of the Palestinians in the occupied territories pending the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem;
  - (c) subjecting those territories, following the withdrawal of Israel, to a short transitional period, under the supervision of the United Nations, during which period the Palestinian people would exercise its right to self-determination;
  - (d) Facilitating the implementation of the right to return of the Palestinians to their homes and property;
  - (e) Supervising elections to the constituent assembly of the independent Palestinian State in which all Palestinians shall participate, in exercise of their right to self-determination;
  - (f) Providing, if necessary, temporary peace-keeping forces in order to facilitate the implementation of subparagraphs (a) to (e) above.

### B

Meanwhile the Security Council is also invited to:

- (1) Take urgent action to bring about an immediate and complete cessation of such Israeli policies in the occupied territories and, in particular, the establishment of settlements as have been determined by the Security Council to have no legal validity and as a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East;
- (2) Consider urgently the reports of the Commission established under its resolution 446 (1979) of 22 March 1979, which examined the situation concerning settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and to reactivate the above-mentioned Commission;
- (3) Initiate action to terminate Israel's exploitative policies which go against the indigenous economic development of the occupied territories, and to compel Israel to lift its restrictions on water use and well-drilling by Palestinian farmers as well as its diversion of West Bank water resources into the Israeli water grid systems;
- (4) Keep under its constant attention the actions committed by Israel against the Palestinian people in violation of the stipulations provided for in relevant General Assembly resolutions, in particular the stipulations of resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947 guaranteeing to all persons equal and non-discriminatory rights and freedoms;
- (5) Consider, in the event of Israel's persistent non-compliance with the relevant United Nations resolutions which embody the will of the international community, appropriate measures in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to ensure Israel's compliance with these resolutions.

### C

(1) Taking into account the recommendations of the five regional preparatory meetings of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine 9/ and United Nations resolutions concerning economic and social assistance to the Palestinian people, the Secretary-General of the United Nations is requested to convene a meeting of the specialized agencies and other organizations associated with the United Nations, as well as representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization and of those countries which are hosts to Palestinian refugees and other potential sources of assistance to develop a co-ordinated programme of economic and social assistance to the Palestinian people and to ensure its implementation.

(2) The meeting should also look into the most effective inter-agency machinery to co-ordinate and sustain and intensify United Nations assistance to the Palestinian people.

### D

The dissemination of accurate and comprehensive information world-wide and the role of non-governmental organizations and institutions remain of vital importance in heightening awareness of and support for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent sovereign Palestinian State. To these ends:

(1) The United Nations Department for Public Information, in full co-operation and constant consultations with the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, should:

- (a) Co-ordinate all information activities of the United Nations system on Palestine through the Joint United Nations Information Committee;

(b) Expand publications and audio and visual coverage of the facts and of developments pertaining to the question of Palestine;

(c) Publish newsletters and articles in its respective publications on Israeli violations of human rights of the Arab inhabitants in the occupied territories and organize fact-finding missions for journalists to the area;

(d) Organize regional encounters for journalists;

(e) Disseminate appropriate information on the results of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine;

(2) The relevant organizations of the United Nations system should organize meetings, symposia and seminars on topics within their terms of reference and relating to specific problems of the Palestinian people by establishing closer liaison with non-governmental organizations, the media and other groups interested in the question of Palestine.

### III

The International Conference on the Question of Palestine, convinced of the important role of world-wide public opinion in resolving the question of Palestine, and in the implementation of the Declaration and Programme of Action, urges and encourages:

(1) Intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to increase awareness by the international community of the economic and social burdens borne by the Palestinian people as a result of the continued Israeli occupation and its negative effects on the economic development of the West Asian reunion as a whole;

(2) Non-governmental organizations and professional and popular associations to intensify their efforts to support the rights of the Palestinian people in every possible way;

(3) Organizations such as those of women, teachers, workers, youths and students to undertake exchanges and other programmes of joint action with their Palestinian counterparts;

(4) Women's associations, in particular, to investigate the conditions of Palestinian women and children in all occupied territories;

(5) The media and other institutions to disseminate relevant information to increase public awareness and understanding of the question of Palestine;

(6) Institutions of higher education to promote the study of the question of Palestine in all its aspects;

(7) Various jurists associations to establish special investigative commissions to determine the violations by Israel of the Palestinians legal rights and to disseminate their findings accordingly;

(8) Jurists to initiate with their Palestinian counterparts consultations, research and investigations on the juridical aspects of problems affecting the southern African and Palestinian struggles, in particular the detention of political prisoners and the denial of prisoner-of-war status to detained members of the national liberation movements of southern Africa and Palestine;

(9) Parliamentarians, political parties, trade unions, organizations for solidarity and intellectuals, particularly in Western Europe and North America, to join their counterparts in other parts of the world in giving their support, where it has not been done, to an initiative which would express the desire of the international community to see the Palestinian people at last living in their own independent homeland in peace, freedom and dignity.

#### C. Resolution on the credentials of representatives to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine

The International Conference on the Question of Palestine,

Having examined the report of the Credentials Committee,

Approves the report of the Credentials Committee.

#### Notes

1/ General Assembly resolution 217 A (III).

2/ United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 75, No. 972, p. 135.

3/ Ibid., No. 973, p. 187.

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

5/ See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1983, Supplement No. 9 (E/1983/20)

6/ A/C.5/38/4, para. 8 (c).

7/ Recommendation 146 (VI) of 2 July 1983 of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

8/ Recommendation 19 of the Latin American Regional Preparatory Meetings, Managua, Nicaragua, 12-15 April 1983 (A/CONF.114/2).

9/ African region, A/CONF.114/1; Latin American region, A/CONF.114/2; Western Asian region, A/CONF.114/3; Asian region, A/CONF.114/4; European region, A/CONF.114/5.

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### Part Two

#### II. ORIGINS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE

1. The General Assembly, at its thirty-sixth session, decided in resolution 36/120 C of 10 December 1981 to convene, under the auspices of the United Nations, an International Conference on the Question of Palestine not later than 1984, in response to and on the basis of General Assembly resolution ES-7/2 adopted at its seventh emergency special session.

2. As a result, the General Assembly, in resolution 36/120 C, authorized the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to act as the Preparatory Committee for the Conference and to take all the necessary steps for its organization it also invited all appropriate United Nations bodies, the specialized agencies and other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to co-operate with the Committee in the implementation of that resolution. The Secretary-General was requested to appoint a Secretary-General of the Conference and to provide all necessary assistance to the Committee in the organization of the Conference.

3. In March 1982, the Secretary-General appointed as Secretary-General of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, Mrs. Lucille Mair, who then took office on 1 May 1982.

4. In the course of its deliberations, the Preparatory Committee, taking into account the grave political and military situation in Lebanon, reviewed the question of the date of the Conference. The General Assembly, at its resumed seventh emergency special session, decided in resolution ES-7/7 of 19 August 1982 to convene the International Conference on the question of Palestine at the headquarters of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, in Paris, from 16 to 27 August 1983.

5. The General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to ensure the successful holding of the Conference and to carry out the necessary preparations for, and follow-up activities to, the Conference. It called upon all States to co-operate with the Preparatory Committee for the Conference and invited them to establish national focal points for effective co-ordination of preparations at the national level.

6. In its report to the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, the Preparatory Committee made detailed recommendations 1/ to the Assembly concerning the preparatory activities for the Conference, its objectives, documentation, draft provisional agenda, draft provisional rules of procedure, participation in the Conference and organization of the future work of the Preparatory Committee. Those recommendations were endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 37/86 C of 10 December 1982.

7. In the same resolution, the General Assembly reiterated the responsibility of the United Nations to strive for a lasting peace in

the Middle East through a just solution of the problem of Palestine and called upon all Member States to contribute to the implementation of a just solution and to participate in the Conference and the regional preparatory meetings preceding it.

8. The General Assembly also called upon all organizations of the United Nations system to continue to extend their fullest support to the Conference and its preparations, and urged all Member States to promote heightened awareness of the importance of the Conference and to intensify preparations at the national, subregional and regional levels in order to ensure its success.

9. Following consultations between the Secretary-General of the Conference, the Preparatory Committee and other interested parties, the Preparatory Committee decided on 20 June 1983 that the Conference would be held at the United Nations Office at Geneva, from 29 August to 7 September 1983.

10. Pursuant to the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee, endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 37/86 C, five regional preparatory meetings were organized, with a theme approved by the Preparatory Committee, as follows:

African Regional Preparatory Meeting, held at Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, from 29 March to 1 April 1983 on the political and juridical aspects of the question of Palestine

Latin American Regional Preparatory Meeting, held at Managua, Nicaragua, from 12 to 15 April 1983 on Palestine and international law

Western Asian Regional Preparatory Meeting, held at Sharjah, United Arab Emirates, 25 to 29 April 1983 on the economic, civic, social and cultural conditions of Palestinians and the status of the Holy City of Jerusalem

Asian Regional Preparatory Meeting, held at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 3 to 7 May 1983 on the question of Palestine and world politics

European Regional Preparatory Meeting, held at Geneva from 4 to 8 July 1983 on the United Nations role and the future of Palestine.

11. The reports of the five regional preparatory meetings, including specific recommendations, were before the International Conference on the Question of Palestine as document A/CONF.114/1 to 5, after having been noted previously by the Preparatory Committee.

12. In accordance with the provisions of resolution 37/86 C of 10 December 1982, the Secretary-General of the Conference invited the specialized agencies and United Nations offices and programmes to co-operate in the preparations for the Conference. Contributions were invited in the form of documentation, participation in the regional preparatory meetings and in the Conference itself. Two *ad hoc* inter-agency meetings were held on 19 and 20 January 1983, and on 30 and 31 May 1983, to discuss the modalities of co-operation for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine on the part of the United Nations agencies, programmes and offices.

### III. ATTENDANCE AND ORGANIZATION OF WORK

#### A. Date and place of the Conference

13. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine was held at the United Nations Office at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983, in conformity with General Assembly resolutions 36/120 C of 10 December 1981, ES-7/7 of 19 August 1982 and 37/86 C of 10 December 1982, and with the subsequent recommendations of the Preparatory Committee. 2/ During that period the Conference held 14 Plenary meetings.

#### B. Pre-Conference consultations

14. Pre-Conference consultations, open to all States invited to participate in the Conference and to the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative of the people most directly concerned, were held at the United Nations Office at Geneva on 29 August 1983 to consider a number of procedural and organizational matters. The pre-Conference consultations were conducted under the chairmanship of Massamba Sarré (Senegal), Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference.

#### C. Attendance

15. The following 117 States were represented at the Conferences:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, the Comoros, the Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, the Gambia, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, the Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, the Republic of Korea, Romania, Rwanda, San Marino, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, the Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Arab Emirates, the United Republic of Cameroon, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Namibia, represented by the United Nations Council for Namibia, participated in the Conference in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

16. The Palestine Liberation Organization participated in the Conference as the representative of the party most directly concerned. The Conference decided that, in the spirit of General Assembly resolutions 3210 (XXIX) and 3375 (XXX) of 14 October 1974 and 10 November 1975 respectively, the delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization should be placed among the full participants in the Conference.

17. The following 20 States were represented at the Conference by observers: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Guatemala, the Holy See, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

18. The following units of the United Nations Secretariat were represented: office of the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation, United Nations Office at Geneva, Office of the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Centre for Human Rights, Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Centre against Apartheid, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, Economic Commission for Western Asia (ECWA), United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), United Nations Industrial Organization (UNIDO) and United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP).

19. The following United Nations bodies and programmes were also represented: United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator (UNDRO), United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) and United Nations Relief Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) and World Food Programme (WFP).

20. The following United Nations committees and commissions were represented: Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, Special Committee against apartheid, Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories and Commission on Human Rights.

21. Representatives of the following specialized agencies and related organizations participated in the work of the Conference: International Labour Organization (ILO), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), World Health Organization (WHO), Universal Postal Union (UPU), International Telecommunication Union (ITU), World Meteorological Organization (WMO), World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) and International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

22. The following national liberation movements were represented at the Conferences African National Congress (South Africa), Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

23. The following intergovernmental organizations were represented by observers: African Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP), Commission of the European Communities, Commonwealth Secretariat, Council of Europe, Intergovernmental Committee for Migration (ICM), League of Arab States, Organization of African Unity (OAU) and Organization of the Islamic Conference.

24. The following eminent persons were present on the invitation of the Preparatory Committees Mr. Roeslan Abdulgani (Indonesia), Mr. Uri Avnery (Israel), Mr. Elmer Berger (United States of America), Luis Echeverría (Mexico), Medoune Fall (Senegal), Cecile Goldet (France), P. N. Bakkar (India), Felicia Langer (Israel), Sean McBride (Ireland), Lord Christopher-Paget Mayhew (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland), Paul J. McCloskey (United States of America), Mattityahu Peled (Israel), Yevgeniy Primakov (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), Edward Said (United States of America), Dr. Amal Shamma (Lebanon), Tawfiq Toubi (Israel).

25. The following 104 non-governmental organizations were represented by observers: Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, All India Women's Conference, American Educational Trust, Arab Inter-parliamentary Union, Association Belgo-Palestinienne, Association des amis de l'université de Bir-Zeit (Switzerland), Association des jeunes avocats (Tunisia), Association de solidarité Franco-Arabe, Association France-Palestine, Association médicale Franco-Palestinienne, Association Suisse-Arabe, Association Suisse-Palestine, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Canada-Arab World Parliamentary Group, Centre Europe Tiers-Monde, Centre international d'information sur les prisonniers disparus et déportés palestiniens/libanais (France), Christian Peace Conference, Comité Catholique contre la faim et pour le développement (France), Comité de l'appel des Juifs contre la guerre au Liban (France), Comité Palestine et Israël Vivront (France), Comité pour la paix au proche-orient (France), Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches, Committee for Defense of Arab Land (Israel), Confederation mondiale du travail, Conference of European Churches, Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Israel), Emergency Committee Against the Invasion of Lebanon (United Kingdom), EURAPIA - European Co-ordinating Committee of Friendship Societies with the Arab World, Federation of Arab-American Organizations, Federation of Arab Scientific Research Councils, Federation of Islamic Associations in the United States and Canada, Finnish-Arab Friendship Society, Friends of the Prisoners in Israel (Israel), Friends World Committee for Consultation, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex (United Kingdom), International Association of Democratic Lawyers, International Catholic Migration Commission, International Commission of Jurists, International Federation of Human Rights, International Jewish Peace Union, International League for the Rights and Liberation of Peoples, International Movement for Fraternal Union Among Races and Peoples, International Movement of Conscientious War Resisters (Israel), International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination - EAFORD, International Organization of Journalists, International Progress Organization, International Union of Students, ISMUN - International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations, Inter-parliamentary Union, Islamic Council of Europe, Israel Council for Israeli Palestinian Peace, Israeli Committee for solidarity with Bir-Zeit University/Committee Against the War in Lebanon, Labour Middle East Council (United Kingdom), League of Red Cross Societies, London Friends of Palestine (United Kingdom), Lutheran World Federation, Middle East Council of Churches, Minority Rights Group, Movement of Democratic Women (Israel), Muslim World League, NAJDA: Women Concerned About the Middle East (United States of America), National Association of Arab Americans, National Council of Churches of Christ (United States of America), National Lawyers Guild (United States of America), November 29th Coalition (United States of America), OXFAM (United Kingdom), The Palestine Front of Norway, Palestinakomitee (Norway), Palestine Human Rights Campaign (United States of America), Palestine Studies Programme, Exeter University (United Kingdom), Parliamentary Association for Euro-Arab Co-operation, Pax Romana, Presbyterian Church (United States of America), Project for Aiding Palestinian Prisoners and Refugees - West Berlin, Rädda Barnen's Riksförbund (Sweden), Rights and Education for all Palestinians (United Kingdom), Servas International, Service Oecuménique d'entraide - CIMADE (France), Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic, Soviet Committee of Solidarity with the Countries of Asia/Africa, Trade Union Friends of Palestine (United Kingdom), Um El-Fahem Cultural Center (Israel), Union des avocats Arabes, Union of Arab Jurists, United Methodist Church, General Board of Global Ministries (United States of America), United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Schools International, United Towns Organization, War-Resisters International, Women Against the Invasion of Lebanon (Israel), Women's International Democratic Federation, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, World Alliance of YMCAs, World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession, World Federation of Democratic Youth, World Federation of Teacher's Unions, World Federation of Trade Unions, World Federation of United Nations Associations, World Muslim Congress, World Peace Council, World Student Christian Federation, World University Service and, World Young Women's Christian Association.

#### D. Opening of the Conference and election of its President

26. The Conference was opened by Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Secretary-General of the United Nations. He observed that the decision of the General Assembly to convene the International Conference underscored the importance attached by the international community to the question of Palestine and to the urgent need to find a just solution to that problem, based on the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights.

27. All members of the international community shared a clear obligation to resolve the central problem of the Palestinian people which had engaged the attention of the United Nations for almost four decades. Today, the difficulties of arriving at a solution had become more complex than they were in 1947.

28. Nevertheless, since 1950, humanitarian assistance and relief to the Palestinian refugees had at least been provided through the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). Regrettably, UNRWA was beset by increasing financial difficulties. He hoped that all Governments would consider making additional voluntary contributions to UNRWA.

29. The continued efforts of the United Nations had also produced a consensus on the fundamental elements required for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem. In addition, peace initiatives proposed over the past year contained positive aspects, and the fact that disagreement persisted should not prevent a dialogue.

30. The Secretary-General stressed that the United Nations had a constructive and crucial role to play in the peace-making and peace-keeping process, and he reaffirmed his willingness to do everything in his power to advance that process. This Conference was the latest step in the search for a solution to the question of Palestine. It was his hope that it would contribute significantly to the attainment of a satisfactory solution.

31. Massamba Sarre, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, outlined the efforts of the United Nations which had led to the establishment of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. That had resulted in recommendations of the Committee which had been endorsed by the General Assembly repeatedly, and by an ever-increasing majority which now approached near-unanimity.

32. The role of the United Nations was vital in the search for a solution to the problems of the Middle East. The Committee felt the need to ensure that objective information on the question of Palestine was widely disseminated end to create a climate for a just, durable and comprehensive solution to the problem. Non-governmental organizations had a vital contribution to make in the search

for justice.

33. The Committee stressed the importance of the time factor. The fact that the problem had not been solved for many years only increased the sense of urgency. The Committee hoped that the Conference would urge speedy action on the implementation of the Committee's recommendations. Israel should heed the Conference's appeal and ensure justice for the Palestinian people.

34. Abdul G. Koroma, 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, stated that the tenets that governed the work of his Committee proclaimed that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constituted a denial of fundamental human rights, was contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, and was an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation. Furthermore, any attempt aimed at partial or total destruction of the national unity and integrity of a country was incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

35. It was within that context that his Committee viewed with deep concern the plight of the Palestinian people. The time had come 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 on the question of Palestine. Above all, Israel must be made to comply fully with General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947. Leading to the establishment of an independent Palestinian State.

36. Yasser Aghed Rabbo, member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, conveyed an address to the Conference from Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

37. In that statement, Mr. Arafat emphasized the important role played by the United Nations in supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people for the attainment of its rights to self-determination, independence and statehood. The Palestinian people had remained steadfast in the face of Israeli aggression which had culminated in the Sabra and Shatila massacres. He asked whether the international community was to remain paralyzed and unable to stop Israel's aggression merely because of the United States' support for Israel.

38. He called upon the States Members of the United Nations to restore the Organization's credibility by finding ways and means of implementing resolutions. He pointed out that the Camp David accords, the Israeli-Lebanese agreement and the Reagan plan had failed to provide the basis for a solution of the question of Palestine. He reminded the Conference that great wars had occurred in the course of the present century because the international community had failed to assume its responsibility in resolving their root causes.

39. P. V. Narasimha Rao, Minister of External affairs of India, on behalf of his Government and also as current Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, read out a message from the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

40. He then described the plight of the Palestinian people who had been driven out of their lands, where Israel now pursued its policy of settlements. Recent developments had introduced an even more complex and dangerous factor Israel's invasion of Lebanon and its continued presence there further destabilized an already fragile environment. Ensuring peace in the region was a matter of global concern. The non-aligned world was firmly committed to the pursuit of peace in an atmosphere of co-operation and coexistence. Regrettably, the situation in the Middle East was developing contrary to the commitments of the non-aligned countries.

41. The question of Palestine had been a touchstone for the application of principle cherished by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries from its beginning. The Movement had inspired United Nations resolutions that had been adopted. The Conference should mobilize world public opinion, calling out forcefully for peace derived from the application of basic principles of equity and justice.

42. Habib Chatty, Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, recalled that the issue under discussion was the very subject that had provided the basis for the establishment of his organization, which considered the problem of Palestine to be the overriding issue of the Muslim world. He emphasized that the Middle East could not attain peace and stability unless the Palestinian problem was resolved and the situation in that vital part of the world had ceased to present a threat to world peace. States Members of the United Nations were today required to balance their words with their deeds and their principles with such obligations as derived from their approval of international resolutions.

43. His organization was prepared for peace, the Arab peace plan could still serve as a basis for a peaceful solution to the question of Palestine. 3/

44. In his statement, Chedli Klibi, Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, expressed appreciation for the preliminary studies prepared for the Conference.

45. He recalled that it was the Summit Meeting of the Arab heads of State held in 1974 at Rabat that had first acknowledged the initial legitimacy of Palestinian rights and recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. He stressed that the Arab States attached great importance to a just and comprehensive solution to the Palestinian problem and the conflict in the Middle East.

46. The continued tensions in the region threatened not only regional peace and security, but that of the whole world. For that reason, the Arab States considered that the international community must become aware of the gravity of the situation in the region and adopt adequate practical measures for the recovery of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, as well as for the cessation of Israeli occupation of all Arab territories. He called upon the international community to show, through concrete actions, its fundamental faith in the right of all peoples to determine their own destiny.

47. At the conclusion of the opening statements, the Conference took up item 3 of its provisional agenda and elected, by acclamation, Moustapha Niassé, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Senegal, as President of the Conference.

48. In his opening statement, the President underlined the importance of the United Nations for the destiny of the Palestinian people and pointed out that the problem of Palestine persisted because one of the parties to the conflict was trying to impose a unilateral solution, which was unfair and unacceptable since it was inconsistent with international law and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

49. He reiterated that a peaceful solution based on United Nations resolutions required Israel's withdrawal from occupied territories, the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the affirmation of the right of all States in the region to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

50. He considered the Arab peace plan adopted at Fez in 1982 3/ to be a positive approach to the solution of the question of Palestine.

#### E. Messages received by the Conference

51. Messages were received by the Conference from the following 14 heads of State or Governments: His Highness Shaikh Issa Bin Sulman Al Khalifa, Emir of the State of Bahrain, His Excellency Lieutenant-General H. M. Ershad, President of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bangladesh; His Excellency Todor Zhivkov, President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, His Excellency Zhao Ziyang, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Gustav Husak, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, His Excellency Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, His Excellency Mengistu Haile-Mariam, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council and of COPWE, Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Army of Socialist Ethiopia and current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, Her Excellency Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, His Excellency Jambyn Satmunkh, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, His Excellency Henryk Jablonski, Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic; the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, His Excellency Captain Thomas Sankara, President of the National Revolutionary Council, Head of State of the Republic of the Upper Volta, His Excellency Truong Chinh, President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, and His Excellency Mika Spilak, President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The text of the above messages are reproduced in annex III.



#### F. Adoption of the rules of procedure

52. At its second plenary meeting on 30 August 1983, the Conference decided to endorse the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee contained in paragraphs 9 and 5 respectively of document A/CONF.114/L.2 to the effect that:

- (a) The Conference should consist of the plenary and one main committee;
- (b) A representative of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People should participate ex officio in the General Committee.

53. The Conference then considered and approved the required amendments to the draft rules of procedure (A/CONF.114/12) and adopted as its rules of procedure the amended rules (A/CONF.114/18).

#### G. Election of officers other than the President

54. At its second and third plenary meetings on 30 August, and in accordance with rule 6 of the rules of procedure as adopted (A/CONF.114/18) the Conference elected the following 21 vice-presidents: Algeria, Austria, Bangladesh, Benin, Burundi, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, German Democratic Republic, India, Malaysia, Nicaragua, Palestine Liberation Organization, Sudan, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela and Yugoslavia.

55. The Conference also elected, by acclamation, Victor J. Gauci (Malta) as Rapporteur-General, and Abdullah Kamil (Indonesia) as Chairman of the Main Committee. in accordance with rule 6.

#### H. Appointment of the members of the Credentials Committee

56. In accordance with rule 4 of the rules of procedure, the Conference, at its second plenary meeting on 30 August, appointed a Credentials Committee composed of the following nine States (A/CONF.114/L.2): Barbados, China, Dominican Republic, Nepal, Nigeria, Portugal, Seychelles, Sweden and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

#### I. Adoption of the agenda

57. At its second plenary meeting on 30 August 1983, the Conference adopted the provisional agenda contained in document A/CONF.114/17. The agenda, as adopted, was as follows:

1. Opening of the Conference.
2. Opening addresses.
3. Election of the President.
4. Adoption of the rules of procedure.
5. Election of other officers.
6. Credentials of representatives to the Conferences
  - (a) Appointment of the Credential Committee;
  - (b) Report of the Credentials Committee.
7. Adoption of the agenda.
8. Organization of work.
9. Historical and contemporary review of the situation of the Palestinian people and their inalienable rights.
10. The status of the Holy City of Jerusalem.
11. The, international framework of the question of Palestine and the role of the United Nations.
12. Obstacles to the achievement of Palestinian rights.
13. Recommendations for action for the achievement of Palestinian rights.
14. Adoption of the report and final documents of the conference.

#### J. Organization of work

58. In accordance with rule 43 of its rules of procedure, the Conference agreed that the Conference should consist of the plenary and one main committee. The Conference decided that organizational items 1 to 8 and substantive items 9 to 11 and 14 of the agenda should be allocated to plenary meetings and items 12 and 13 to the Main committee.

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### IV. SUMMARY OF THE GENERAL DEBATE

59. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine devoted 14 plenary meetings to a comprehensive general debate, during which statements were made by representatives of 91 States, the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Council for Namibia, and by 39 other participants and observers at the Conference. Speakers gave detailed analyses of their official positions on the origin and evolution of the question of Palestine and obstacles to and modalities for a solution to that question.

60. At the commencement of the general debate, Lucille Mair, Secretary-General of the Conference, recounted the origins of, and the preparations for the Conference, referring in particular to the five regional preparatory meetings. She outlined the four substantive agenda items, which spanned a wide spectrum of issues, extensively covered both in the basic and supplementary documents provided for the Conference.

61. The attendance at the Conference in such large numbers and at such a high level reflected the hopes of the international community that the Conference would lead to genuine peace and security. In concluding, Mrs. Mair emphasized that, in the face of the most intractable problem of our time, the United Nations community had not lost hope and would not do so in the future.

62. At its eight plenary session, the Conference heard a statement by Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution (see annex II).

63. In his address, he deplored the negative role of the United States in the Security Council and explained the reasons why the Palestine Liberation Organization could not accept the proposal advanced by President Reagan. The Palestine National Council accepted the Arab peace plan adopted by the twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez on 9 September 1982 (A/37/696-S/15510, annex) and supported the peace initiative of the Soviet Union.

64. Mr. Arafat stressed that the people of Palestine rejected war and were fighting for justice. He expressed the hope that the Conference could advance the search for practical means to secure the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

65. In that regard, the Palestine Liberation Organization wished to put forward the following considerations.

- (a) The Middle East region should remain secure from monopolization by any one Power in the world;
- (b) Regaining of the rights of the Palestinian people was a legitimate international responsibility;
- (c) The Fez Summit resolutions provided the minimum base for the attainment of justice;
- (d) The only basis for peace in the region was the exercise of the Palestinian people's right to return, self-determination and national independence;
- (e) The continuation of Israeli military aggression wish United States support destroyed any prospects for peace;
- (f) United States Israeli policies which called for capitulation were rejected by the Palestine Liberation Organization;
- (g) The Palestine Liberation Organization was ready to co-operate with the United Nations system within the framework of its resolutions relating to the question of Palestine. The Palestine Liberation Organization called for an International Conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, in which the two major Powers would participate with all concerned parties in accordance with relevant United Nations resolutions.

66. Mr. Arafat conveyed his greetings to democratic Jewish forces in and outside Israel that had rejected Israel's policies against the Palestinian people.

67. He stressed that all efforts to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization and to liquidate its infrastructure had failed. The

Organization was determined to continue the struggle until victory.

68. Throughout the debate, stress was placed on the importance, significance and timeliness of the Conference as well as on the fundamental nature of the issue the inalienable right of a people, the Palestinian people to self-determination. It was hoped that the attainment of the twin objectives of the Conference would help to restore a climate for a just, durable and comprehensive solution to the problem of Palestine not only by increasing awareness of the facts concerning the problem, but also by pinpointing the obstacles on the path to peace.

69. It was vital to convince all important sectors of opinion of the need to accept the relevant principles and for concerted international action to resolve the question of Palestine, as the fundamental key to a solution for the wider Arab-Israeli conflict. The obligation to work for a solution, founded on international law and justice, fell on all nations and people.

70. The recent tragic events in the Lebanon gave one more clear indication of the gravity and urgency of the issue.

71. The intensive efforts of the United Nations to achieve a just solution to the problem, dating back to 1947, were reviewed. It was recalled that since that time, numerous resolutions had been adopted which could well be the basis of a just and durable solution. General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947 had envisaged the creation of an Arab State as well as a Jewish State, and had contained concrete proposals on the status of the Holy City of Jerusalem.

72. That resolution, together with several others, defined the nature and scope of the question in a way that reflected the verdict of the international community towards the problem, and also drew the basic guidelines for achieving an acceptable solution.

73. It was emphatically stressed that the United Nations had a paramount role to play in the search for a solution to the problem of Palestine. The Conference in itself, was one of the steps recommended by the Organization to find a solution.

74. In particular, the Security Council should assume its primary responsibility in maintaining international peace and security. It was therefore hoped that the Conference would help to convince the Security Council to take positive action on that important question so as to break the deadlock which, until now, had stalemated the efforts of the international community. The Conference would have advanced its goal if it could give a major impetus to that effort, since the Security Council remained a unique forum in which all parties to the conflict could meet and where all interested parties could make their contribution.

75. Among the principles now generally endorsed by the international community as being fundamental for a solution were the following:

(a) The question of Palestine was at the heart of the Middle East problem and a just solution must take into account the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people;

(b) The realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homes, and of their right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty in their own State;

(c) The participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people on an equal footing with other parties in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 and 3375 (XXX) of 10 November 1975 was essential in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East which are held under the auspices of the United Nations;

(d) The acquisition of territory by force was inadmissible and, consequently, it was Israel's obligation to withdraw completely and speedily from territories so occupied.

76. It was on those principles that the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People had based its recommendations, contained in the annex to General Assembly resolution 35/169 of 15 December 1980, which had been repeatedly endorsed by the Assembly, each year with an increased majority. Those recommendations envisaged an expanded and more influential role by the United Nations and, in particular, by the Security Council, to promote action towards a just solution, mindful of all the powers vested in the Security Council by the Charter of the United Nations. Unfortunately, the Committee's recommendations had not been endorsed by the Security Council because the required unanimity amongst its permanent members had not yet been attained.

77. In addition, in violation of United Nations resolutions and the Charter, Israel had, in 1967 and subsequently, occupied Arab territories from which it refused to withdraw and which it was in the process of annexing. Furthermore, it had declared the Holy City of Jerusalem as its eternal capital in defiance of international opinion as reflected in Security Council resolutions. There was general agreement on the rejection of all legislative and administrative measures taken by Israel to change the legal and demographic status of Jerusalem.

78. Israel's violations of United Nations resolutions, its persistent policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories and its continued violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949 <sup>4</sup> constituted serious obstacles to peace. The policy of settlements, besides violating the political rights of the Arab inhabitants in the occupied territories, also created increasing economic and social hardship, thus giving rise to serious preoccupations of a humanitarian nature. The view was expressed that the Conference should address itself to the issue of settlements on a priority basis.

79. Particular concern was also expressed at the acts of desecration and vandalism to which the Muslim Holy Places in the occupied territories had been repeatedly subjected. The original statue of Jerusalem should be restored so that it became, once again, a venerated centre of confluence of the monotheistic religions of Islam, Christianity and Judaism. Islamic States jointly believed that no agreement or understanding which postulated the continuance of Israeli occupation of the, Holy City or Jerusalem or which entailed its transfer to any non-Arab sovereignty or made it the subject of bargaining would be acceptable to them.

80. Many speakers pointed out that Israel's intransigence was made possible by the political, economic and military support it received from the United States. That support had encouraged Israel to continue its illegal occupation of Arab territories and to reject proposals aimed at a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict.

81. A parallel was drawn between Israel and South Africa which, by pursuing its policy of apartheid, was also defying the world community. Israel's collaboration with the regime in South Africa was intensifying, not only in economic and commercial relations, but also in political, military and nuclear fields, to the extent that Israel had become one of the main suppliers of arms to South Africa.

82. Frequent reference was made to the most recent initiatives proposed for resolving the problem of Palestine, and to the convergence of international opinion on a conceptual approach to the resolution of the problem. The proposals contained in the Final Declaration of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference (A/37/696-S/15510, annex), were seen as a positive contribution towards a just and honourable peace. The United States plan for a settlement, on the other hand, was described as falling short of presenting a solution since it by passed some crucial questions pertaining to the rights of the Palestinian people.

83. It was stated that a solution was possible if all parties to the conflict, including Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, undertook to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of each other through peaceful negotiations. International guarantees for a settlement should be adopted, with the role of the guarantor being assumed, for example, by the permanent members of the Security Council or by the Security Council as a whole. The Palestine Liberation Organization, as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine, should participate on an equal footing with the other parties from the very beginning of the negotiations.

84. An international peace conference on the Middle East, in which all parties and States concerned, including the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as well as the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, should participate, was proposed as being a positive step towards solving the problem of Palestine.

85. A suggestion was made that exploratory talks between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel should be initiated without any pre-conditions, which, it was hoped, would, in spite of existing psychological and political obstacles, generate

confidence and present the outlines of possible negotiated solution.

86. It was proposed that the year 1984 should be declared the Year of Palestine, and every effort be made to initiate concerted international action to seek a solution to the question of Palestine.

87. The urgency of finding a just-solution to the Problem of Palestine was repeatedly stressed. The fact that it had remained unresolved for so many years only added to the urgency of resolving it. It was essential to act quickly since each day the international community was made increasingly conscious that time was running out.

88. During the general debate, the Conference heard statements by the following Participants:

Units of the United Nations Secretariat:

Economic Commission for Western Asia

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

United Nations bodies and programmes:

United Nations Development Programme

World Food Programme

United Nations committees and commissions:

Commission on Human Rights

Special Committee against Apartheid

Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories

Specialized agencies:

International Labour Organization

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

World Health Organization

National liberation movements:

African National Congress

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

South West Africa People's Organization

Intergovernmental organizations:

Council of Europe

Organization of African Unity

89. Addresses were given by the following eminent persons invited to the Conference R. Abdulgani, Uri Avnery, L. Echeverria, C. Goldet, P. N. Hakear, F. Langer, Lord Mayhew, Sean McBride, Paul McCloskey, M. Peled, Y. Primakov, E. Said, A. Shamma, Tawfiq Toubi.

90. The following non-governmental organizations addressed the plenary: Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, Arab Inter-parliamentary Union, Federation of Islamic Associations in the United States of America and Canada, Friends of the Prisoners in Israel, International Centre for Information on Palestine and Lebanese Prisoners, International League for the Rights and Liberation of Peoples, International Progress Organization, International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations, Islamic Council of Europe, Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace Movement of Democratic Women in Israel, Parliamentary Association for Euro-Arab Cooperation, Swiss-Palestine Association, The Bertrand Russell Foundation/Association France-Palestine, Um El-Fahem Cultural Centre, Union of Arab Jurists, Women's International Democratic Federation, World Federation of Democratic Youth, World Federation of Trade Unions, World Federation of United Nations Associations, World Muslim Congress and World Peace Council.

#### V. REPORTS OF THE SUBSIDIARY BODIES AND ACTION TAKEN BY THE CONFERENCE

##### A. Report of the Main Committee

91. At its 1st meeting, held on 30 August 1983, the Main Committee, under the Chairmanship of Abdullah Kamil (Indonesia) elected Vilos Vejvoda (Czechoslovakia), Alfonso de la Serna (Spain) and O. Musuka (Zambia) as vice-chairmen, and Alfonso Crespo (Bolivia) as Rapporteur.

92. At the same meeting, the main Committee decided to consider Jointly the two- agenda items allocated to it by the Conference(see para. 58 above): agenda item 12. "Obstacles to the achievement of Palestinian rights" and agenda item 13, "Recommendations for action for the achievement of Palestinian rights". The Committee had before it the following basic documents:

Economic activity and access to national resources: legal restriction on access to land and wafer in Israel (A/CONF.114/6)

Comparative study of land, labour and citizenship control in Israel and South Africa (A/CONF.114/8)

Report of the African Regional Preparatory Meeting (A/CONF.114/1)

Report of the Latin American Regional Preparatory Meeting (A/CONF.114/2)

Report of the West Asian Regional Preparatory Meeting (A/CONF.114/3)

Report of the Asian Regional Preparatory Meeting (A/CONF.114/4)

Report of the European Regional Preparatory Meeting (A/CONF.114/5)

Draft Declaration, Working Paper (A/CONF.114/L.3)

Draft Programme of Action (A/CONF/114/L.4)

93. The Main Committee decided to establish a drafting group for the elaboration of the draft Declaration and Programme of Action of the Conference, composed of representatives of members of the General Committee of the Conference and the Bureau of the Main Committee. The Drafting Group was open to all governmental and intergovernmental participants at the Conference. The Drafting Group consisted of Algeria, Austria, Bangladesh, Benin, Bolivia, Burundi, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, the German Democratic Republic, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Malts, Nicaragua, the Palestine Liberation Organization, Senegal, Spain, the Sudan, Turkey, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the United Arab Emirates, the United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia and a representative of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. India was elected Chairman of the Drafting Group. A small Drafting Group called Friends of the Chair was also established. It consisted of representatives of Austria, Cuba, Finland, the German Democratic Republic, Madagascar, the Palatine Liberation Organization, Senegal, Syria, Sweden and Turkey.

94. In considering agenda items 12 and 13, namely "Obstacles to the achievement of Palestinian rights" and "Recommendations for action for the achievement of Palestinian rights", representatives agreed that Palestinian rights, as defined by General Assembly resolutions, should be identified and reiterated. Furthermore, the objectives of the Conference should be reaffirmed so as to identify the proper framework within which a solution to the problem could be found.

95. Some representatives stated that Israel's Policy and its defiance of United Nations resolutions were basic factors which resulted in the denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Reference was made to Israeli policies and practices in the occupied

Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and in particular the establishment and expansion of colonial settlements, as well as the annexation of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. A further obstacle was Israel's refusal to recognize the Palestinian people and its representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

96. Israel's intransigence was also attributed to the "strategic alliance" between the United States and Israel and to the military, economic and political support given to it by the United States, which encouraged it to reject a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict. Several representatives stressed that such support should be terminated immediately, in accordance with relevant resolutions of the United Nations. It was suggested that the question of Palestine should be viewed in its proper global context. The view was expressed that the assistance given by the United States to Israel could be explained by the existence of large oil reserves in the region.

97. Participants agreed that the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force should be respected and a large majority of participants also agreed that the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, be implemented as a prerequisite for a solution to the question.

98. Some representatives stated that the Camp David accords, the Reagan plan and the Israeli-Lebanese agreement, in their opinion, fell short of providing for a just solution to the question of Palestine.

99. It was pointed out that Israel had never put forth a peaceful proposal that could gain acceptance by Arab States and the Palestinian people.

100. It was noted that the Palestine Liberation Organization had proposed or supported various peaceful proposals, including the idea of peaceful co-existence in a democratic secular State, the idea of an independent Palestinian State in Palestine, and reliance on international law for a solution to the problem predicated on the relevant General Assembly resolutions, particularly resolutions 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, 194 (III) of 11 December 1948 and 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974. It had also endorsed the joint United States-Soviet communiqué of 1 October 1977, the French-Egyptian initiative (Egypt and France Security Council draft resolution of 28 July 1982 (see document S/15317), the Breshnev plan and the Arab peace plan adopted at Fez, Morocco, in September 1982 (A/37/696-S/11510, annex).

101. Participants also reaffirmed that the United Nations should serve as the vehicle for the attainment of a peaceful solution and endorsed the proposal for an international peace conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations, in which all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, as well as the United States and the Soviet Union, should participate.

102. Several participants stressed the need to achieve a peaceful solution through negotiations. In that regard mention was made of United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). On the other hand, the view was expressed that Israeli policies in the occupied territories had rendered those resolutions incapable of implementation.

103. Some participants stressed that it was important that the final recommendations of the Conference should reflect views that could be accepted by all the participants.

104. The Main Committee heard statements by Luis Echeverría, former President of Mexico and at present the Director of the Centre for Economic and Social Research for the Third World and by Elmer Berger in their capacities as eminent persons invited to the Conference. It also heard statements by the following non-governmental organizations: Parliamentary Association for Euro-Arab Co-operation, London Friends of Palestine, International Organization for Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Federation of Islamic Associations in the United States and Canada, International Union of Students, Israeli Committee for Solidarity with Bir-Zeit University/Committee Against the War in Lebanon, Association des jeunes avocats, War Resisters International, Labour Middle East Council and The Palestine Front of Norway.

105. At its 5th meeting, held on 7 September 1983, the Chairman of the Drafting Group informed the Main Committee of the results of its work. She presented to the Main Committee a draft declaration (document A/CONF.114/L.3/Rev.1) and a draft programme of action (A/CONF.114/L.4/Rev.2 and Add.1) which had been adopted by the Drafting Group by acclamation.

106. At the same meeting the Main Committee adopted the Draft Declaration and the Draft Programme of Action by acclamation.

107. After consideration, the Main Committee adopted its report (document 4/CONF.114/38/Rev.1) by acclamation.

#### Action taken by the Conference

108. At its 14th plenary meeting on 7 September 1983, the Conference considered the report of the Main Committee (A/CONF.114/38/Rev.1 and Corr.1, A/CONF.114/L.3/Rev.1 and L.4/Rev.2 and Add.1), which was introduced by the Chairman of the Committee, Abdullah Kamil (Indonesia).

109. The Conference adopted by acclamation the draft Declaration (to be known as the Geneva Declaration on Palestine) and the draft Programme of Action (to be known as the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights) recommended by the Main Committee (A/CONF.114/L.3/Rev.1 and L.4/Rev.2 and Add.1). 5/ For the texts, see part one, chap. I, sects. A and B.

#### B. Report of the Credentials Committee

110. At its 2nd plenary meeting on 30 August 1983, the Conference, in accordance with rule 4 of its rules of procedure (A/CONF.114/18), appointed a Credentials Committee composed of the following States: Barbados, China, Dominican Republic, Nepal, Nigeria, Portugal, Seychelles, Sweden and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

111. The Credentials Committee held one meeting on 2 September 1983.

112. Miss Lolita Applewhaite (Barbados) was unanimously elected Presiding Officer.

113. The Committee had before it a memorandum by the Secretary-General of the Conference, dated 1 September 1983, on the statue of credentials of representatives to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine

(A/CONF.114/CC/WP.1). Additional information on credentials and related communications received by the Secretary-General of the Conference after the memorandum was prepared was provided to the Committee by the Secretary of the Committee. On the basis of the information made available to it, the Committee noted that as at 2 September 1983:

(a) Formal credentials issued by the Head of State or Government or by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, as provided for in rule 3 of the rules of procedure of the Conference had been submitted by the following 63 States participating in the Conference: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Comoros, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Greece, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Oman, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, San Marino, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia;

(b) Credentials issued by the Head of State or Government or by the Minister for Foreign Affairs had been communicated to the Secretary-General of the Conference in the form of a cable by the following 10 States participating in the Conference: Barbados, Grenada, Guyana, Lebanon, Papua New Guinea, Rwanda, Suriname, Thailand, Zambia, Zimbabwe;

(c) The designation of their representatives had been communicated to the Secretary-General of the Conference by means of a cable or a note verbale from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs concerned by the following eight States participating in the Conference:

Congo, Djibouti, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Malta, Mozambique, Niger, Trinidad and Tobago;

(d) The designation of their representatives had been communicated to the Secretary-General of the Conference by means of a letter, note verbale or cable from their respective Permanent Representative or Permanent Mission in New York or Geneva by the following 36-States participating in the Conference:

Benin, Bolivia, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Iran (Islamic Republic of) Coast, Liberia, Mauritania, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Qatar, Romania, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Republic Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Zaire. (e) In respect of Namibia, represented by the United Nations Council for Namibia, the designation of its representative had been communicated to the Secretary-General of the Conference by a note verbale from the Secretary of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

114. Documents A/CONF.114/29, 31, 33 and 35 containing communications relevant to the work of the Credentials Committee, addressed to the President of the Conference by a number of delegations, were circulated to members of the Committee.

115. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics objected to the acceptance of the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, stating that in the view of the Soviet delegation those credentials were null and void. (The position of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is fully reflected in a communication addressed to the President of the Conference by 20 delegations and circulated as document (A/CONF.114/29).

116. The representative of China objected to the statement by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stating that, in the view of the Chinese delegation, the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea were valid. (The position of the Chinese delegation is fully reflected in a communication addressed to the President of the Conference and circulated as document (A/CONF.114/31).

117. With regard to the participation of Afghanistan in the Conference, the representative of China reiterated the position of his country as reflected in the report of the Credentials Committee of the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session (A/37/543).

118. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics objected to the statement made by the representative of China concerning Afghanistan. He reiterated the position of his country in that regard as reflected in the report of the Credentials Committee of the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session (A/37/543).

119. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with regard to the delegation of Chile at the Conference, reiterated the position of his country as reflected in the same report of the Credentials Committee of the General Assembly.

120. The Presiding Officer then proposed that, taking into account the statements made by members of the Committee which would be reflected in the Committee's report, the Committee should adopt the following draft resolution:

The Credentials Committee,

"Having examined the credentials of representatives to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine;

"Taking into account the various statements made by delegations during the debate;

"Accepts the credentials of representatives submitted in accordance rule 3 of the rules of procedure of the Conference;

"Accepts as provisional credentials the other communications received and reported to the Committee, on the understanding that credentials in due form as required under rule 3 of the rules-of procedure would be promptly submitted to the Secretary-General of the Conference by the authorities concerned;

"Recommends to the Conference that it approve the report of the Credentials Committee."

The draft resolution was adopted by the Committee.

121. Subsequently the Presiding Officer proposed that the Committee recommend to the Conference the adoption of a draft resolution (see paragraph 14). The proposal was approved unanimously by the Committee.

122. In the light of the foregoing, the present report was submitted to the Conference.

C. Recommendation of the Credentials Committee

123. The Credentials Committee recommends to the Conference the adoption of the following a draft resolution:

"Credentials of representatives to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine

"The International Conference on the Question of Palestine,

"Having examined the report of the Credentials Committee,

Approves the report of the Credentials Committee."

Action taken by the Conference

124. At its 14th plenary meeting on 7 September 1983, the Conference considered the report of the Credentials Committee (A/CONF.114/37) and adopted the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee (in para. 123 above). For the text of the resolution as adopted, see Part one, chapter I, section C.

VI. ADOPTION OF THE REPORT AND CLOSURE OF THE CONFERENCE

125. At the 14th plenary meeting on 7 September 1983, the Chairman of the Main Committee, Abdullah Kamil (Indonesia) introduced the draft report of the Conference (A/CONF.114/L.5 and Add.1-3) and the report of the Main Committee; (A/CONF.114/38/Rev.1 and Corr.1, A/CONF.114/L.3/Rev.1 and L.4/Rev.2 and Add.1) (For the deliberations of the Main Committee, see chap. V, sect. A.)

126. The Conference adopted by acclamation the draft Declaration (to be known as the Geneva Declaration on Palestine) and the draft Programme of Action (to be known as the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights) recommended by the Main Committee (A/CONF.114/L.3/Rev.1 and L.4/Rev.2 and Add.1) and the draft report (A/CONF.114/L.5 and Add.1-3).

127. The Conference decided that delegations wishing to record their explanations of position on the Declaration and Programme of Action should submit them in writing to the Secretary-General of the Conference not later than 24 September 1983, so that they could be annexed to the present report (see annex V).

128. At the same meeting, the Conference heard concluding addresses by Imre Hollai, President of the General Assembly, M. Dubey, Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations Office at Geneva (on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries), Lucille Mair, Secretary-General of the Conference; Farouk Kaddoumi, Head of Delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and by Moustapha Niassé, President of the Conference. The full texts of the statements are given in annex III.

129. Statements were also made by the representatives of Madagascar (on behalf of the African States), Oman (on behalf of the Asian States), the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (on behalf of the Eastern European States), Spain (on behalf of the Western European and Other States), Cuba (on behalf of the Latin American States), and the Syrian Arab Republic (on behalf of the Arab States).

130. Sean MacBride, an invited eminent person addressed the Conference. Edith Ballantyne, representing the 104 non-governmental organizations that had participated in the Conference, also made a concluding statement (see annex III).

131. Mr. Hollai, in his address, said that two ingredients were needed to arrive at a settlement of the problems of the Middle East:

(a) self-restraint; and (b) the acceptance of the realities of the region. Self-restraint took into account other people's rights and recognized that a solution that favoured only one of the parties carried within itself the source of further tension and consequent breakdown. As to the realities, it was a fact that no major crisis of the modern world could be resolved without the joint agreement of the two major Powers. Only by peaceful means and negotiation which guaranteed the rights and security of all peoples in the region could those problems be solved. The Conference had rightly recognized the role of the United Nations in that process.

132. Speaking on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Mr. Dubey declared that the Geneva Declaration on Palestine and the Plan of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights would be the basis for action by members of the Movement in all forums where the question of Palestine was discussed.

133. In her statement to the closing plenary meeting of the Conference Mrs. Mair expressed, in the name of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the gratitude of the United Nations for the facilities extended to the Conference by the Federal Government of Switzerland and the authorities of the Canton of Geneva.

134. She pointed to the fact that 137 States (117 as full participants), eight intergovernmental organizations and 104 non-governmental organizations had actively participated in the proceedings of the Conference as a major element of success.

135. She indicated that the Geneva Declaration and the Plan of Action reflected and conveyed the conviction that nothing less than full national self-determination in an independent Palestinian State could fulfil the rights of the Palestinian people and secure a just and lasting peace.

136. Mr. Kaddoumi remarked on the large number of participants of ministerial rank who had actively contributed to the Conference, as well as on the broad spectrum of non-governmental organizations that had given it a special international stamp. He said that the Geneva Declaration and the Programme of Action accurately reflected the international position on Palestinian issues, setting forth the unequivocal need to implement the inalienable rights of the Palestinians. An important means to that end would be the convening of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations.

137. The condemnation by the international community of Israel's aggressive policies had become evident during the Conference. Mr. Kaddoumi deplored the fact that the two Powers directly involved had not been present to hear the views expressed and he called upon all Western States to transcend their negative position.

138. Mr. Niassé stated that there was general consensus on the importance and urgency of restoring to the Palestinians their dignity and rights without in any way adversely affecting either the dignity or rights of all peoples living in the region.

139. He underlined the need to devote all efforts, beginning with the thirty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly, to ensure the implementation of the recommendations of the Conference.

#### Notes

1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh session, Supplement No. 49 (A/37/49), para. 32.

2/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-eighth session, Supplement No. 49 (A/38/49).

3/ A/37/696-S/15510, annex.

4/ United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.

5/ Documents A/CONF/114/L.3/Rev.1 and A/CONF.114/L.4/Rev.2 and Add.1 were subsequently combined and issued as A/CONF.114/41 and

Corr.1.

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#### Annex I

##### TEXTS OF STATEMENTS MADE AT THE OPENING MEETING

###### A. Opening of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine by the Secretary-General of the United Nations

1. I declare open the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. The decision by the General Assembly to convene this Conference underscores the importance that the international community attaches to the question of Palestine and to the urgent need of finding a just solution to this problem. It is an issue which evokes strong emotions and is at the centre of the Middle East conflict. The effort to find a solution to this issue remains a primary and urgent concern of the United Nations.

2. As you are aware, the question of Palestine has engaged the attention of the United Nations almost since the inception of the Organization. No other international problem has claimed more of the time and attention of the world Organization. Today, 36 years after the United Nations first addressed this problem, I regret to say that we are no nearer a solution than we were then. Over the intervening years, the difficulties of arriving at a solution have been compounded, and have become more complex than they were in 1947. Most of the Palestinian people now live in exile or under occupation. Their plight was highlighted by the tragic events in Lebanon last year, culminating in the massacre of unarmed men, women and children in the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut. This tragedy brought to our attention in a dramatic way the need to find and find urgently a solution to the question of Palestine.

3. Such a solution must be based on the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights which have been reaffirmed in a number of General Assembly resolutions. The 36-year history of efforts made under the auspices of the United Nations peacefully to resolve the Palestinian question and the Arab-Israeli conflict is familiar to us. The approval of the Partition Plan by the General Assembly in its resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, the conclusion of the General Armistice Agreement of 1949 under the auspices of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine, the unanimous adoption of Security Council resolution 242 of November 1967 and the Jarring Mission, the adoption of Security Council resolution 338 (1973) of October 1973, the convening of the Peace Conference on the Middle East at Geneva in December 1973 and the Disengagement Agreements of 1974 are important milestones in the history of the Middle East. Each of these events could have led, or at least contributed significantly, to a general peace settlement, but failed to do so because one or other of the parties concerned found themselves unable to make the necessary accommodations. Thus, we have come, after 36 years and six wars, to the present extremely dangerous impasse, a situation given tragic dimensions by the plight of the Palestinians. All members of the international community share a clear obligation to resolve the central problem of the legitimate rights and future of the Palestinian people. This task has been further complicated by the growth of Israeli settlements on the West Bank, and by the continuing failure to get down to meaningful negotiations.

4. In the absence of progress towards a settlement, the United Nations has been engaged since 1950, through the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, in providing humanitarian assistance and relief to the Palestine refugees. I believe that UNRWA has a record of achievement of which it can be proud. Today, its programmes for the almost 2 million refugees registered with it consists principally of education and assistance to some 340,000 children, health services concentrating on the needs of mothers and young children and relief services to those in need including those suffering from the aftermath of the war in Lebanon.

5. These are services of a basic nature to which all people are entitled. For the Palestine refugees, however, the continuation of these services is dependent on voluntary contributions from the international community. Regrettably, UNRWA has been beset by increasing financial difficulties which, if not remedied, could oblige the Agency to reduce its services. Such an occurrence would inflict additional suffering on the refugees to an intolerable degree, and may well entail serious consequences for stability in the region. I therefore earnestly hope that all Governments will consider making additional voluntary contributions to UNRWA so as to enable it to continue its relief operation without let-up.

6. But humanitarian relief operations, important though they are only palliatives and cannot substitute for the solution of the basic political problem. The United Nations is deeply committed to the achievement of such a solution covering all aspects of the Middle-East conflict.

7. The continuing and persistent efforts of the Organization have, over the years, produced at least a consensus on the fundamental elements required for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle-East problem. In order to reconcile the aspirations and vital interests of all the parties concerned, such a settlement must meet the following conditions: the withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied territories, respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force, and, finally, a just settlement of the Palestinian problem based on the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including self-determination. In this connection, the question of Jerusalem remains of Primary importance.

8. Over the past year, there have been various peace initiatives on the Middle East question, both within and outside this Organization. The proposals put forward all contain positive aspects. The fact that they also contain elements that are not acceptable to one or the other of the parties involved should not prevent a dialogue. It is therefore imperative that genuinely effective action, with the support of all the parties concerned, be urgently taken with a view to attaining, in a peaceful manner, a just and durable settlement.

9. It is my earnest hope that all the Governments and authorities concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, will now make a new and determined effort to move towards a just and lasting settlement of the Palestinian problem and all other related aspects of the Middle East conflict. It is essential to realize that the path of confrontation, rejection, occupation and war cannot lead to any solution and that the only hope for a viable and mutually acceptable settlement lies with negotiation, recognition and accommodation.

10. The United Nations, I am convinced, has a constructive and crucial role to play in the Peace-making and peace-keeping process. I, for my part, reaffirm my willingness to do everything in my power to advance this process and to promote a climate for negotiation.

11. This Conference, convened at the request of the General Assembly of the United Nations, is the latest step in the many efforts made in the search for a solution of the question of Palestine. It is the General Assembly's hope that this Conference will help to create better awareness of the issues involved, and promote governmental and non-governmental support for affective ways and means to enable the Palestinian people to exercise its inalienable rights.

12. I do not need to stress the importance of the work that is before you in the coming weeks. I very much hope that your deliberations will significantly contribute to the attainment of a satisfactory solution of the question of Palestine, which in turn would facilitate the search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. I wish you all success in your important endeavour.

B. Statement by Massamba Sarré (Senegal), Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the

Palestinian People

1. On behalf of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, which is at the same time the Preparatory Committee for this International Conference, and on my personal behalf, I would like to express our gratitude for the extremely high-level of participation in this meeting, aimed at dialogue and joint endeavours to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and in Palestine. It means that you have seen fit to reaffirm your devotion to the noble purposes and ideals of the Charter of the United Nations, which include understanding among nations and justice for all peoples. You have therefore felt the need to put an end to any situation likely to stand in the way of the realization of these two goals. In coming to Geneva, merging all ideological trends, you have decided to promote in a spirit of objectivity the search for a solution to a problem which for more than 36 years has been affecting international relations to a point of threatening international peace and security. Objectivity demands that all the aspects of the problem facing us should be dealt with without partisanship, the just and legitimate interests of the parties concerned must be our aim. If the peace we seek is to be just, valid and therefore lasting, passion and emotion must be set aside.

2. There is no doubt that the international community has for a long time been making efforts to restore peace and justice in the Middle East. Since the United Nations first examined the question in 1947, when the Organization was still in its infancy, it took an active part in the efforts to find a just and lasting solution to the problem of the Middle East, and particularly to the question of Palestine.

3. I need not go back in detail over the history of this participation, the facts are well known. It is reflected in the adoption of a large number of resolutions whose implementation could certainly have constituted a basis for a peaceful settlement, indeed, it would be greatly to the honour of the international community, in spite of the difficulties it has had up to the present in finding a solution, to persevere in its efforts to solve the Palestine problem.

4. For a number of years, the United Nations concentrated its attention exclusively on the humanitarian aspects of the problem. What is certain is that to look at the problem from this one angle was not sufficient. It was not until 27 years later, following a period when the political aspects of the Palestine question were relegated to the background, that serious thought was given to the national rights of the Palestinian people. During the 1970s, the General-Assembly became more and more clearly aware of the need to settle the political aspects of the Palestine problem, and in 1974, at its twenty-ninth session, it adopted resolution 3236 (XXIX) in which it reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including the right to self-determination without external interference, the right to national independence and sovereignty, and the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property from which they had been displaced and uprooted, and it called for the restitution of their property.

5. In adopting resolution 3236 (XXIX), the General Assembly was anxious to remind the international community of the need to implement its resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III), adopted in 1947 and 1948 respectively, so as to ensure that the Palestinians would really be able to exercise their right to self-determination. In resolution 181-(II), the General Assembly recognized the right of the Arab people in Palestine to an independent State in Palestine side by side with that of the Jews. Unfortunately, that resolution was only partially implemented, and only a Jewish State was set up. This does not mean that resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III), by virtue of which refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest opportunity, no longer existed. Quite the contrary. The situation of the Palestinians which prevented them from exercising their right to self-determination was the main obstacle to the implementation of those resolutions. The dispersal of the Palestinians over the neighbouring States, the occupation by Israel since 1967 of the whole area of Palestine which under General Assembly resolution 181 (II) legitimately belonged to the Palestinians, and the state of war between Israel and the Arab States, are certainly not circumstances favourable to the exercise of the right to self-determination.

6. Resolution 3236 (XXIX) was followed the year after by resolution 3375 (XXX), by which the General Assembly called for the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, to be invited to participate in all peaceful efforts under the auspices of the United Nations on an equal footing with other parties. These resolutions marked a turning-point in the efforts by the United Nations to restore the rights of the Palestinian people. Meanwhile, because it feared that its recommendations would not be applied, the General Assembly, in 1975, set up the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. This Committee, over which my country has the honour to preside, was asked to study and recommend to the General Assembly a programme designed to enable the Palestinian people to exercise the rights recognized in resolution 3236 (XXIX) and to take account, in formulating its recommendations for the application of this programme, of all the powers conferred by the Charter on the principal organs of the United Nations.

7. The Committee first of all endeavoured to ensure the widest possible participation in its work. It announced that it was particularly anxious that all the countries of the region, including Israel and the permanent members of the Security Council, should contribute if possible to its activities. But the repeated appeals it made to this effect to all States met with little response. Hence the Committee cannot be reproached a priori with having a partial attitude.

8. With a view to carrying out its task satisfactorily, the Committee observed the following principles:

(a) Since the question of Palestine is at the heart of the Middle East problem, no solution can be envisaged without taking fully into consideration the legitimate aspirations of the Palestine people;

(b) Respect for the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes, their right to self-determination, and their right to national independence and sovereignty, will likewise help to cope with the crisis in the Middle East;

(c) Participation by the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinian people on an equal footing with other parties, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3375 (XXX), is essential in all activities, all deliberations and all conferences on the Middle East organized under the auspices of the United Nations;

(d) The acquisition of a territory by force is inadmissible, and hence Israel is under an obligation to withdraw completely and rapidly from all the territories it has occupied in this way.

9. In November 1976, the Committee submitted its recommendations to the General Assembly on the subject of the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights. In these recommendations, the Committee pointed out that the programme of

implementation of the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes should, without prejudice to that right, be carried in two phases. During the first phase, the necessary provisions would be made to ensure the return to their homes of the Palestinians displaced as a result of the 1967 war, and in this connection the Committee recommended among other things that the Security Council should request the immediate and unconditional implementation of its resolution 237 (1967). During the second phase, the necessary measures would be taken to ensure the return to their homes of the Palestinians displaced between 1948 and 1967. In this connection, the Committee recommended that the United Nations, in co-operation with the States directly involved, and the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinian entity, should proceed to make the necessary arrangements, while the first stage was being implemented, to enable Palestinians displaced between 1948 and 1967 to exercise their right to return to their homes and property, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, particularly General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948. Palestinians not choosing to return to their homes should be paid just and equitable compensation as provided for in resolution 194 (III).

10. The Committee also considered that the evacuation of the territories occupied by force and in violation of the principles of the Charter and relevant resolutions of the United Nations, was a conditio sine qua non for the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights in Palestine, and particularly the exercise of the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property. It was also the opinion that with the establishment of an independent Palestinian entity, the Palestinian people would be able to exercise its right to self-determination.

11. The Committee likewise recommended that the Security Council establish a timetable for the complete withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces from the areas occupied in 1967.

12. The recommendations of the Committee were approved time and time again by the General Assembly of the United Nations. They were based on United Nations resolutions and on the principles of justice, morality and equity. Their impartiality and objectivity cannot be questioned. It is encouraging to note that more and more States each year are voting in favour of the approval of these recommendations by the General Assembly, but they are still awaiting implementation. A vast majority in the international community is in the favour of implementation of these recommendations but it has not been possible to make any progress because of the impossibility for the Security Council to take any decisive measures in the face of the veto by any permanent member.

13. It cannot be seriously denied that the Committee's recommendations constitute a solid basis for the solution of the problem. The main features of the recommendations of the Committee are invariably to be found in all the most acceptable proposals put forward over the last few months. The recommendations therefore remain valid. The Committee hopes that the participants in the Conference will not forget them when they come to establish the Programme of Action of the Conference and that they will take every possible step calculated in their opinion to facilitate the implementation of the recommendations.

14. The Committee is convinced that the United Nations has an essential role to play in the settlement of the Palestine question. It is not an impossible task for it. The Security Council has undoubtedly both the competence and the power needed to act. All it lacks is the political will.

15. The other obstacle is the refusal by Israel to comply with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations witness the colonies settled in the territories it occupies, the annexation of territory, including Jerusalem, the persistent application of measures designed to change the demographic composition of the occupied territories, the confiscation of land, collective sanctions against the legitimate inhabitants of those territories etc. All these acts, and I quote only a few, constitute so many violations of international law and of United Nations resolutions. It is obvious that such acts do little to promote the search for a just and lasting solution to the Palestine question. Rather, they have helped to aggravate the tension in the region, the bloody confrontations in the occupied territories, the challenge to the sovereignty of Lebanon, the Sabra and Shatila massacres etc.

16. In the face of the situation, confused and deplorable to say the least, where passion prevails over reason, the Committee has felt that the first approach needed would be to provide objective information to world public opinion on the Palestine question. If it was understood as it is, and not as it is frequently reported, a large step would have been taken in the direction of justice.

17. We have always felt that what was needed was objective information to arouse the awareness of public opinion and to let the world know in an unprejudiced way what was happening in that region. The tendentious reports placed before us for a long time have unfortunately always presented the Palestinians, and their hopes and ambitions, in an unfavourable light, if indeed any attention was paid to them at all. The Committee is convinced that it is indispensable to state the facts in their entirety, since a knowledge of those facts will enable the international community to understand the question better and to become convinced of the justice of the Palestinian cause.

18. This is the context in which the Committee participates every year in regional seminars on this question. It is also the reason why it has likewise taken the initiative to call for the convening of this international Conference, preceded by five regional meetings on the question.

19. The present Conference is not negotiating conference. Nor does our opt lead us to the point of believing that it will culminate in an immediate settlement of the Palestine problem. Our objectives are quite specific: to make international public opinion more aware of the facts underlying the Palestine question and to induce government and other bodies to support effective measures enabling the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights in Palestine on the basis of the United Nations resolutions, just as those bodies should support the rights of other States and peoples in the region.

20. In general, we must try to create a climate conducive to a just, lasting and overall settlement of the problem. We must make the facts known and weigh the obstacles to peace. Above all, we must try to convince those, actually not a very large number, who are still not convinced that certain principles underlying the Palestine question must be recognized, as they have been recognized by the international community as a whole. These are the right of all States in the region to exist within internationally agreed frontiers and the right of all peoples to justice and security. This implies recognizing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and ensuring that it is able to exercise them. In this connection, the Committee would like to stress the important role that can be played by the non-governmental organizations in their devotion to peace and justice.

21. The Committee would also like to underline the importance of the time factor. We have always been profoundly conscious of the need to find as a matter of urgency a just, overall and lasting solution to the Palestine problem. We have always felt that procrastination can only make the search for a solution more difficult. This has been proved time and time again. The tragic events of 1982 could have been avoided if the Palestinians had been authorized to exercise their rights over the territory which belongs to them. The daily reports reaching us from the occupied territories are not encouraging, and they are a reminder that we must act with the utmost urgency. Every day that passes means confiscation of land, the creation of new settlements, and the shedding of blood. We must not countenance such procrastination our sense of justice forbids it, and it would merely help to increase tension in the region or to place obstacles in the way of a peaceful solution.

22. The fact that this problem has remained without a solution for so many years in no way diminishes the pressing need for its solution. It is important to act quickly. Every day we become more and more aware of the fact that time is running short. The Committee hopes that the Conference will feel the need to act very quickly and that it will bear that in mind in its recommendations.

23. As we embark on our work, it must be admitted that the task is tremendous. But let its proportions not scare us. What we shall achieve here will constitute an important contribution to the search for a fair and just solution to the Palestine problem. This is the conviction which must inspire us. No solution will be worthy of the name unless it enables the Palestinian people to exercise its inalienable right. The Palestinians cry out for justice. It is their right. Let us hope that Israel, which owes its creation to the principles of the United Nations, will hear our appeal and join in the work of restoring justice to the Palestine people. We are the



depositories of the aspirations," the dreams and the legitimate ambitions of all peoples, including the Palestinian people.

24. By enabling the Palestinian people to exercise its right to existence as defined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Declaration of Human Rights, we shall have contributed, as these two great instruments demand, to the restoration of an era of peace in this region, where those values were born which constitute the bases of our civilization today. In doing so we shall have lived, or better still, we shall have endured.

C. Statement by Abdul Koroma, 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

1. It gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the Special Committee on Decolonization, to participate at the opening ceremonies of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. I wish in this connection to commend the Secretary-General of the Conference, Mrs. Lucille Mair, and her staff for the time and effort they have expended in the preparation of the Conference. I should also like to acknowledge the valuable contributions made by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and the various regional preparatory meetings towards the successful convocation of this important Conference. Indeed, the eminence of those gathered here today bears testimony to the dedication and commitment of the organizers, who have successfully overcome many a stumbling-block during the preparatory period.

2. This Conference has before it an agenda which calls on its participants to put forward viable proposals designed to seek a solution to one of the most critical problems which has engaged the attention of the world community since its inception: the question of Palestine. Through its examination of a wide range of basic issues relating to and including, in particular, the restoration to the Palestinian people of their fundamental and inalienable rights to their homeland, I am confident, the Conference will be able to formulate further concrete measures that will increase international awareness of the facts relating to the Palestinian problem and thus enhance our efforts in the search for a speedy resolution of the problem itself, which is at the heart of the Middle East conflict.

3. The tenets that govern the work of the Special Committee on Decolonization - on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples - adopted without any dissension by the overwhelming majority of the General Assembly over two decades ago, proclaimed that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constituted a denial of fundamental human rights, was contrary to the Charter and was an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation. That historic document further declared that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country was incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

4. It is within this context that the Special Committee on Decolonization, which is the major United Nations organ mandated by the General Assembly to seek ways and means to accelerate the process of decolonization, views with deep concern the plight of the People of Palestine. They have been denied their fundamental and inalienable right to determine their destiny, they have been subjected to cruel, repressive measures at the hands of their oppressor, they have been dispossessed and uprooted from their homes, they can not re-enter what used to be their towns and homes as their country was taken away from them.

5. The history of the Palestinian people is indeed a history of a people with unequalled courage and determination to fight for the achievement of their legitimate rights. It is a history of a people, who, since 1947, have continued relentlessly the struggle to preserve their national identity, to regain their homeland and to re-establish on it their national sovereignty.

6. Mere support or sympathy for the Palestinian cause is no longer adequate. The time has come 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 on the question of Palestine. Israel must be made to realize that it can no longer systematically ignore United Nations resolutions and world public opinion on the question of Palestine. Above all, Israel must be made to comply fully with General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 1947, leading to the establishment of an independent Palestinian State. The underlying principle, as recently endorsed by the European Economic Community, is that recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians is one of the basic conditions for lasting peace in the region and that the Palestine Liberation Organization must be involved in comprehensive peace negotiations.

7. Recent events in the Middle East, which culminated in the ruthless destruction of life and property in Arab lands and the massacre of Palestinian refugees, underline the heavy responsibility incumbent on the international community to preserve international peace and security in the region. These events have once again made it unmistakably clear that a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict cannot be achieved without resolving the question of the Palestinians' legitimate right to a homeland. The people in the region have suffered for too long.

8. If the leadership of humanity has any conscience, it is time for it to terminate, by whatever means available, the atrocities and injustices which the aggressor is continuing to inflict on the people of the region. Those who claim to be the guardians of human rights should persuade Israel to realize the futility of its repressive measures in occupied Arab lands and demand its immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal therefrom. Time is running out, and the Middle East conflict has to be approached with a greater sense of urgency and commitment.

9. Before concluding, I wish to pay particular tribute to the valiant Palestinian people and their leadership for their successes and achievements for their resilience and fortitude against enormous odds. The Palestinian resistance has awakened the conscience of the international community and has earned universal support and sympathy for a just and legitimate cause. People struggling for freedom and human dignity everywhere identify with the Palestinian struggle.

10. I wish also to take this opportunity to assure members of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People that members of the Special Committee will continue to work closely with them, within the context of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, towards the attainment of our common objective - the eradication of colonial and alien domination and the elimination of all vestiges of colonialism.

D. Statement by Yasser Abed Rabbo, Member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (Message from Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution)

1. On behalf of the Palestinian Arab people and in the name of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I wish to express our sincere and deep gratitude and appreciation to all of you, and to all those who helped to organize this important Conference, for the efforts that you have made to ensure the holding of this Conference as an indication of your support for the struggle of our people and for their inalienable national rights. This Conference also highlights the significant role played by the United Nations in supporting peoples struggling for their freedom, national independence and sovereignty with a view to the establishment of a firm, equitable and lasting basis for international peace and security.

2. On this important historic occasion, I wish to point out that our people and their sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, have placed and shall continue to place their confidence in the international will which is currently expressed through the United Nations.

3. For many years, our people have been suffering from all kinds of persecution, oppression and dispersion. They have not been allowed to exercise their national rights and have even been deprived of their fundamental human rights such as the right to live in freedom in their homeland and the right to self-determination. Furthermore, numerous attempts have been made to obliterate their national identity.

4. Consequently, our people are diligently striving to recover what has been taken from them by force, violence and conspiracy, with a view to exercising the rights to which they and all other peoples are entitled under international law. Our people have taken up arms to defend themselves and their rights and have embarked on a political struggle to seek backing and support in all international forums. However, as you are all aware, the Zionist entity has contemptuously disregarded, defied and rejected all the

provisions of international law, human rights and United Nations resolutions. Moreover, the Zionist entity has persisted in its aggressive, expansionist policy with regard to neighbouring Arab countries with a view to territorial aggrandizement and the harassment of our people wherever they are gathered together in their places of exile, as happened in the summer of last year when it launched a savage war of aggression, using the most modern and sophisticated types of American weaponry, against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. Its forces struck across the international frontiers of Lebanon, occupied Lebanese territory and even reached the Lebanese capital, the valiant city of Beirut, whose legendary defenders stood firm for three whole months in the face of the most horrific products of the American military arsenal deployed in the air, on land and at sea, including weapons that are prohibited under international law. Those invading forces are still, to this day, occupying Lebanese territory in defiance of the decisions of the United Nations Security Council calling for their immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal. The Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila were subjected to large-scale massacres to which thousands of defenseless civilians fell victim in spite of American commitments to protect them. Our people are determined to continue their struggle in spite of the problems with which they are faced and in spite of the tremendous sacrifices that they have already made during the last few decades.

5. Is the international will destined to remain paralyzed in the face of Fascist, Zionist arrogance?

6. Is the implementation of United Nations resolutions destined: to remain obstructed by the United States of America, which, not content with providing every means of material and military support for such aggression, is the only country in the world to challenge international will and defy the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council through its use of the right of veto?

7. In our view all freedom- and peace-loving States Members of the United Nations should rise to defend the prestige of the United Nations, the efficacy of its resolutions and the inviolability of international will in the face of this American imperialist arrogance. At this Conference, and at all future international gatherings, they should seek ways and means to counter that arrogance and to pave the way for the implementation of international decisions and resolutions. The United States of America has persisted in its attitude, arrogating to itself the exclusive right to impose solutions that it and Israel deem to be in their own best interests, heedless of the existence of international bodies of arbitration, without regard for resolutions adopted by the United Nations over a period of several years, and without the participation of the peoples and States directly involved in the conflict in the Middle East. The Camp David accords were imposed, as was the recent Israeli-Lebanese agreement, and the same would have applied in the case of, President Reagan's plan which we rejected as -being altogether unsuitable as a basis for an equitable settlement. As you are all aware, neither the Camp David accords nor the Israeli-Lebanese agreement has contributed to a solution of the Palestinian problem which lies at the heart of the conflict. The Reagan plan, far from being conducive to such a solution, has only made the problem more complex and has been detrimental to the cause of peace, as can clearly be seen from the current situation in Lebanon and the region as a whole.

8. We are fully confident that you will make every effort to solve this international dilemma. We believe that an international conference organized under the auspices of the United Nations on the basis of its resolutions concerning the question of Palestine and taking into account the Arab peace initiative (A/37/696-S/15510, annex) put forward at the Arab Summit Conference held at Fez on 6 September 1982 and attended, on a footing of equality, by all the parties concerned including the Palestine Liberation Organization, will be able to determine practical means of implementing those resolutions, thereby paving the way for well-intentioned action aimed at saving the region and peoples of the Middle East from further bloody wars, destruction and devastation and making the achievement of a just and lasting peace in that region possible.

9. This century has witnessed two terrible world wars to which millions of people and thousands of cities, towns and villages fell victim. No observer of the current international political situation can avoid expressing deep anxiety at the dangerous prospects of slipping into a new war that would be more horrific than either of its predecessors.

10. If we examine the causes of previous wars and the potential dangers of a new war with which the world is faced, we find a single common denominator. In effect, the underlying cause of those wars was the failure of the international community to shoulder its responsibilities by dealing with problems in good time, and the impotence of its international bodies in the face of policies of imperialist hegemony and domination. Care must be taken to ensure that history does not repeat itself and that the United Nations does not meet the same fate as its predecessor, the League of Nations.

11. Once again I convey to you our greetings and best wishes for a successful outcome to your Conference, which we trust will be conducive to the freedom, independence and sovereignty not only of our people but of all the peoples of the world.

12. Revolution until victory!

#### E. Statement by P. V. Narasimha Rao, Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries

1. It is a great privilege and honour to be invited to address this International Conference on the Question of Palestine. I do so on behalf of the Government of India, and also as the current Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. I have the honour to read out a message to the Conference from my Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi (for the text of Mrs. Gandhi's message, see annex III).

2. It is fitting that our deliberations for devising concrete measures to support the just cause of the Palestinian people and to increase international awareness of the current situation relating to the Palestinian question, take place in this historic city of Geneva. It characterizes the symbols of peace, freedom, development and justice. It is a city where momentous decisions have been taken in the past on important global and humanitarian issues.

3. May I also, at the outset, convey the greetings and good wishes of the Government and the people of India to the distinguished representatives of Governments, and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, assembled here. In particular I greet the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization the sole and authentic representatives of the Palestinian people. I am sure the participation of all of us will achieve our common objectives.

4. A valiant people have been driven out and deprived of their hearths and homes. Their lands, even beyond those defined by the United Nations at the time of the partition of Palestine have been forcibly occupied. Resolution after resolution has been passed by the United Nations. Acts of occupation, suppression of freedom, violation of human rights have been criticized and condemned. But the Palestinians continue to be without a land of their own. Israel not only continues to forcibly occupy Arab lands, it has also annexed some of these areas. Having done so, Israel is now vigorously continuing with the policy of settlements on the West Bank. This may soon reach a stage where it may become impossible to vacate the lands forcibly occupied or to rehabilitate the people who have been uprooted and rendered homeless.

5. Recent developments have now introduced an even more complex and dangerous factor into an already complicated situation. Last year, on grounds of self-preservation and security, Israel invaded Lebanon. The destruction and havoc caused to lives and property are now too well known. On the ground of protecting their own civilians, large numbers of innocent men, women and children in Lebanon have been mercilessly killed. Israel's Presence continues in Lebanon even though in the name of the security of Lebanon the Palestinians have been dispersed. A country which has pursued a policy of non-alignment and fervently sought peace is occupied.

6. The aggression of Lebanon and Israel's continuing presence on one pretext or the other has introduced a further destabilizing factor in an already fragile environment. It has triggered off an escalating arms race so that any conflict can quickly assume broader dimensions encompassing the entire region. The middle East is a strategic area. Any hostility in the context of the present accumulation of arms and the charged emotions could swell into a wider conflagration. Ensuring peace in the region is therefore a matter of global concern. Israel's own future also lies in working towards a situation wherein it can exist without any threat to its security. This can only be if the territories are within internationally recognized frontiers.

7. Israel continues to defy the will of the international community and refuses to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations. It is obvious that security is equally vital and important to all the States in the region and there is no logic in treating the security

of only one of them as preeminent over all others. We recall the assurances that a stronger Israel would be a more flexible Israel. But in actual fact, a stronger Israel has only become a more belligerent Israel. We regret that this belligerency is being encouraged in an attempt to bring about permanent geo-political and demographic changes in the region at the expense of the Palestinians.

8. The issues involved, the principles being violated and the injustices continuing to be perpetrated are all too well-known. They have been set out in the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the various plans, and the pronouncements of the non-aligned countries. They derive from basic and well established norms, premises and principles which the international community has accepted, upheld and urged in several other situations and circumstances. Unfortunately, it is only in the case of the Palestinians that double standards are being deliberately applied.

9. The international community, and much more so those who accept but do not act, can well be asked the following questions. Do we not believe that it is an inalienable right of a people to determine for themselves their own future? Do we not believe that if a people have been evicted and forced out of their homes and lands, they can legitimately ask to return? Do we not believe that after having seen in history so many wars and resultant death and destruction, an essential prerequisite to co-operation, good neighbourliness and friendship lies in neither coveting nor retaining what belongs to others? Do we not also further condemn and deplore forcible occupation of other's lands.

10. Answers to all these questions would be unhesitatingly and unequivocally in the affirmative. Yet, none of these have so far been applied to the Palestinian people and the lands we have known Palestine.

11. Those of us who belong to the non-aligned world are firmly committed to the pursuit of peace in an atmosphere of co-operation and coexistence. We all wish to be free from outside influences, pressures or presences. Our dedication is to the uplifting and the welfare of our peoples. Our objectives are to work ardently for peace, to reduce tensions and to concentrate on development. All these require as an essential prerequisite the resolving of differences and disputes by peaceful means, of learning to live with each other in harmony and amity. However, the situation in the Middle East, unfortunately, is developing contrary to all that we are committed to.

12. The question of Palestine has indeed been a touchstone for the application of principles cherished by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries right from the Belgrade Summit in 1961. It was at the initiative of the non-aligned countries that the majority of United Nations resolutions had been adopted. In the past years our countries have been particularly active in mobilizing international support against Israeli actions in occupied territories and now its invasion of Lebanon. At the last Seventh Summit at New Delhi in March 1983 this question was exhaustively examined. Fundamental principles for the solution of the problem were again reaffirmed. At the request of Chairman Yasser Arafat the Summit decided to establish a Committee at the level of Heads of State or Government, to be chaired by my Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to work for the achievement of a just, durable and comprehensive peace in Western Asia. Soon after the Summit, the Prime Minister undertook intensive and wide consultations on the feasible directions in which the mandate of the Summit could be carried out fruitfully. This again is the main objective of the Conference in which all of us assembled here are participating.

13. This question has now become a great challenge to the conscience of man. This Conference on Palestine provides yet another opportunity for us to see whether anything can at all be done to arrest and reverse this ominous drift to a major holocaust.

14. At this Conference, we shall no doubt adopt a Declaration and a Programme of Action. Regional meetings have been held preceding this Conference. We have participated in them. I personally had the privilege of being present at the Asian Regional Conference at Kuala Lumpur. Each regional meeting has made its contribution. Our meeting at Geneva is therefore the result of considerable thought and preparation. One thing is very clear. The passage of time is making possibilities of a resolution of the Palestinian problem through peaceful negotiations more and more difficult and remote. A major factor contributing to this is the Israeli policy of new settlements in the West Bank and in occupied territories. There must be an immediate freeze to these new settlements. Those who have the influence and who have expressed themselves against the continuation of these settlements must demonstrate their commitment through practical measures. This is absolutely crucial to any lasting solution.

15. At the same time, as I said earlier, continued Israeli occupation of Lebanon is totally unacceptable. We would all want to see a sovereign, independent and united Lebanon. This necessitates the absence of foreign troops. Such troops must leave immediately and unconditionally.

16. Side by side, increased and sustained efforts towards a just, durable and comprehensive settlement through peaceful means has become a matter of highest priority. Even to commend such a process, the basic principles of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, along with withdrawal of Israel from occupied lands, become indispensable prerequisites.

17. We are all aware of the forces which are at play in the region as also the limitations, in practical terms, of most of us to persuade, leave aside and exert pressure. Wider strategic and other interests are no doubt involved. Yet, we must also have faith in the voice of mankind making itself heard inevitably. This Conference, therefore, should also concentrate on galvanizing and mobilizing world public opinion, calling out forcefully for the need for peace derived from the application of basic principles of equity and justice. This voice would only be effective provided we can overcome our differences, view the situation in a wider context and forge a solid and impregnable unity.

18. We know that the struggle is long and arduous. But we have no doubt that the ultimate victory will belong to the Palestinian people. Let this historic occasion inspire us all to rededicate ourselves to the Palestinian cause which is undoubtedly our own. Our voice will be one with theirs till victory is won.

#### F. Statement by Habib Chatty, Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference

1. I wish first of all to express my deep appreciation to the State and Government of Switzerland for kindly hosting this Conference and for all the efforts and facilities they consented to make our stay pleasant and our work useful and effective.

2. I may seize this opportunity, Mr. Chairman, to congratulate you on your election to the chairmanship of this Conference. We are confident that your wise conduct and pertinent interventions will have a positive effect on our proceedings.

3. I must also extend my thanks and appreciation to Mrs. Lucille Mair, Secretary-General of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, and to all her assistants and colleagues for the efforts they have expended on the preparation of this Conference, which comes as the crowning achievement of a series of regional conferences held in support of the Palestinian cause.

4. The subject for discussion at this international gathering is the very subject which provided the basis for the establishment of our organization, i.e. the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which considers the Palestine problem as the overriding issue of the Muslim world. This is because it is a just cause and because Islamic Holy Places are under occupation. Hence the firm connection between the Palestine cause and Muslims throughout the world. Accordingly, our organization's member States, backed by all Muslim peoples have pledged full support for the Palestinian people and have placed at its disposal all the resources available to the Muslim world. We have repeatedly proclaimed in our conferences the organization's commitment to all proposals and solutions that guarantee the rights of the Palestinian people. On this basis, the Organization of the Islamic Conference endorsed the Arab peace plan, known as the Fez plan (A/37/696-S/15510, annex) which constitutes the minimum conditions agreed to by the Arabs, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

5. The Organization of the Islamic Conference has most readily participated in the whole series of United Nations regional conferences on the Palestine issue. It is today very pleased to also take part in this important Conference which winds up the series. This is due to our eagerness to give concrete form to the close ties and firm co-operative relations between our organization and the United Nations, which extend to various fields, at the forefront of which is, naturally, the Palestine issue. As I said earlier, this is a key issue for the organization, i.e. for its 43 members which are also Members of the United Nations.

6. It is true that fundamental points around which discussion revolved during the said conferences included the historical and legal aspects of the Palestinian problem, which indeed are of vital importance and should be made clear once and for all. However,

previous conferences, by means of ample and accurate studies, and legally established documentary evidence, have left no room for doubt that the Palestinian people was indeed expelled from its land where it had lived from time immemorial and which constituted, in the region, a territory and a people united by one homogeneous geographical area, one single language and common ancestral traditions, and that the Zionist movement, with support from big Powers, was the force that drove the Palestinians away from their homes and set up in occupied Palestine an entity which was from the outset hostile to the Arab and Muslim Ummah.

7. Nevertheless, we are duty-bound to emphasize the part played by such conferences as this, and others held by regional institutions, in making the Palestinian problem better known to world public opinion. Perhaps one of the major results of these conferences is the unshakable conviction we notice at present throughout the world of the legitimacy of the cause and rights of the Palestinian people, i.e. its right to return to its homeland, its right to self-determination and its right to establish an independent State on the land of its forefathers.

8. It is undeniable, on the other hand, that the more such convictions were openly echoed by the United Nations or by regional institutions (such as the European Community whose international impact is well known) the more, alas, the Israeli occupation of Palestine was consolidated in its ugliest forms. Indeed, the Zionist entity kept on setting up new settlements and committing further acts of aggression in the region, the gravest of which were the invasion of an independent Arab State, i.e. Lebanon, the imposition of an unjust agreement on it, the perpetration of such unprecedented massacres as the Sabra and Shatila massacres, the aggression against Iraq through bombing of its nuclear reactor, the desecration of holy shrines in Al-Quds Al-Sharif, the systematic action aimed at the obliteration of the city's landmarks and such other acts of aggression as are daily conveyed by press agencies to the whole world, the world that proclaimed many a time its support for the Palestinian people and its condemnation of Israel's continued aggression against this valiant people and other neighbouring peoples.

9. The strangest thing about this situation is that, while Israel appears to be in an almost complete international isolation, it is still, without the slightest hesitation, defying the world with its persistence in implementing a policy that the world has often stigmatized and condemned.

10. What does this really mean? Does it mean that Israel possesses enough potential to confront the whole world? Or does it rather mean that the world has been lacking purposefulness and effectiveness in its approach to Israel's defiance and obstinacy?

11. We all know that Israel is an artificial entity lacking the means to stand alone against the international community in so far as its political, economic, civilizational or indeed its own military resources are concerned. The fact is that this entity essentially owes its strength to continued American support in the political, economic and military fields. For this reason, Israel, counting on the continuation of such colossal aid, is intent on pursuing its transgressions and lawlessness. It is also counting on the negative character of mere verbal support for the Palestinian people and its usurped rights, which attitudes never deterred Israel from carrying on its meticulous plan of expansion and aggression.

12. Such is the painful and grave reality we are facing today a criminal aggression against Lebanon witnessed by the world as a spectator in spite of the Security Council's resolution calling for unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from this peace-loving and once peaceful country. This resolution remained as usual a dead letter. Worse still, one of the big Powers which assumes great responsibility on the world scene, assisted with the conclusion of agreement between Lebanon and Israel outside the Security Council's framework, which includes conditions that have added to the complexity of the situation and the gravity of the conflicts instead of solving the problem. Under these circumstances, how could the United Nations or the United States itself maintain their credibility, as long as the United States of America pursues such unjust conduct outside the scope of international legality and as long as the Security Council resolutions are not put into effect.

13. We may recall the Sabra and Shatila massacres whose painful anniversary will be celebrated within a few days and in respect of which the United Nations did not undertake any action to prove Israel's full responsibility in this heinous crime and to condemn the Zionist entity. We may also recall the criminal attacks on worshippers in Al-Khalil, which took place openly and publicly without the United Nations taking any action to deter the aggressor from repeating its crime.

14. Such is the current reality of the Palestinian problem, a people half of which is wandering in exile and the other half under daily threat of annihilation, an artificial entity which is intent on aggression, expansion and defiance and an international community which recognizes and supports the legitimate Palestinian right and sometimes condemns Israeli acts without coming forward, thus far, with measures to restrain or put an end to such acts.

15. Besides, what positive measures has the European Community, for instance, taken to exert pressure on its ally, the United States of America, and induce it to use its weight in order to solve the problem within the framework of international legality as universally agreed? The obvious answer is that international authorities are content to satisfy their conscience for the sake of their immediate interests in Arab and Islamic countries, confining their attitudes to condemnation and denunciation. However, time passes and takes away whatever moral effect such denunciation and condemnation may have had and we are again confronted with facts i.e. Israel's persistence in carrying out its criminal aggressive scheme.

16. However much the Arabs and the Muslims at the United Nations demanded positive measures against Israel's unlawful acts in compliance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, they invariably came up against the United States and other Western States' right of veto. This has encouraged Israel to proceed, in all security, with its policy of aggression, being convinced that the international community's opposition to its acts was confined to verbal, emotional and negative attitudes which were no obstacle to its action.

17. These are the facts, and this should be the starting point for all genuine efforts to solve the problem of the Palestinian problem.

18. As I said earlier, we no longer need to state the proofs of the Palestinian people's right or the proofs that Al-Quds is an Arab Islamic city. Such facts have been legally established by virtue of the resolutions issued by the United Nations including the General Assembly, the Security Council and all international institutions. Nor do we need to read out the resolutions adopted in this connection as they are known to everyone.

19. We do wish, however, to emphasize from this rostrum, facts that have been proven without a doubt, that the Middle East cannot have peace and stability as long as the Palestinian problem is not resolved and that the situation in this vital part of the world presents a threat to world peace, entertains international tension, and is therefore of great concern to the world community as a whole.

20. States Members of the United Nations are today required to balance their words with their deeds, their principles with such obligations as are consequential their approval of international resolutions. This is no novelty as it merely involves enforcement of the provisions of the United Nations Charter on the imposition of sanctions against whomever refuses to co-operate with the United Nations, which enforcement aims at the maintenance of world peace and the respect of peoples' right to self-determination.

21. Most importantly, big Powers which enjoy the right of veto, are required not to abuse it against their international obligations and their national principles and against the will of the majority of the world community. If they persist in their conduct while Israel is actively engaged in maintaining its hold over the 2 city of Al-Quds and strengthening its settlements in the West Bank with a view to bringing about a situation that would preclude the return of this area to its owners, their attitude will be regarded as practical support for Israel or, indeed, participation in its efforts to succeed in a policy whose object is primarily to place the entire world, within a few years, before a new fait accompli i.e. an Israeli entity which would include the West Bank and have Al-Quds for capital.

22. We were recently stunned to learn from a major capital which previously declared its rejection of the so-called legitimacy of Jewish settlements, that this capital had no objection to such settlements, claiming that the Jews had the right to live on the Palestinian territories of the West Bank whatever the outcome of any future negotiations. How could it be permissible in our day and age - the era of human rights - for a big Power which assumes special responsibility on a global scale, to proclaim that the

setting up of settlements by force, under cover of military occupation and on usurped land is a normal thing?

23. How, after such an attitude, could the credibility of the country which made the pronouncement or indeed of the United Nations, be maintained? Does this not amount to deliberate encouragement to defiance, aggression and violation of the laws approved by all members of the international organization?

24. The Zionist entity has taken account of the sterile approach followed heretofore by the world towards its policy. It has thus become convinced that whatever the international community may reject at present in its usual negative manner will become, with the passage of time, an accepted reality. Accordingly, the settlement of the Palestinian problem in accordance with the just aspirations of the Palestinian people would become a difficult task, while the usurpation, by the Zionist entity, of occupied Arab territories, would be an irreversible fait accompli.

25. On such an occasion as this, we can only appeal to the international community to tackle the Palestinian problem from the angle of reality: i.e. the fact that the Israeli entity is carrying on its aggressive plan in complete disregard for the opposition of the international community, which it considers to be a formal attitude of no avail to the Palestinian people.

26. It is therefore incumbent upon the international Organization to act in such a way as to take the Palestinian issue out of the present vicious circle. This can only be achieved through measures provided for by the United Nations Charter. However, such a fundamental step requires a courageous attitude on the part of the United States and the countries co-operating with it. It is no difficult matter if undertaken within the framework of international principles and laws and if big Powers realize that their continued negative attitudes toward the present gravity of the Palestine issue, in addition to their encouragement to Israel's persistent aggression, are bound to jeopardize, sooner or later, the interests of the powers in question and, consequently, to expose world peace to the direst dangers.

27. It may be mentioned that, whatever the attitude of the United Nations and the big Powers and whatever the conflict between such an attitude and the national principles of such countries or their attempts to shun their responsibilities for the sake of short-term gains, the Muslim world will not abandon Al-Quds or Palestine.

28. Admittedly Israel today enjoys military superiority over its Arab neighbors. Admittedly, also it claims some degree of invulnerability owing to the United States support. However, this situation is but a matter of conjuncture based on circumstances which cannot possibly remain unchanged forever. Indeed such situations do change when the circumstances that have produced them cease to exist. The life of nations is not measured by scores of years. It takes root in the nations' historical and age-long authenticity as recognized by everyone and not so easy to obliterate as some may be tempted to believe.

29. Consequently, the Middle East region may live through successive crises and a state of instability involving a constant threat to the interests of all concerned and to world peace as long as the Palestine issue remains unsolved and as long as the Palestinian people is deprived of its legitimate and inalienable rights: which are its right to return to its homeland, its right to self-determination and its right to build up its independent State on its own national territory, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole legitimate representative.

30. In conclusion, we are prepared for peace not for surrender. The Arab peace plan to which the Palestine Liberation Organization has been committed and which has been endorsed by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries is still valid. It can still serve as a basis for a peaceful solution of the Palestine issue. If this plan - or any other means to restore to the Palestinian people its right - is not applied, our determination to continue our struggle is also intact and will so remain until we fulfil our objectives. Whatever setbacks or catastrophes may stand in our way and however grave they may be, they will not affect the march of our Islamic States. In other words, Israel cannot keep the territories and enjoy peace at the same time. It has to choose between the two. Together with its allies, it has to choose between peace within a short period of time and permanent tension and instability. This is the reality everyone must know.

31. We are approaching a new session of the United Nations General Assembly and we all hope that when this problem is brought again before the Organization it will be treated with a more serious and responsible approach and with full awareness of the gravity of the situation entailed by Israel's persistence in its acts of aggression, its contempt for the will of the international community and its continued hindrance of every effort to achieve just peace in the area.

32. For this reason, the part to be played by this Conference assumes utmost importance in so far as it will be responsible for providing guidelines to the upcoming United Nations session based on the participants conviction that it is no longer time for resolutions which can never be put into effect, or ineffective attitudes which are a matter of principle, but it is time for positive action to enforce the United Nations resolutions in compliance with the United Nations Charter and out of general respect for legality, world peace and universal justice.

#### G. Statement by Chedli Klibi, Secretary-General of the League of Arab States

1. I would like first of all, to express the gratitude of the League of Arab 96 States at seeing this International Conference on the Question of Palestine take place, and its appreciation for the many efforts made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in order that the General Assembly resolution (resolution 36/120 C), calling for this world-wide Conference could be carried out.- This Conference is the crowning point of the activities of regional conferences organized in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and in the Arab world, which were widely quoted owing to the quality of the participation by the States involved in different parts of the world, and notably by that of the hosting countries and regions.

2. It is also with great pleasure that the League of Arab States expresses its appreciation for the preliminary studies drawn up by experts at the request of the Conference's Secretary-General and put at the disposal of member States so that the entire world could know to what extent the Palestinian people is justified in asserting its rights to self-determination and its right to create a State on its national territory in Palestine.

3. The League of Arab States places great importance on the fact that this Conference is being held in Geneva, this city which was the Headquarters of the League of Nations and where this international Organization, for the first time, decided to recognize the independence of Palestine as a fundamental principle: the resolution granting Great Britain a mandate for this country, -stating that Palestine was independent in principle and that the mandate should prepare the Palestinians for complete independence. The holding of this meeting in Geneva affirms the international consensus for the right of the Palestinian people to assume its independence and sovereignty over its national territory.

4. The League of Arab States extends its greetings to this great assembly and expresses every wish for the success of its work.

5. The League of Arab States has been giving its full attention to the search for an equitable solution to the question of Palestine ever since the end of the Second World War when, for the first time, peoples living under the mandate system found reason to hope that recognition would be given to their right of self-determination and independence. However, no such hope was given to the Palestinian people who were being displaced from their national territory by another people.

6. It is an indisputable fact that Palestine forms an-essential part of the larger Arab world and that, historically, socially and politically, it constitutes an integral part of the Arab heritage. Jerusalem, the capital of Palestine, also represents a major spiritual centre for both Muslim and Christian Arabs. Although the important place held by Jerusalem in the hearts of Christians is well known to the peoples of the West it should be noted that the Arabs also venerate this city and its spiritual heritage, regardless of religious differences. History proves that, for many centuries, they have protected these Holy Places in a diligent and impartial manner, since they regard the spiritual heritage of Jerusalem as comprising all of the Islamic and Christian Holy Places and sanctuaries in this city to which the early Muslims were first commanded to turn in prayer and which constitutes the third most sacred sanctuary in Islam.

7. All of these political, historical and spiritual considerations justify the concern that the Arab peoples and, consequently, their countries have shown for the status of Palestine in the face of the dangers that are threatening the people of Palestine and the

city of Jerusalem.

8. However, international circumstances enabled the Zionist movement to thwart ; the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people who were prevented from exercising their right of self-determination and were denied the most fundamental natural rights which, in the case of all other peoples, have been recognized by the international community. Furthermore, the majority of the Palestinian people were even uprooted from their homeland and scattered to the four winds.

9. Not satisfied with this, Zionism set its hand at destroying Palestinian heritage and distorting the aspect of Palestinian cities and towns. It set up a regime whose main task is to suppress all that is Palestinian and to persecute those Palestinians who remain on their rightful territory. This minority group, which represents 16 per cent of the total population, is at present and has been for 35 years now, submitted to the most odious form of exploitation' powerless, they are employed as cheap manpower, frustrated in their dignity and deprived of their national identity. These Zionist practices extended throughout the occupied territories in 1967: more than 400,000 Palestinians were wrenched off their land, and forced to join the world of Palestinian refugees.

10. In spite of the power the Zionist regime has disposed of ever since its inception, it is clear that the Palestinian people are determined to fight to the death for liberty and dignity and pursue that combat in the face of all difficulties under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization which has organized the resistance and upheld the Palestinian people's identity through the setting up of social, economic, civilizational and political institutions. It is certain that the attachment of the Palestinian people, whether living in exile or under Zionist occupation, to its national identity is due to United Nations recognition in 1969 of its rights, and especially since 1974 of its right to independence, sovereignty and representation through the Palestine Liberation Organization.

11. I should like to recall that the international legitimacy of Palestinian rights was first recognized at Arab level by the Rabat Summit held in 1974 which proclaimed the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only legitimate

18. Thirty-five years after the creation of Israel, the world is beginning to question the behaviour of the Zionist entity, a behaviour based on maintaining a permanent threat to peace in the region and throughout the world.

19. Israel, like South Africa has made no effort to convince the international community of its respect for the principles of international law and the United Nations Charter, not to mention internationally accepted ethics. We certainly do not exaggerate when affirming that Israel behaves as if it knew nothing of these values and principles as if it made light of international law and United Nations condemnation of its segregationist practices and policy of aggression.

20. Having lived in isolated ghettos and in suspicion of all around them, having suffered from the after-effects of 2,000 years of ostracism and hate, the Zionists, by becoming citizens of their own State did not shake off their myths and their racist way of thinking engrafted upon the notion of a chosen people. This perhaps explains the Israeli refusal to submit to the rules which govern relations between States. If Zionism is synonymous with racism, it is because from the idea of divine election, which implies a mission to accomplish or a responsibility to be assumed, it has made a racial distinction destined to last throughout the ages no matter where. This is contrary not only to logic, itself, but also to religious logic, which, for all faiths, bases hierarchy on acts alone and recognizes no other virtue than that which bestows the respect of moral virtues and values, the most important being justice and equality.

21. It must also be said that Zionism has made persecution of the Jews bargaining tool in their dealings with European States and peoples. It in the minds of these States and peoples a guilt complex. To discharge European States from their guilt, Israel demands that they in return discharge it from the crimes of persecution, banishment and murder of which it is guilty at the present moment, and that they grant it a green light for those which it perpetrates in the future this is in total contradiction to the teachings of all religions, including Judaism which advocates justice and prohibits oppression and iniquity.

22. If the slate which recounts the responsibility of Western countries for crimes committed against Jews in the West is to be wiped clean, Zionism demands that the Western conscience wipe clean the slate which recounts crimes perpetrated against the Arabs, including those which it intends to perpetrate in the future to finalize their expansionist and aggressive objective in the region.

23. By presuming on this old debt, Israel insists that European countries refuse all military aid to Arab States. The leader of the Israeli Government, recently voiced a warning to Chancellor Kohl who was about to visit Israel "Germany has a moral duty to prevent delivery of Leopard 2 tanks to Saudi Arabian.

24. This mute-like exchange between Israel and Western countries is the real obstacle which prevents the Arabs from carrying out their convictions and explains the hesitation which characterizes Western attitudes and their lack of concern in seeing that the international community's decisions regarding Palestinian rights are followed up. One can not help but notice a contradiction between resolutions and action, between declared positions and secret or perhaps unconscious tendencies.

25. This explains, maybe, the fact that these States preferred to give to their participation to this Conference a marginal character and chose to be simple observers and not to contribute to enhance the international efforts seeking for justice and equity.

26. We know what authority Zionism exercises over the majority of Western media what influence Zionism has in Western societies and how severely persecuted are those in Europe and elsewhere who try to unmask the face of Zionism.

27. Israel believes that it can ignore the international community for which it feels no responsibility. For Israel, the whole world is put in the prisoners dock if it upholds rights, justice and law. Either the world must support Israel in carrying out its expansionist objectives, deny its role and hush up the voice of conscience or be accused of racism and anti-Semitism which is the most odious of crimes in Israel's eyes. Israel places itself on one scale of the balance and rest of the world on the other.

28. To expand, occupy territories by force, establish settlements, commit massacres and systematically confiscate the liberties of Palestinian citizens, to persecute them, to chase them off their homeland, to blow up their homes, to imprison them, to destroy their water resources, to destroy their very means of survival all this and even more Israel feels free to do. No religious teachings or human laws can tolerate this, but. Israel, feeling above all reproach, takes itself for the quintessence of humanity and the source of moral values.

29. We can only imagine what the world would be like, what international relations would be like if this behaviour held sway and became the basis for relations between States and peoples. Let us imagine a world subject to the role of the end justifies the means. Let us imagine an international community which ignores international law and its obligations with respect to the Charter of the Rights of Man. How can humanity feel reassured by the prospect of such a future?

30. In fact, Israel ignores the international community, international law and world-wide opinion. The best proof of this is that it flaunts United Nations decisions and defies the international community by scorning the principles on which this latter is founded. Such is the immutable behaviour of Israel. It is determined to control the occupied territories and spread its supremacy over all the region.

31. The policy of accelerating the implantation of settlement colonies is an act of defiance in face of all proposals for a solution to the Palestinian problem and the Middle East crisis. It is clear that Israel aims, through this feverish setting up of settlement colonies on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip at showing one day that there is no longer any reason to negotiate and that no territory remains to justify the creation of a Palestinian State. Did not a Zionist leader recently suggest chasing the Arabs from the occupied territories, considering this is a possible solution to the problem of coexistence on a national level?

32. How can the international community accept the attitude of a great Power which has been invested with a weighty mission because of its international responsibilities a Power whose representative on the Security Council came out in support of these settlement colonies even though his own President had already stated that he considered them a threat to peace? How can our Arab States and peoples understand that this great Power, on 2 August of this year, vetoed a Security Council resolution in favour of dismantling the settlement colonies on the West Bank? These changing attitudes of a great Power that has assumed heavy

responsibilities and which is, in addition, linked to many Arab States by co-operation ties and common interests, constitute a serious threat that can only, increase misgivings, cast doubt on the sincerity of American efforts to reach a just solution to what is called the Middle East problem, increase the feelings of despair and hatred and revolt in the Palestinian people and push the entire region to the edge of peril.

33. How can the international community then explain United States and a number of other States insistence on continuing their support to Israel while Israeli policy is based on oppression and aggression? How can the international community explain the persistence of these States to protect Israel when it is the only State in the world that has neither fixed geographical boundaries nor a text of law determining these boundaries, Israel, in fact, constantly uses the pretext of the necessity of ensuring its borders to refuse all definite solutions, and at the same time presumes to continue its policy of expansion. Just how free can these borders be pushed? Did not Sharon proclaim only recently that the security of Israel extends from the continent of Africa to the farthest most regions of Asia?

34. The entire international community has more than once condemned Israeli aggressions. But has this in any way altered its behaviour?

35. Every time the international community finds itself face to face with one Israeli objective or another or discovers one Israeli plan or another, international Zionism comes to the fore and organizes a full-scale campaign of intellectual, political and diplomatic terrorism, distorting facts and using pressure and bribery tactics to dissuade those who attack the Hebrew State. How many times has the United Nations seen its resolutions and institutions flouted by Israel?

36. Israel has every means at its disposal to exercise its influence throughout the world and in the internal affairs of great countries especially those of the United States of America. This influence is likely to limit the role of this great Power, prevent it from fulfilling its responsibilities in its quest for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and force it to make decisions which are opposed to the convictions of the American society itself. As a result, Zionism, convinced that there will be no real opposition or consequence to its incredible machinations, can totally disregard international law.

37. This is why when we heard the President of the United States state on the first anniversary of the publication of the Reagan plan that "the settlement colonies constitute an obstacle to the peace", we could not help but ask ourselves if the new United States position signified a serious development, especially after the United States veto in the Security Council relative to the implantation of colonies.

38. As the President of the United States insists that his plan is still valid, it must be recalled that this plan was refused immediately and categorically by Israel. This refusal was due simply to Israeli determination to create new settlement colonies on Palestinian territory. To this end, it aims at suppressing anything which might lead to the creation of a national entity in Palestine.

39. When he states that the problem of settlement colonies must be solved through negotiations, the president of the United States bases these negotiations on the effects of an occupation which Israel is determined to illustrate by hard facts.

40. In fact, the President of the United States has thrown us into a state of confusion is it due to an alignment with Israel and total indifference to Arab rights? Or is it due to the helplessness of a super-Power in face of a small arrogant State which has great influence in United States political life?

41. No matter what the reason may be, it is regrettable that the United States has boycotted this Conference and refused to participate in United Nations efforts.

42. We are convinced that if the great Powers realized fully the limits of their influence, it would constitute a valid approach for each one of them in determining what measures could be taken, with their own interests in mind to find a solution to world-wide problems.

43. The Arab States presented a coherent peace plan to the international community the plan of Fez (A/37/696-S/15510, annex). The various points of the plan were patterned after United Nations resolutions in their entirety. This plan was adopted to prevent a catastrophe in the Middle East which might have far-reaching effects.

44. Israel objected to this Arab peace plan as it has objected to every plan and initiative including the plan presented by the President of the State which I guarantee its protection and supports it in spite of the international community's condemnation.

45. Israel rejected the Arab plan because the Israeli Government refuses any solution which might prevent it from having the upper hand not only on Palestinian territory but also on the entire region. It is regrettable that influential States which constantly proclaim their attachment to a peaceful solution to the problem did not grant the Arab plan its due importance or judge its real value. It is also regrettable that they made no effort to use this plan as a basis for a lasting solution to the problem of the region, not only through attachment to justice, liberty and equality but also and above all, to ensure world peace. This peace is gravely and increasingly threatened by both the Israeli policy of aggression and the desperate situation which results when the means of international justice cannot be used to change the situation through peaceful discussion.

46. The Arab States attach great importance to the finding of a just and complete solution to the problem of the Palestinian people and the conflict in the Middle East. Our States are aware of the important place the Arab region occupies in international peace and security. They consequently forewarn against the continuation and aggravation of tensions in this region as they threaten not only regional peace and security but also that of the whole world. It is for this reason that the Arab States consider that the international community must wake up to the gravity of the situation in this region and adopt adequate practical measures so that the Palestinian people will recover its legitimate rights and Israeli occupation of all Arab territories be brought to an end. This is a basic condition if the peoples of this region are to live in peace and the spectre of hate and bitterness be forevermore forgotten.

47. But how can this be achieved if not by bringing Israel to reason; if not by cutting off the military, economic and political support which enables it to carry on its flagrantly illegal and arrogant dealing ignoring all law, fearing nothing?

48. The international community is called upon to show through concrete action its fundamental faith in the right of all peoples to determine their own destiny if justice and international law are to be preserved. If not it might well witness a total collapse much like examples in ancient and contemporary history civilization which have crumbled because of their inability to sustain their fundamental principle through this important action which, alone, gives credibility and weight to anything of value.

N. Statement by Moustapha Niassé, Foreign Minister of Senegal and President of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine

1. I should like, on behalf of His Excellency Mr. Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic of Senegal, to thank you for the great honour you have paid my country in appointing it to the presidency of this United Nations Conference on the Question of Palestine.

2. My country regards this as a tribute to its attachment to the noble ideal and goals of the United Nations Charter and to the efforts of the Senegalese Head of State, President Abdou Diouf, who, for many years, has been supporting the Palestinian cause and all the liberation movements struggling throughout the world for respect for human dignity and for the independence of peoples.

3. My country also regards this honour as encouragement for its constant efforts to promote peace, harmony and solidarity among nations and people. I am convinced that, through fruitful dialogue and calm concerted efforts, we shall be able to find ways and means of bringing about a just and lasting solution to the question of Palestine.

4. I would like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, for his untiring efforts to restore peace in the Middle East and, in particular, in Palestine, just as he has been attempting, with admirable dynamism, to do in the case of Namibia. My delegation would also like to congratulate Mrs. Lucille Mair, Secretary-General of the International Conference, and the members of the Preparatory Committee for the remarkable work they have carried out in organizing and convening this International Conference. They have shown themselves to be fully equal to the noble task which was entrusted to them and whose results are now apparent in the impeccable organization of this Conference.

5. I should also like, on behalf of all the delegations taking part in this Conference in one capacity or another, to express our

gratitude to the Swiss people, known to all for its willingness, its generosity and its attachment to peace and dialogue among nations. We once again express our deep appreciation to the Swiss people and its leaders for agreeing to host this Peace Conference, this Conference of hope and concerted efforts, which has been convened, under the auspices of the United Nations, to find the most appropriate means of putting an end to a painful problem that poses a dangerous threat to international security.

6. In the 36 years that the question of Palestine has been before the United Nations, this is the first time the organization has convened an International Conference devoted to finding a solution to the problem.

7. Resolution 36/120 C of 10 December 1981, in which the United Nations General Assembly decided to hold this Conference follows logically from the mission of this Organization, which is to promote peace international security and justice. It should be remembered that never in the history of nations has the action of an international organization had so much impact on the destiny of a people as the United Nations on the destiny of the Palestinian people. Since 1947, when United Kingdom referred the Palestinian question to the United Nations, the Organization has devoted more time, discussions and efforts to that question than to any other, without, unfortunately, being able to find a just and, therefore, lasting solution to the problem.

8. This in no way means that the United Nations is incapable of promoting a peaceful settlement of this problem. To some extent, the absence of a settlement has depended much less on the nature of the problem than on the approach which has been adopted by the United Nations and which has, for a long time, been incomplete.

9. There have been three major stages in the consideration of the question of Palestine by the United Nations:

(a) "First, the period from 1947 to 1952 was characterized by the partition of Palestine and the birth of the Middle East conflict. The unjust partition of the country in favour of a minority made up largely of immigrants mainly from the countries of Europe and the Americas led to the first war during that period, and it in turn led to the expulsion of the indigenous population and the occupation of the territory that was, under United Nations resolution 181 (II), to serve as the basis for the future Palestinian Arab States

(b) During the second stage, which lasted from 1952 to 1969, the question of Palestine was completely overshadowed by the larger question of the Middle East in general. The Palestinians were left out of the political arena and were no longer involved in attempts to settle the conflict that was seen to exist only between Israel and the Arab States. The question of Palestine was no longer a political question, but simply a humanitarian one, a notion which sowed the seeds of war and destruction in the Middle East

(c) In the third stage, the period from 1970 to the present, the question of Palestine was finally placed by the international community in its true geopolitical context and seen as the core of the Middle East conflict.

10. It must, however, be stated that, although there is now broad agreement on the components of a just and lasting solution in the Middle East, the prospects for peace remain dim because one of the participants appears to be insisting on a solution that meets only the conditions that it has set. Such an attitude is unjust and unacceptable, for it is contrary to international law and to the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

11. It should be recalled that the Government of Senegal has always supported the principle of a peaceful solution to the Palestinian problem, provided that such a solution is based on all the relevant United Nations resolutions. Such a solution should, in my country's view, be based on:

(a) The withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories that have been occupied since 1967, in conformity with Security Council resolution 242 (1967);

(b) The implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people defined in General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 and including the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes from which they have been displaced, the right to self-determination without external interference, and the right to national independence and sovereignty;

(c) The of all States in the region to live in peace within recognized and guaranteed borders.

12. This is the basic position we must adopt in judging all peace efforts in the Middle East. This is also the position by which we have been guided in the efforts we have made in the United Nations, where my country has had the privilege of presiding over the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People ever since its creation within the Non-Aligned Movement and its contact-group on Palestine, of which Senegal is a member within the framework of the Islamic Conference and its Al-Quds Committee, and in the Organization of African Unity, which, as is well-known, also pays particular attention to the Palestinian question in the name of Arab-African solidarity.

13. The main obstacle to a settlement continues to be precisely Israel's denial of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. This denial of the rights of an entire people is reflected particularly in Israel's claim that it should itself designate the representatives of the Palestinian people. In the past, this attitude prevented the convening of the Geneva Conference and it has considerably delayed the process of the peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis.

14. Today, this attitude is all the more unrealistic in that the Palestinians, both in the territories occupied by Israel and elsewhere, have reaffirmed their steadfast support for the Palestine Liberation Organization as their legitimate representative, which must therefore be associated with all efforts to achieve a solution of the Palestinian problem. That would, moreover, be in keeping with the United Nations Charter and with international law, which recognize the sovereign right of all peoples to designate their representatives.

15. Israel is the only country in the world to have achieved statehood and to have received territory by an act of the United Nations and yet it continues to pursue a policy of force and of faits accomplis in defiance of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the Organization which presided over its birth.

16. Now, for the fifth time since its establishment in 1948, Israel is again at war with the Arab and Palestinian peoples. Although the pretexts for murder, aggression and invasion may change with time, the logic behind them remains the same: that of Zionist policy, whose final objective is to reduce the Palestinian people to obedience and to create what David Ben Gurion called "the third kingdom of David", a "greater Israel" extending from the Nile to the Euphrates.

17. The aggression against Lebanon and the Palestine Liberation Organization in June 1982, which the entire world condemned in the strongest terms, was thus designed, in the eyes of the Israeli leaders, to bring about the military destruction of the Palestine Liberation Organization and to enable the Tel Aviv authorities to consolidate their annexation of the West Bank and Gaza, following their annexation of Syrian territory in the Golan. This policy of annexation has, moreover, made enormous strides in the past 15 years, as shown by the periodic reports of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, of which my country has the honour to be active member.

18. Since 1967, there has been a broad trend towards the occupation and expropriation of Arab land on the West Bank of the Jordan.

19. Hundreds of acres of land which have been cultivated for generations by Palestinian families have been taken away from their rightful owners. Villages in the area have been razed and their inhabitants have been forced to abandon them. The land made available in this way has been redistributed to Israel settlers. On the pretext of security reasons or service requirements the Israeli authorities thus requisition valuable land and after a time reassign it to groups of civilian settlers who farm it illegally, with no right or title to it.

20. In defiance of the legitimate rights of the primarily agricultural population of the region, Israel has extended its control and monopoly over nearly all the water resources in the area. By using very large expenses of land and, consequently, enormous quantities of water, Israeli settlers have deprived the local population of the strict minimum it needs for its agricultural activities and even for domestic purposes. The short term goal is thus to deprive the Palestinian people of any opportunity to cultivate the land. What is happening is that the Palestinian people, which has been forced, in order to survive, to supply labour for Israel's fields and enterprises, is becoming proletarianized. This situation, which leaves the individual no other choice than to work for the



occupation or cease to exist, can be characterized only as a form of disguised slavery.

21. A recent study published by the New York University Institute for Peace and Development in the Middle East shows that the Israeli settlement policy in the West Bank is now being implemented in 28 per cent of that territory and that 60 per cent of the entire West Bank of the Jordan is being reserved for new Israeli settlements.

22. The many declarations by Israeli leaders do not, moreover, leave any doubt about the purpose of that policy, namely, the creation of an irreversible situation which would make it impossible for the Palestinian people to exercise its right of self-determination. We have the feeling that Israel is no longer seeking to trade territories for peace, it is now seeking both territories and peace. It thus seems that no assurances of security and no recognition will be able to guarantee peace unless Israel is assured of control over the occupied Palestinian territories. Such an approach, such an attitude can only be condemned by the international community.

23. The present Israeli Government's claim, in defiance of human rights, to a divine and biblical right to ownership of Palestine seems to lead to the conclusion that any means is justified in taking over the promised land. Obviously, however, the Palestinian problem is not a theological one, but rather, a political and human problem which cannot be reduced to a religious question. It is the problem of a people which has, for more than 30 years, been subjected to dispersion and exile, humiliation and aggression, and which has endured suffering to which no human conscience that is at all attached to justice can remain indifferent.

24. The paradox is that it is Israel, whose people suffered so much from blind, racism and which has long been demanding justice and respect which is now, so I firmly opposed to the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people and which is firming, that the achievement of, the aspirations of the Palestinian people would be incompatible with Israel's security. In so doing the Tel Aviv authorities are turning their backs on history, which has always taught us that. peoples fighting for their independence and dignity have always acquired them, no matter what barriers and obstacles they have had to overcome during their struggle. It is therefore illusory and dangerous to say that the right of the Palestinian people to the establishment of a sovereign State in Palestine is no more than a right to administrative autonomy with no real content or meaning.

25. It is clear that unless the Israeli Government's expansionist policy is halted the short-term prospects for peace will continue to be dim.

26. It is also clear that unless account is taken of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people no lasting solution will be found.

27. Moreover, the urge to dominate and feelings of superiority amount to misguided prejudice and may, in the long run, incite the protagonists to aggressive and incurable hatred and passion.

28. In view of the many debates which the international community has devoted to the question of Palestine it would be tempting to say that it has almost become an exercise in futility to confront Israel with the lofty principles of the United Nations, in as much as it may also rightly be said that nothing is being done where it should be done, particularly in the Security Council, which is no longer even able, despite its efforts, to ensure compliance with its own resolutions. Nothing is therefore being done to ensure respect for those principles, despite the obvious support of the overwhelming majority of the Members of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations for the international consensus that has been reached on the question of Palestine. However, despite doubts as to the usefulness of condemnation, which usually have no effect, we must continue to spare no effort because what is at stake is the survival of oppressed peoples who, like the Palestinians and our Arab brothers, are only claiming their right to freedom and independence.

29. It is appropriate here to remind those who still support Israel in its current policy that they must finally realize that, although they are concerned about Israel's security, the only hope of salvation lies in acceptance of the consensus that has been reached on the components of and the need for a peaceful settlement of the painful Palestinian problem. Israel's security depends on account being taken of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

30. Our Arab brothers understood this when they stated, at the Summit Conference held at Fez in September 1982, that the West Bank and Gaza should be placed under United Nations control during a transition period and that the Security Council should guarantee peace among all States of the region, including the independent Palestine State. That is a positive and important step in the right direction and, it must be stressed, an attitude that is worthy of being considered constructive. The international community is now duty-bound to take advantage of this meeting in Geneva to disrupt the long sequence of missed opportunities that have until now characterized the Middle East conflict. The Head of State of Senegal, President Abdou Diouf, who has never spared any effort on behalf of the Palestinian people, considers that this is one of the priorities to which we must devote our thought and action in the name of the sacred principles of the freedom and dignity of peoples based on their inalienable and indefeasible right to self-determination. As we move in this direction, the road to peace may seem long, complex and strewn with difficulties, but we must persevere and act in a responsible manner without yielding to discouragement or weariness. The barriers to peace are known, we must now work together to overcome them. To this end, we have to be objective and, in the course of our work, examine the various aspects of the question with lucidity and realism in order to find a just and lasting solution in the interest of all the States and peoples of the region. We can succeed if we have the necessary political will and if the key note of this Conference constructive and responsible dialogue, not useless confrontation. It is my hope that this Conference will mark the first real step towards peace in a spirit of mutual tolerance and openmindedness and in the name of the fundamental values which have enabled the international community, during the great moments of its history, to face the many challenges it has met on the glorious road to its destiny.

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## Annex II

### TEXT OF STATEMENT BY YASSER ARAFAT

#### Chairman of the Executive Committee of Palestine Liberation Organization

1. The Palestinian people are proud that the United Nations is holding this important International Conference to discuss the tragedy and the just cause of the Palestinian people. It is to be hoped that the Conference will adopt a clear and sound position grounded in international legitimacy which will lead to a peace based on justice in Palestine, the land of divinely revealed religions and the fountain-head from which systems of law and justice have been bequeathed to mankind for all time.

2. I have the honour to address you from this international rostrum in the name of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine and the leader of their just struggle for freedom, democracy, peace, justice and national independence.

3. The people of Palestine are subjected daily to all kinds of political, economic, cultural, religious and social oppression and persecution because of the Zionist policy of occupation and expansion. In all their pains, sufferings and steadfastness, our struggling and valiant people have great hopes that your Conference will be successful in ensuring the triumph of the benevolent international will which is sincerely endeavouring to implement the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in order to put an end to the tragedy of this struggling people so that they can recover their inalienable national rights, including their right of return, self-determination and national independence as a real basis for the achievement of peace in the Middle East, and so that our people can enjoy freedom and sovereignty in their own land, contribute to the establishment of international peace and take part in the advancement of human civilization.

4. In the name of the Palestine Liberation Organization and of the people of Palestine would like to express our gratitude and

appreciation to the Government and the friendly people of Switzerland for holding this Conference on their territory, and for all the efforts made by the Government of Switzerland to meet the requirements for the work and security of this Conference despite all the pressures and constraints brought to bear on it and its friendly people in an attempt to obstruct the holding of this Conference.

5. This Conference is being convened pursuant to a resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which represents international legitimacy in our present era, to discuss an issue and a tragedy which resulted from a resolution adopted by the United Nations in 1947. In keeping with their commitment to the Charter, the principles and the peaceful aims of the United Nations, all States Members of the United Nations, especially the United States of America and the Western countries which were behind the 1947 partition resolution should be attending this Conference. Unfortunately, we find it necessary to express the sorrow of our people at the manner in which these countries have evaded responsibility for their actions and have disregarded their international obligations concerning the achievement of peace based on justice and respect for the principles of international legitimacy in our contemporary era.

6. Brothers and friends, on behalf of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian people I would like to thank you for attending this Conference and participating in its work so that, together, we can shoulder these human and international responsibilities for the defence of peace, freedom and democracy and endeavour to establish a human society of brotherhood, co-operation, freedom and peace.

7. I must also thank you for your decision to grant Palestine, through the Palestine Liberation Organization delegation, full membership in the Conference. Our people regard this as an indication of the stand taken by the overwhelming majority of international public opinion in support of the struggle and the rights of our people. It also highlights the extent of the positive international consensus in response to the just cause of our people in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

8. Your position clarifies the confusion which reigns in the minds of the people of Palestine and the peoples of the world concerning the clamorous representations made by the United States of America and other Western countries absent from this Conference regarding human rights principles and peace at a time when they are not only ignoring the rights of the people of Palestine but are also silently condoning or helping the Zionist occupation authorities in their aggression and their violation of all international principles, values and laws. A simple review of the conduct of these countries, and especially the attitude of the United States of America, clearly shows that, in essence, their policies are not only incompatible with, but also detrimental to the peace that they are advocating. The late Jawaharlal Nehru aptly said that American policy had not contributed to a single real peace in the world but had participated in and brought about numerous wars since the United States of America became one of the two super Powers in the world.

9. The Security Council resolutions, adopted with the participation and approval of the Government of the United States, condemned the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories of our homeland as an illegal action which hindered and obstructed peace. However, the United States of America is not pursuing any policy or taking any action to stop these acts of aggression. It is even obstructing the passage of any resolution hinting at the adoption of measures provided for in the Charter of the United Nations if Israel persists in its policy of establishing settlements, as happened recently when the United States delegation exercised its right of veto in the Security Council to prevent the adoption of such a resolution last month. The veto has become the standard response of the United States to any discussion by the Security Council of Israeli violations and acts of aggression against our people and nation.

10. President Reagan announced his well-known initiatives on 1 September 1982 under the slogan of peace in the Middle East and then clearly denied the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of their independent State. In other words, he stripped the Palestinian people of their natural, international, legal rights. Is this not detrimental to the peace for which he is calling? The Soviet Union put forward an initiative for peace in the Middle East which was supported by our National Council. But President Reagan said there was no role for the Soviets in the peace process.

11. During the Israel invasion of Lebanon last summer, France and Egypt put forward a peace proposal which has not yet been placed on the agenda of the Security Council because the United States representative in the Security Council indicated that he would use his right of veto against the proposal simply because it included, *inter alia*, a reference to the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. Is this not detrimental to peace? Is this not advocacy of the right of might and conquest which were revoked by the Charter of the United Nations?

12. On 1 October 1977, Mr. Vance, then Secretary of State of the United States of America and Mr. Gromyko agreed on principles for a political solution of the Middle East problem an official statement known as the Vance Gromyko Statement was accordingly issued. However, a few days after its issue, this statement was disavowed by the United States. Is this not detrimental to peace?

13. In contrast to these great obstacles with which United States policy is burdening the people of Palestine and the crippling conditions that its policy imposes on the Palestine Liberation Organization, we note the huge extent of United States support for aggressive Israeli policies which reached its climax in the United States-Israeli Strategic Agreement. Is this not detrimental to peace?

14. In his initiative, Reagan said that the Israeli Army is the strongest in the Middle East. But the war in Lebanon proved that military power does not achieve peace. The United States Government is responsible for building this huge military power led by people who find in war, expansion, settlement and aggression the basis of their Zionist ideology and their colonial programme of action. Is this policy not detrimental to peace?

15. At the climax of the siege of Beirut by the Zionist invasion forces using internationally Prohibited American weapons to kill thousands of innocent Lebanese and Palestinian civilians and, to be exact, on 20 August 1982, I received a signed written undertaking from Philip Habib, the personal representative of the President of the United States of America, stipulating his Government a commitment to guarantee the protection of civilians, Palestinian refugee camps and the fighters families in Beirut from any aggression or threat to their security and safety after the evacuation of the heroes who defended Beirut against Israel's barbaric invasion. I also received an undertaking that the detainees in the Ansar detention camp would be freed in return for the handing over by the Palestine Liberation Organization of its Israeli prisoners to the International Red Cross.

16. While the Palestine Liberation Organization honoured its commitment, the United States Government did not follow suit. It withdrew its troops from Beirut and pushed for the evacuation of the French and Italian multinational forces which took over the city of Beirut from us. This led to the occupation of the city by the Israeli invasion forces, and the perpetration of all kinds of murders and acts of repression and terrorism directed against civilians, cultural centres and hospitals, culminating eventually in the horrific, historic massacre at Sabra and Shatila. Is this demonstration of American policy not detrimental to peace?

17. Following our departure from Beirut, the United States of America took over what has become known as the peace process in Lebanon, and brought about the so-called Lebanese-Israeli agreement, which violated Lebanese sovereignty, thereby rewarding the Israeli invaders for their aggression and for the individual and collective massacres which they committed in Tyre and Sidon, Ain al Hilwa, Hasbanyya and Miye wa Miye refugee camps and at Nabatiya, Damur and Beirut. The United States of America equated the Israeli army of occupation with the Syrian forces present in Lebanon at the request and wish of the legitimate authorities of Lebanon, as well as with the Palestinian forces present in Lebanon in accordance with the Cairo Agreement. But the heroic Lebanese people are resisting the occupation and the Israeli-Lebanese agreement and are demanding the withdrawal of the invading army which the United States Government promised would be withdrawn before the end of 1982, and then before 15 February 1983 and then before 20 March 1983. But the United States of America did not carry out any of these promises. On the contrary, its policies brought about the fighting that is taking place now on Lebanese territory and which proves,

that what happened in Lebanon was a result, not of the Palestinian presence, but of expansionist, aggressive Israeli objectives supported by United States policy. Is this not detrimental to peace in the whole region?

18. Zionist acts of aggression are not confined to the land and people of Palestine. They also extend to the Golan Heights and the Syrian people, South Lebanon and the Lebanese people, and even parts of Sinai and the Egyptian people, as we can see from the Taba area and the other 17 localities.

19. It is a policy of expansion, seizure and expropriation of land, establishment of settlements, and even Judaization of our Holy Places, as happened recently in Hebron and Jerusalem.

20. Like other peoples of the world, the Palestinian people hate war but are fighting for justice. Our people love peace and yearn for it. But they recognize that peace cannot be achieved while their rights and national identity are being denied.

21. Never in its history has our people engaged in aggression outside its national boundaries.

22. Through its history, our people has been a haven of refuge for victims of injustice and aggression.

23. The history of our people abounds with accounts of its continual resistance against invasion and occupations of its homeland.

24. Our people, nation and region have given human civilization its three religions teaching love, equality, brotherhood and justice.

25. With this deep rooted human heritage, our people are not fighting just for the sake of fighting. They are struggling for peace based on justice.

26. For all these reasons, our people accepted the Arab peace plan adopted at the Fez Summit Conference held in September 1982 (A/37/696-S/15510, annex), which was unanimously endorsed by the Arab States with a view to the establishment of peace based on justice in our land and in our region.

27. Most countries of the world approved this resolution. It was accepted by the Non-Aligned Countries, by African and Islamic States and was supported by most of the socialist as well as some of the Western European States. It was also approved by the Palestine National Council at its most recent session in Algiers last February. It was rejected only by the Governments of the United States and Israel.

28. This American attitude and Western silence clearly indicate that the; colonialist mentality based on hegemony and expansion still exists in the policies of these States despite the fact that we live in an age in which the United Nations has resolved to eliminate colonialism from the world; an age in which all mental capabilities tend efforts are mobilized to deal with issues related to the economic order and the limitation of nuclear arms through international dialogue and understanding free from colonialist hegemony so that the world will not be faced with a nuclear holocaust threatening the very survival of mankind. Western Europe has a great responsibility to play a true role in resolving the world's problems and in exerting a real effort to solve the problem of the people of Palestine in a manner consistent with the natural right of this people to self determination and national independence.

29. Our Palestinian people is tired of the way in which the Governments of Western European States are merely paying lip service to the aspirations of the people of Palestine and the Arab Nation. It is time for Europe to move from verbal declarations to practical steps in order not to lose the confidence of the Arab nation and, in the final analysis, so as not to jeopardize its interests, since natural relationships between States are based on the mutuality of common interests and not on the furtherance of the interests of one party.

30. With all the good intentions underlying this confidence, our people understand the true significance of the General Assembly resolution to convene it in Western Europe whose peoples were unaware of the real situation. It was necessary, therefore, for the truth to be brought home to them in order to unmask the machinations of the Government of the United States and to counter the practical consequences of the positions of most of the Western European States, especially the United Kingdom, aimed at preventing the people of Palestine from exercising their inalienable rights in accordance with international Legitimacy represented by the resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations since 1947.

31. It is our sincere hope that, through this Conference, the international will, deeply committed to international agreements, declarations and accords, will finally prove capable of achieving a break through in the search for practical means to secure the enjoyment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights. This means that, in your resolutions, you must take care to affirm the rights of the Palestinian people, specifying the means for their recovery and exercise.

32. In this context, we wish to suggest to you the following ideas:

(a) The Middle East is a very important and vital region with regard to the establishment of peace since it has a direct effect on the international situation as a whole. Consequently, that region must remain free from the monopoly of any one power in the world, and free from balkanization and the threat of internal and external explosion;

(b) The question of Palestine originated and developed as a result of international conflicts before and after the First and Second World Wars and international, political complications deriving from the changing and conflicting positions and balances of power in the world. Hence, the responsibility for the recovery of the rights of the Palestinian people is a wholly international responsibility within the framework of international legitimacy;

(c) The Fez Summit resolutions constitute a unique opportunity for the achievement of the minimum degree of justice required. This opportunity for peace in the region, presented jointly by the Arab leaders at the Summit Conference, should not be wasted;

(d) The exercise by the people of Palestine of their right of return, self determination and national independence the only basis for any peace based on justice in the Middle East;

(e) Failure to deter the Zionist military aggressive mentality and the continuation of unlimited United States support for this barbaric military machine contradict any advocacy of international peace;

(f) In the light of these principles we are struggling for peace and reject the American Israeli policies calling upon us to capitulate;

(g) In the light of these principles we welcome all peace initiatives based on the recognition of the rights of our people. We are ready to co-operate with all forces, and primarily the United Nations and its agencies, within the framework of international legitimacy and their resolutions concerning the question of Palestine. In this connection, we are calling for an international conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, in which the two super Powers would participate with the rest of the parties concerned, on the basis of the United Nations resolutions relating to the question of Palestine.

33. Following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the savage massacres and the destruction inflicted on the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples as a result of this Zionist American invasion, it became clear to the international community that there is a need for a conscientious stand to alleviate the sufferings of the Palestinian people and to assist them to return to their homeland. The world has realized that the people of Palestine, whether fighters or civilians, are devoted to their just objectives and worthy of regaining their rights. Their existence cannot be ignored. We, with others, including many present at this Conference, were surprised by the declarations of the President of the United States urging the Arabs to withdraw their recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine. In another statement, the United States Secretary of State Schultz expressed his Administration's satisfaction at the current attempts taking place in the Beqaa' to dominate the Palestine Liberation Organization and to circumscribe its decision-making process. He also claimed that, following the departure of its military forces from Beirut, the Palestine Liberation Organization no longer played a political role.

34. It is evident that such statements are a continuation of the aggressive American Israeli policies which are an extension of their hostile attitude towards the Palestinian people and their rights. These statements unmask the persistence of their hostile policies of ignoring not only the rights of the Palestinian people, which were recognized by international legitimacy, but also the Palestine Liberation Organization, the leader of their just struggle. Our valiant people formed a protective shield, however, through the commitment of their masses and their adherence to the Palestine Liberation Organization and its leadership. They rose angrily and forcefully in a spirit of firm determination and total unity, rejecting any attempt to circumscribe or usurp their independent national

decision making process, or to ignore their free will, in defence of the future of their children and their coming generations and their right to live in dignity and freedom in their free and independent land.

35. Our people, who have been struggling for the last 60 years against British colonialism, American hegemony and Zionist aggression and occupation thereby reaffirm their will and increasing resolve to regain their national rights despite all sacrifices and to once again assume their human role in the making of human civilization.

36. Our people, who are fighting with pens and stones, with guns and olive branches, with their children, youth and women, with their minds, consciences and human aims, are still maintaining their unity and their revolution despite all their sufferings from oppression, terrorism and dispersion. They therefore deserve your support and solidarity and every resolution and action in furtherance of a just peace and their right to live a life of dignity in their homeland.

37. On this occasion, I feel that reference should be made to the democratic and progressive Jewish forces in and outside Israel who have condemned war, condemned the invasion, condemned the massacres of Sabra and Shatila and condemned expansionist policies and who are firmly advocating the rights of our people. I convey to them my greetings and appreciation for their courageous stand, in the face of the terror of the Israeli military authorities. Let us re together, our dream of an exemplary peace in the land of peace to be offered as a gift from us all to human civilization. Let us co-operate side by side with all noble-minded, peace, justice and freedom loving forces the world over.

38. In his famous interview in 1978, Byzezinski said "Bye Bye Palestine Liberation Organization". Many of his predecessors and successors have thought that the Palestine Liberation Organization was finished. Then came the war in Lebanon and the siege of Beirut during which the Begin Government deployed most of the Israeli naval, land and air forces and used the most modern American weaponry, including those internationally prohibited, with unlimited American backing and approval. The aim was to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization and to liquidate its infrastructure. They failed to achieve that aim.

39. Despite the continuation of conspiracies in and outside our occupied land, events during the last decade have proved that all schemes and plots against our just cause were doomed to failure and incapable of liquidating our people's revolution and the Palestine Liberation Organization, the leader of their struggle, in the face of the will of our people and their sacrifices and resolve to continue the march until victory.

40. All freedom-loving and noble-minded people the world over may rest assured that our people will remain loyal to their common principles and values in their just struggle against injustice and oppression, against colonialism, zionism, apartheid and racial discrimination. Despite all the conspiracies to which they are exposed and despite all their sufferings and bloodshed our people will continue to stand together with the freedom-loving and struggling peoples in Namibia, South Africa, Asia and Latin America. All of these conspiracies will inevitably be crushed on the rock of this great international solidarity with our people and their just struggle.

41. In all liberation battles, the struggle for the last 10 metres is always, in policy and in war, the most difficult of all struggles and that for which the hardest and most ferocious battles are fought. We are now fighting the battle of the last 10 metres towards victory in order to hoist the banner of our people over Jerusalem, the capital of our free State.

42. Together until liberation and victory.

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### Annex III

#### TEXTS OF CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

##### Address by Imre Hollai, President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly

1. May I express my deep appreciation for the opportunity to address this International Conference on the Question of Palestine, as President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

2. This Conference is about to accomplish a formidable task which the General Assembly of the United Nations outlined for it, e.g. to seek effective ways and means to enable the Palestinian people to attain and exercise their rights.

3. In facing up to this mandate, the Conference had to consider an issue that has for decades been a focal point of international politics and is still a pressing matter challenging the community of nations. It not only covers the plight of millions who have been displaced and uprooted, but as the overwhelming majority expressed here, also constitutes the core of the Middle East crisis whose just solution is the pre-condition of attaining a lasting peace in that troubled region of the world.

4. The General Assembly has a long record regarding the question of Palestine. Having been for quite some time, preoccupied mainly with the secondary aspects of the Palestinian question it started in the early 1970s to focus on the political substance of the issue increasing attention has been given to the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Recent history showed that this new approach was gradually gaining ground.

5. Let me recall for the record:

6. In 1970 for the first time the General Assembly recognized that respect for the rights of the Palestinians was an indispensable element in the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East. In 1974 the General Assembly specifically recognized that the Palestinian people had the right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty and the right to return to the homes and properties from which they had been displaced.

7. As a corollary to these steps the General Assembly invited the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in its proceedings, and subsequently called for the PLO's participation, on an equal footing, with other parties in all negotiations on the Middle East. Consequently it is most welcome that the Palestine Liberation Organization is a fully fledged Participant in this Conference.

8. I find it fit to mention that back in 1948 the General Assembly had provided for the establishment of two States, one Arab and one Jewish, in the territory of the former Palestinian mandate. As is known only one of these two, Israel has come into existence.

9. In 1975 the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People was set up whose recommendations designed to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their rights were regularly endorsed by the General Assembly. This Committee played an extraordinary role in the preparations of this Conference, rightly appreciated by the participants here.

10. From 1980 on, the discussion of the Palestinian issue at the United Nations has been seven added emphasis in a series of meetings of an emergency special session of the General Assembly. It was in this framework that the General Assembly called for the convening of an International Conference on the Question of Palestine which you are about to close.

11. Despite all the difficulties encountered, along with attempts to undermine its significance the Conference is another milestone in the endeavours within the framework of the United Nations to seek effective ways and means to enable the Palestinian people to attain and exercise their legitimate rights. I wish to record my appreciation to the highly valuable work accomplished by the series of the regional preparatory meetings.

12. This Conference has worked out useful documents. The objectives reflected in the Declaration and the Programme of Action. (part one, chap. I, sects. A and B) could definitely be used to get closer in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and other relevant proposals to resolve the problem, without which the international situation, peace and security on our globe will remain grim.

13. The documents adopted, together with earlier ones along the same line provide the solution as much only as they are to be implemented. Obviously we were not short of documents so far. Now with the winding up of the Conference, renewed efforts have to be made in order to move the deadlock off the Palestinian issue and through these efforts basic changes will be made toward the solution of the Middle East conflict as a whole.

14. What are needed to all these? one may ask. In the course of the Conference a great number of delegations stated their views,

wherein the judgement of the main elements were very closely identical. It is obvious that those wishing the settlement from their hearts and minds think along the same lines and are ready to act accordingly. Without going into the details, I wish to remind the Conference of the following.

15. In my humble view there are two points to be considered as a minimum first of all from the parties directly concerned but also from the international community firstly, self-restraint secondly, the recognition and acceptance of the realities in the region. It goes without saying that the two are interdependent. Self-restraint, which even in the possession of might is able to renounce the disregard of interests of others, the expansionism and violation of other peoples' rights, even if means are available to it.

16. There are not only the very basic principles of international law and the well-established norms of behaviour among nations, which require this kind of responsible attitude, but common sense as well. It is the only way, whereby security can be achieved, without which no nation may entertain its own national values for the sake of its own people as well as for mankind as a whole.

17. The need for progress in the right direction of a settlement obviously demands the respect of realities as well. The acceptance of a solution, where the resolution of an international problem is difficult where national interests clash and the implications of political, strategic considerations are not to be neglected cannot be realized completely satisfying all the parties concerned. There is another prerequisite. A solution favouring only one of the parties, can never be a lasting one. Efforts towards this end increase only tension already high and bear in themselves the source of another breakout of conflict.

18. Among the realities; of our contemporary world, it is a fact of life that not a single serious crisis with international implications can be resolved without the joint agreement of the two great Powers.

19. The very reality of our times requires moreover that all international disputes, particularly the most sensitive ones, can and must be resolved only through peaceful means, by negotiations. The lasting solution of the Palestinian question obviously falls into this category.

20. From all these criteria, I wish to draw the conclusion that the resolution of the Middle East question can be realized only as the counterpoint to separate deals with the respect of recognition of rights of all peoples and States in the region along with international guarantees for their security.

21. I am convinced that if in the phase of the implementation these principles are to prevail we will definitely get closer to the solution of this almost four decades old problem of an acute nature.

22. As I have at the outset indicated, the United Nations had devoted particular attention to the most thorough examination of the Palestinian question and all other closely related issues. According to the documents of the Conference, the role of the United Nations should be maintained and even increased until the complete restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people takes place and their sovereignty is established and exercised. Therefore I believe that the Conference acted rightly in stressing and reaffirming time and again the role and responsibility of the World Organization.

23. Finally, let me say that the Conference, which is about to conclude its work, will prove to be a major contribution to the solution of the problem of Palestine. Let me also express the hope that the Conference will help all those who either present here or absent, wish to associate themselves in the future with the efforts to further the cause of the Palestinian people and peace in the Middle East. Address by M. Dubey, Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations Office at Geneva, on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries

1. The first International Conference on the Question of Palestine is about to be concluded. This Conference has enabled us to carry out by far the most comprehensive and wide-ranging discussion on the problem of Palestine during the post War years. The Declaration and the Programme of Action that we have adopted in this Conference marks a decisive step forward and, if I may say so a turning point in the effort of the international community to restore to the Palestinian people their legitimate right, a right for which they have been waging the most heroic struggle in modern-times.

2. All the speakers whom we have heard until now have spoken about the great success of the Conference. While joining them, I would seek your permission to analyse very briefly what were our expectations from the Conference and where we find ourselves today, at the end of the Conference.

3. We turned to this Conference to mobilize universal support for the cause of the Palestinian people and to arouse the conscience of mankind against the injustices being perpetrated against them. We came here to pledge our solidarity for the Palestinian people and for the Palestine Liberation Organization, their sole representative, to make an assessment of whether what we have been doing to assist them is adequate, and to devise ways and means of further strengthening and expanding our support to them. We participated in this Conference not to preach to the converted but to widen the world consensus and carry along with us those who share our objectives but who have a somewhat different perception of how to go about achieving them. We came here not to make unilateral declarations or to condemn or deplore anybody, but to come out with a pragmatic and realistic programme of action which can be shared by all. Finally, we came here in search of a fresh approach to break the present impasse and set in motion a process of negotiation.

4. At the end of the Conference I suppose I am reflecting the feeling of all of us here when I state that the Conference has, by and large, succeeded in achieving all these purposes and to say this is to say a lot about any international conference. During this Conference the cause of the Palestinian people found its echo in every nook and corner of the world. We were able to reach consensus on most of the important issues relating to the question of Palestine, and this consensus goes beyond that which already exists among the Arab countries, among the non-aligned countries and embraces within its fold practically the whole of mankind.

5. The message from this Conference is shared by the vast majority of mankind and is addressed to all. Here it would not be out of place to say a few words about the observers present at this Conference. We know that they cannot for reasons very well known to all of us associate themselves with what we have adopted publicly. But we also know that they cannot afford to dissociate themselves from the Declaration and the Programme of Action. They have been the witness to a historic drama of conciliation, understanding and pragmatism exercising pragmatism. We believe that they have been influenced by it and that they appreciate the fact that we have done everything possible to facilitate their sharing the outcome of this Conference and we expect that they actually do share the outcome of this Conference.

6. One of the very important achievements of the Conference, which I must mention, is that the Palestine Liberation Organization has emerged from this Conference stronger, with enhanced status and strengthened authority. This is extremely important, because nothing is more important for the attainment of the ultimate objective of this Conference than the strength, the unity and the enhanced status of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

7. The negotiations in this Conference have been difficult and protracted. The final outcome embodies a great deal of give and take. During the process of the negotiations some very sharp differences came to the surface. But it was very heartening that at no stage in the negotiation was there any dearth of goodwill and good intention. The differences were aired and individual positions were advanced, mainly with a view to reaching at the final settlement, an agreement satisfactory for all the participants.

8. I would also point out that one of the most important achievements of this Conference is the declaration, in the final document of the Conference, of our faith and hope in the United Nations. The principal recommendation in the Geneva declaration on Palestine relates to the convening of a Conference under the aegis of the United Nations. This places the responsibility where it should actually belong.

9. From here we are going to the next session of the General Assembly. We are going to this session with a new consensus, with a renewed faith in the United Nations, with a new resolve to solve the problem with a pragmatic and realistic Programme of Action, and fresh initiative to convene a conference. From now onwards, the Geneva Declaration will be the main basis of our action and initiatives in all the forums where the subject is going to be discussed. The challenge before us now lies in taking follow up

action for implementation.

10. For the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries the outcome of this Conference is both a subject of great elation as well as a matter of great challenge. It is a subject of elation because the document fully reflects the position that the Movement has all along taken on this very important subject. And it is a matter of challenge because it will be one of the principal responsibilities of the Movement to continue its effort to implement the Declaration and to contribute to the implementation of the Geneva Declaration and the Programme of Action.

11. And in this connection, I would like to point out that the Movement will fully utilize and activate whatever means there are at its disposal to achieve this purpose, including the Committee of Eight which it decided to set up at its last Summit Conference.

12. Before concluding, Mr. President, I would like to express on behalf of the Movement our great gratitude to you, one of the leading figures of the Movement, for the remarkable contribution that you and your country have made to the success of the Conference. For Mrs. Lucille Mair, it must be a moment of real triumph. She has not only discharged with great distinction the responsibility reposed on her by the Secretary-General, but she has admirably served our common cause, for which we have reasons to be eternally grateful to her. I would also like to place on record our great appreciation for the hard work put in by our colleagues in the Secretariat.

Address Lucille Mair, Secretary-General of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine

1. As the Conference now approaches its conclusion, I wish first to express the gratitude of the United Nations Secretariat to you and the members of the Bureau for your wise and steady guidance of our proceedings. Our thanks also go to the Chairman, His Excellency Mr. Kamil and the Bureau of the Main Committee, and not least to the Chairman Ms. Kunadi of the Drafting Group and the Group of Friends who helped her to complete the draft of the Geneva Declaration on Palestine and Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights which have just been adopted by the Conference. We are also indebted to the members of the preparatory Committee for the Conference under the leadership of Ambassador Massamba Sarré and to all those who also helped to prepare, as well as those who participated in, the regional preparatory meetings. Throughout, we have benefitted in countless ways from our consultations with the Palestine Liberation Organization, whose leadership was expressed so ably to us in New York by Ambassador Zehdi Terzi.

2. It is also my pleasure to express deepest appreciation to the numerous staff of the United Nations Secretariat first at New York and more recently during the Conference here at Geneva, whose devotedly hard work has facilitated all our efforts. I wish to give special thanks as well to our distinguished consultants who furnished such valuable expertise for the Conference.

3. Finally, may I express on behalf of the Secretary-General of the United Nations our gratitude and esteem to the Federal Government of Switzerland, and the authorities of Geneva for providing the conditions and the services that have been so essential to the smooth and successful holding of the Conference.

4. I extend a special welcome to the distinguished President of the General Assembly, Ambassador Hollai, for honouring this closing session of the Conference with his presence.

5. Mr. President, we are at the stage where we are all, I am sure, posing the question What has this Conference achieved? In my view, all attempts to answer this question in relation to world conferences under United Nations auspices begin with an understanding that such a Conference is a process, not a single event in one time and one place, a process along the course of which we may identify achievement or otherwise.

6. The first decisive point of achievement was surely with the completion of the five regional preparatory meetings. It is probable that, in four of the regions at least, never before had the question of Palestine been studied through documentation, and then discussed, as a question in its own right, in such depth by representatives of States Members of the United Nations and with non-governmental participation. These preparations laid the foundations for new levels of understanding, and for a deeper appreciation across the world of the long drawn-out deprivation of the Palestinian people and their just claims to their rights.

7. Although it appeared to be becoming problematic at one point, when the site and the dates of this Conference were established, the next question along the course of the process concerned the size and significance of this assembly. In my opening remarks, I alluded to the cynical and in many cases, hostile treatment of the Conference by sections of the world media, and I do so now because, despite the facts about this Conference which were announced, the previous report of "only 76 countries" participating, and similar language, has not in many cases been corrected by those media. I repeat, then, for the record, the achievement of the international community in fact that a total of no less than 137 sovereign States have attended 117 (as full participants). A total of 8 intergovernmental organizations and 104 non-governmental organizations have participated. These figures are significant of a historic milestone passed. For never before in the history to date of the Question of Palestine have so many Government representatives, on behalf of so large a percentage of humanity, not to mention non-governmental delegations, devoted so much time and energy exclusively, directly, continuously, to the rights of the Palestinian people. In short, new massive world consensus has unequivocally emerged for the achievement of these right.

8. Further evidence of achievement is the fact that the Geneva Declaration and Plan of Action which this Conference has just adopted reflect and convey the conviction that nothing less than full national self-determination in an independent Palestinian State can fulfil the rights of the Palestinian people and secure a just and lasting peace. And I submit that the presence in the documents Just adopted of so many references to the application of international law is of further, inestimable importance in resolving a question, in which such law has long been ignored. And in these two features alone, if no other the overwhelming international presence, and the emphasis on legality and justice I believe that this Conference has achieved a dignified status in the history of such deliberations.

9. The Conference has also been true to the goals of the United Nations Charter because it has unequivocally asserted that the Question of Palestine involves long committed obligations by and through the United Nations, and that a resolution of the question with justice for all will require full resort to United Nations principles and machinery. In this most important aspect of its work, the Conference has re-asserted the legitimacy and the mandate of the United Nations in its historic responsibility for the question of Palestine. Its old mandate going back to 1947 is now updated, renewed, and reinvigorated by a new global majority.

10. The process of this Conference is not complete with the adoption of the Geneva Declaration and Plan of Action. Your recommendations should now be carried to the next session of the General Assembly and given their ultimate status in that forum with the largest possible measure of accord. Each of us, according to our roles, thus leaves Geneva with immediate further responsibilities if that next goal in the total process is to be realized, and that stage of the process rests most critically in the hands of all Member States.

11. This Conference has proposed a formidable work programme for the international community if the full and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are at last, and soonest, to be secured. Among the long listings of recommended actions and measures which you have adopted, I take the liberty to urge sustained attention to the continuing problems of achieving accurate flows of information about the plight, and the rights, of the Palestinian people and the recommendations of this Conference in this area. The processes of this Conference even to date, have, as I have suggested consolidated a more durable and deeper understanding in many parts of the world. But some of the very reporting on this Conference, although on a question that has involved such violence and recurring threats to international peace, indicates how much remains to be done to achieve accurate information flows in key parts of the world.

12. The modern communication system has been an influential, if not decisive factor, in transforming the character of international diplomacy. The communication industry not only affects policy but in many ways creates new facts, sometimes even by altering known facts. It can, for example, virtually convert a figure of 137 into at figure of 76 for posterity, and by its selective and repetitious emphasis the dominant media can significantly influence the evolution of international processes. If peace, justice and

security are to be established in the troubled region of the Middle East, it is vital that we have a whole new approach towards the media and involve them as-the fifth estate in making sure that these goals become reality. In this context, and on the basis of the texts you have adopted, may I make a special appeal to the non-governmental organizations that have 80 magnificently participated, to help carry forward the process across the world, and thus help to ensure that the Peace Conference now called for will not only take place, but can take place in a new and better climate of information that will support all Governments resolved to secure the rights of the people of Palestine and peace around their homeland.

13. Mr. President, distinguished representatives, none of us here can leave these halls with undue optimism, for we have not succeeded in ending here the trials of the people of Palestine. But I do believe that something special has happened here in these last ten days. I believe all of us have felt a certain almost unique atmosphere infusing the debate the atmosphere of humanity. To an extent itself unusual in official addresses on behalf of States, but perhaps especially generated by the testimonials of the eminent person and non-governmental organizations we have heard and witnessed human gestures in these halls, we have received glimpses of a bridge which can be constructed by decent people the sense of a world community drawing on its deepest moral values making the question of Palestine much more than a regional dispute, and creating a delicate new form of hope which must be cherished and nurtured on the challenging road ahead.

Address by Farouk Kaddoumi, Head of Delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization

1. It gives me pleasure, at the closure of this important International Conference on the Question of Palestine, to extend thanks on behalf of the Palestinian Arab people and the Palestine Liberation Organization for the valuable efforts which all of you have made and for the diligence which you have shown in order to ensure the success of the work of the Conference and the attainment of the positive results which have crowned our work.

2. I wish to stress here, once again, the great significance of the convening of this Conference, of the broad international participation in its work and of the large number of ministers and deputy ministers who have made an active contribution to its work.

3. Accordingly, we must mention here the presence of a broad spectrum of non-governmental organizations and prominent individuals from the various countries of the world and their active participation, which have given the Conference a special international stamp.

4. We have heard the words of solidarity and broad support uttered by all speakers in respect of our Palestinian people and their just cause and the concern expressed by all to find a solution that will serve a just peace and safeguard our clear and inalienable rights.

5. We believe that the political Declaration issued by this Conference and the Programme of Action are clear proofs, which reflect the international position on the question of Palestine and the means of resolving it on firm bases inspired by the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the principles of international law. This Declaration also shows, quite unequivocally, that there is no solution to the problem of Palestine and the Middle East conflict without the safeguarding and implementation of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, which this Declaration reaffirms with perfect clarity namely, their right to return to their homeland, their right to enjoy self-determination and their right to establish their independent national State on their national soil.

6. Moreover the response of this Conference to the proposal of the Palestine Liberation Organization for the covering of an international conference with the participation of the two super Powers and all concerned parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, under the auspices of the United Nations and on the basis of its resolutions on the question of Palestine, constitutes a constructive and important step towards the creation of practical machinery capable of implementing the resolutions of the United Nations, that have long been thwarted by the United States veto.

7. It has emerged clearly from this Conference that the international community condemns Israel's practices against our people and its occupation of Palestinian Arab territories and all who support it in its policy of expansion and aggression.

8. The delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, while appreciating the support of this broad international attendance, which has seen the exchange of opinions, views and interpretations, registers its deep regret at the absence of the United States of America, one of the two super Powers of the world, which, as such, bears special responsibilities with regard to the question of world peace, and, likewise, at the absence of certain Western European States, whose absence is condemnable and unjustifiable.

9. How we wish that all of these had been present to state their views and listen to the statements of other speakers before this balanced international Conference. This American position, which was no surprise to us, is but a continuation of the United States pro Israeli policy, that denies the rights of our Palestinian people and continues to hinder international efforts to establish a just peace in the region. We call upon the States of Western Europe to transcend this negative position and assume their responsibilities for the security and vital interests of the region.

10. The work of this Conference would not have been crowned with success were it not for your patient leadership, your extensive knowledge, your patience and your diligence, combined with the efforts of Mrs. Lucille Mair, Secretary-General of the Conference and the members of her team, who, throughout the preceding period, bore the burden of the preparations for the Conference.

11. It gives me pleasure also to extend thanks and appreciation to the Government of Switzerland and the city of Geneva for hosting this Conference and for the great efforts which they have made to facilitate its work.

12. To the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and its Chairman, our friend the Ambassador of Senegal, Mr. Massamba Sarré, we and our Palestinian people extend all thanks and appreciation for the tremendous efforts which they have made and express the wish that they will continue to show the friendship, sincerity and diligence for which they are known.

13. At this Conference, we have all tried to speak sincerely, clearly and plainly the words of peace and justice in order to confront a problem of long standing. We hope that the parties concerned will respond to this call for right and justice which you have launched today in the Declaration issued by the Conference.

14. The international community and the United Nations must also continue to be their responsibilities to give practical effect to the principles of truth and justice, not only for the sake of the people of Palestine, but for the sake of peace and security of the whole world.

Address by Moustapha Niassé, Foreign Minister of Senegal and President of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine

1. After 10 days of prolonged, serious and well organized deliberations, thanks to the efforts of a first rate and ever-ready secretariat, we are now coming to the end of this first International Conference on the question of Palestine, as we had hoped we would at the opening meeting on Monday, 29 August.

2. For 10 days, the representatives and plenipotentiaries of 137 States who are here at the Palais des Nations in their various capacities, and representatives of 17 specialized agencies for the United Nations system and of more than 100 non-governmental organizations, have joined together, with a commendable concern for efficiency, realism and human generosity, to bring their thinking and their efforts to bear on the important question of Palestine, thus responding to the appeal issued by the United Nations General Assembly in its resolution 36/120 C of 10 December 1980, an appeal which it renewed in resolution ES-7/7 of 19 August 1982 and reaffirmed a third time, to emphasize its seriousness, in resolution 37/86 C of 10 December 1982.

3. We had an obligation to meet, we have met, representatives of a world increasingly beset by the contradictions engendered by national, regional or group concerns, which are created by temptations, hesitations and, very often, interests that are linked to political choices, themselves inspired by partisan ideologies.

4. We had an obligation to meet this time, as we must tomorrow, if, as a voice that is often without a song, but is, none the less

the voice of human conscience, we wish to help to foster, in spite of the world situation, the essential dialogue among nations and their unrelenting and highly commendable quest for a meeting of minds, without which all human relations would be nothing but sterile confrontations, petrified contacts, and soulless exchanges without any real meaning or impact.

5. I have used the word "dialogue", that is, the striving for mutual understanding and tolerance, despite the disagreements and conflicts, however deep-seated, which have created the artificial divisions in today's world and have become established, frozen and institutionalized, between East and West, North and South, haves and have-nots, developed and underdeveloped, while facing the abyss of our common inability to make man more human and thereby to respond in a vast and essential movement of solidarity to the many challenges before us.

6. It was in this context, in which there seemed to be every reason for pessimism, for abandoning all hope in human wisdom, that the United Nations, true to its vocation as focal point for the prodigious capacities of mankind in the decisive moments of its development decided to organize and bring into fruition this first international Conference to consider one of the hotbeds of war and clashes of all kinds which threaten both the security and stability of the world, indeed, the very survival of the colossal achievements that have been realized, consolidated and made available to the world's peoples, if only very unequally as a result of 20 centuries of humanism, constantly reaffirmed religious values and technical progress, which has, for both better and worse, revolutionized our lives.

7. We have just adopted a Declaration, to be known as the Geneva Declaration on Palestine, and the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights, they represent the culmination of the common thinking of more than 100 countries and as many organizations throughout the world, which are generously seeking to foster an era of peace, justice and solidarity among peoples.

8. Throughout these proceedings, we have constantly endeavoured to consider the Palestinian question as one of the world's most burning issues, but also as a problem which can be solved, provided we are willing, whatever our political positions may be, to consider it as soluble.

9. Leaving aside the often meaningless mathematical preoccupations with the numerical majority, it needs emphasizing that all the regions of the world are here and now in agreement on the importance and urgency of embarking on a path not only of law and justice, but also of truth and reason, of facing up to reality and restoring to the Palestinians their dignity and recognizing their rights, without in any way adversely affecting either the dignity or the rights of all peoples living in the region.

10. It remains for us now to express the hope that our resolutions will be implemented. And, in that regard, time is of singular importance to us.

11. In co-operation with the relevant organs of the United Nations and, under the responsibility of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Security Council, in direct relation with all institutions concerned with preserving peace in the world and protecting the security of peoples, we must, beginning with the forthcoming thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, devote our efforts, no matter what obstacles may be placed in the path we have mapped out to ensuring our faithful implementing of the relevant provisions.

12. Let there be no doubt as to our common will to attain this objective.

13. I should now, on behalf of the Conference, wish warmly to thank:

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and his colleagues, especially Mr. Eric Suy, Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva, and their staffs;

The President of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Imre Hollai, who has just addressed our Conference in such moving terms,

Mrs. Lucille Mair, Secretary-General of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, who, over these many long months, has been unstinting with her ideas, her time, her enthusiasm and her extensive experience in international affairs, coupled with her noble concern to ensure the success of this meeting. Through her, I also shank end congratulate her dynamic team and all those who have worked closely with her;

Ambassador Massamba Sarré and all the members of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference for their untiring efforts, and all the countries which, on the various continents, hosted the preparatory regional meetings Ambassador Abdullah Kamil, who served as a wise, patient, and effective Chairman of the Main Committee;

Mrs. Savitri Kunadi, who, as Chairman of the drafting group demonstrated her great familiarity with diplomatic practice and her skill at reconciling the various positions of participants, which she knew to be complementary;

I should not forget to thank in addition to my colleagues, the heads of delegation and ambassadors from participating countries the eminent individuals who responded to our invitation, and who, coming here from Israel and elsewhere, have given us a reason to believe that man's wisdom and intelligence will prevail over sectarianism and intolerance.

14. I should not forget the press, who, for 10 days, have shared with us these moments of intense reflection and persistent seeking for the most appropriate way to clear the path for peace and fraternity among the peoples in the region which saw the birth and development of the revealed religions on which the imperishable values of the human spirit and civilization have been built and consolidated.

15. At this solemn moment I cannot fail to recall the decisive role and outstanding contribution of Dr. Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization and all our Palestinian brothers, who have once again here given irrefutable proof of their desire for peace and their commitment to these same values of mankind, based on justice, dialogue, dignity and the freedom of the peoples.

16. Your Excellencies, after also thanking the members of the Bureau of the Conference, I should say that we owe a debt of gratitude to the Swiss authorities. We came here as messengers of peace. The efforts of the Helvetic Confederation to provide the peace conference with the protection which gives it both its true meaning and its universal character has been appreciated by all the participants as the contribution of a generous people, a people of peace, whose history and glorious destiny is emblazoned in gold letters in the firmament of the dialogue among nations.

17. My country, Senegal, and its leader, President Abdou Diouf, are, I assure you, proud to have had the opportunity, thanks to your renewed confidence, to preside over this United Nations Conference on the Question of Palestine and thus to do our part, to usher in a new stage in the glorious pursuit of dialogue for the peace of mankind.

18. Have we been successful in our task? The future will tell. In the meantime, we can state with assurance that we have not been lacking either in the will to succeed or in the effort to be sincere.

19. To the interpreters, translators, technical and security staff, who have all made a contribution in various degrees, to the smooth functioning of the Conference, which is a milestone in the pursuit of a just, lasting and peaceful solution to the Middle East problem, I should like, in closing, to say "thank you".

#### Address of Edith Ballantyne on behalf of 104 non-governmental organizations participating in the Conference

1. We have appreciated the possibility of addressing the Conference and of the opportunity for us to meet and discuss issues related to the purposes of the Conference, and to explore means for future co-operation among us and with the United Nations.

2. We consider this coming together of so many non-governmental organizations on the question of Palestine unique and wish to build on this first contact. With this in mind, we call on the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to establish close links with all interested non-governmental organizations, in particular with those represented at the International Conference, and to facilitate co-operation among non-governmental organizations and between non-governmental organizations and the United Nations.

3. We urge the Committee to call consultative meetings with non-governmental organizations at the Headquarters in New York and the United Nations Office at Geneva to examine possibilities of co-operating in implementing the programme of action adopted by



the International Conference. The consultative meeting in New York could be held when the question of Palestine will be taken up by the United Nations General Assembly.

4. The non-governmental organizations recommended for action inter alia the following:

- (a) Promotion of the results of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine and all other United Nations resolutions and decisions on this questions
- (b) Maintenance of contact with one another through exchange of addresses, information about our organizations, and exchange of publications,
- (c) Establishment of non-governmental organization committees around the United Nations to promote the plan of action adopted by the Conference and to institute dialogues among the people concerned;
- (d) Emphasis in all follow-up activities, particularly with the media, of the underlying purpose of the Conference that is, to seek Peace and justice;
- (e) Dissemination of the results of the Conference and the speech made by Chairman Yasser Arafat;
- (f) Informing the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People of non-governmental organization activities, publications and plans of action;
- (g) In deep concern for the deteriorating situation of Palestinian women and children, urging United Nations and other bodies and organizations to provide assistance to Palestinian women, and, in particular, urging the United Nations, in preparation for the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for women, to be held in 1985, to undertake a full examination of the situation of Palestinian women and of the measures of assistance to be taken in their behalf; urging also that the question be considered as a separate item on the agenda of the 1985 conference.

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#### TEXTS OF MESSAGES RECEIVED FROM HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT

##### Message from His Highness Shaikh Issa Bin Sulman Al Kalifa, Amir of the State of Bahrain

1. A succession of tragic events has taken place in the region of the Middle East since Israel was established in 1948 and became a member of the United Nations. Although the acceptance of Israel as a member of the United Nations was made conditional on the return of the Palestinian refugees to their homes from which they had been expelled by force of arms, Israel has fulfilled neither this nor any of the other conditions stipulated in General Assembly resolutions 181 and 194. Moreover, the United Nations has been unable to compel Israel to implement those two resolutions to which it agreed as a condition for its admission to membership of the United Nations.
2. During all these years, the international community has been unable to solve this problem, the chronic nature of which has been aggravated with the passage of time, despite the feeling among the international community, as expressed at the General Assembly of the United Nations, that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be established only by enabling the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights, including their right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty over their national territory, their right of return to their homes from which they have been displaced and their right to recover their usurped property. For this reason, the General Assembly has decided to convene this International Conference on the Question of Palestine at Geneva from 19 August to 7 September 1983.
3. This Conference is taking place at a time when the region of the Middle East is passing through a critical period owing to Israel's continual and carefully planned acts of aggression against the Palestinian people and the Arab countries, as a result of which international peace and security are being jeopardized. This International Conference is therefore a natural reaction to the Israeli threat which has implications not only for the region of the Middle East but for the international community as a whole.
4. We have witnessed Israel's destruction of the Iraqi nuclear reactor installed for peaceful purposes and the manner in which its aggressive forces subsequently truck deep into Lebanon, devastating its towns and villages and slaughtering its citizens and, as happened at the camps of Sabra and Shatila in Beirut, massacring the Palestinian refugees whom it had previously driven from their country. Large numbers were also incarcerated in prisons and detention centres in the occupied territories and southern Lebanon. The occupation of a large part of Lebanese territory for more than a year provides further proof of Israel's expansionist designs which, unfortunately, are fully supported and encouraged in certain western circles.
5. These evil designs are also manifested in the illegal expropriation of Arab land in occupied Palestine, the establishment of settlements on such land, the dismissal and expulsion of mayors from the occupied territories and the instigation of incidents aimed at intimidating the Arab population with a view to inducing them to abandon their homes. The increasing intensity of Israeli repressive practices in the occupied Arab territories recently culminated in the attack on the Islamic College at Hebron in which three students were killed and many others wounded.
6. We appeal to the international community to exert its utmost endeavour to solve the question of Palestine, to ensure the recovery by the Palestinian people of their legitimate rights, to put an end to Israeli acts of aggression against the Palestinian people in and outside the occupied territories and to halt Israel's continued attacks on the Arab States which have so far given rise to five ruinous wars in the region which almost led to the outbreak of a horrific world war. The continuation of this aggressive policy places international peace and security in jeopardy and threatens to have the direst of consequences for the entire international community.

##### Message from His Excellency Lieutenant General H.M. Ershad, President of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bangladesh

1. The convening of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine having overcome all hurdles is commencing today in Geneva that beautiful City which for centuries has inspired mankind with the ideals of freedom, liberty and justice. On this historic occasion on behalf of the Government and people of Bangladesh as well as on my behalf I convey greetings and sincerest felicitations to the organizers of the Conference and to all the distinguished delegates attending the Conference. It is our hope that during the next few days the cause of peace in this troubled world will be further promoted. I am confident that your deliberations will inject a sense of urgency and create a new awakening that would lead to greater international recognition and understanding of one of the most intractable problems of our times the question of Palestine.
2. The Government and people of Bangladesh are deeply committed to the cause of the Palestinian people. We are convinced that a just and durable peace in the Middle East cannot be established without the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem and without the achievement of the inalienable rights by the Palestinian people, including the right to establish an independent sovereign State in Palestine with Jerusalem as its capital. The participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people on an equal footing with all other parties on the basis of relevant United Nations resolutions is indispensable.
3. This meeting is being held at a very crucial phase in the history of the Middle East. The defiance, arrogance and the expansionist policies of Israel has turned the Middle East into a tinder box, that poses a grave threat not only to peace in the region but indeed to the whole world as well.
4. We pay tribute to the valiant people of Palestine who have endured and fought against the brutalities, persecution and oppression of the Israeli horde with courage and heroism. No longer, however, can the international community remain merely mute

spectators to this sad spectacle in the Middle East. All of you, therefore, have an enormous responsibility and I have every hope that the success of your deliberations would help close one of the saddest chapters in modern times. The people of Palestine not only deserve to be victorious in achieving an independent State of their own but we are sure that with the wisdom acquired from their years of trials and tribulation, the Palestinian people would make positive contributions to world peace and to the progress of humanity in the days to come.

5. I wish the Conference all success.

Message from His Excellency Todor Zhivkov, President of the  
State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

1. On behalf of the State Council and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, of the Bulgarian people, as well as on my own behalf, I congratulate cordially the participants in the International Conference on the Question of Palestine and wish them a fruitful and useful work.
2. Notwithstanding the unequivocally stated will of the international community, the Palestinian question has still not found its just solution. Through the fault of the policy of the imperialist forces and the actions of the Israeli ruling circles, the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine continue to be suppressed. All this is arousing serious concern and alarm among the public circles in the world.
3. The Government and the people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria deplore angrily the atrocities against the peaceful Palestine and Lebanese population, organized by the Israeli occupiers and their marionettes, the monstrous massacre of innocent children, women and old people, expressing at the same time their deep sympathy and solidarity with the heroic Palestine people who have sacrificed cherished life in the name of their ideal a free and independent Palestine state.
4. Faithful to its consistent and principled foreign policy, the People's Republic of Bulgaria renders and will continue to render its full support to the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for self-determination and national independence under the leadership of its sole and legitimate representative the Palestine Liberation Organization. Today, more than ever before, it is necessary to consolidate the Palestinian national unity, to strengthen Arab solidarity and the common actions in the struggle in defence of the independence, sovereignty and the vital interests of the Arab peoples against Israel's expansionism and the neo-colonialist policies of imperialism.
5. We condemn resolutely the policies of racism and genocide practised towards the Arab people of Palestine by the ruling Israeli circles, with the encouragement of their strategic ally, without whose all round assistance they would not have acted so impudently and provocatively. The criminal actions of Israeli Zionists constitute not only a disregard of the United Nations Charter and the norms of international law in general. They aggravate tensions in the Middle East, create an immediate threat to peace and security in the world.
6. The People's Republic of Bulgaria rejects most categorically the attempts of the United States and Israel to "settle" the Middle East problem along the road of separatist deals of the Camp David type, which are aimed only at perpetuating the results of Israel's aggression, to ignore the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and to institute a military and political domination of the United States and Israel over the Middle East.
7. The position of our country on the Palestine issue for a comprehensive and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict is well known. We call again on the international community to take prompt effective measures for the complete withdrawal of Israel from all Palestine and other Arab territories occupied in 1967 and later, for the recognition and implementation of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and creation of an independent State of their own, for ensuring the peaceful and independent development of all States in the region. All these problems can be solved at an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.
8. The People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches major importance to the activities of the United Nations for a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Palestine question, and insists that Israel be compelled to implement its decisions. We support fully the lofty goals which this International Conference has set for itself in ensuring a broad support for the just cause of the Palestinian people and in laying out effective ways and means for the implementation of their inalienable rights, on the basis of the decisions and the resolutions of the United Nations.
9. Allow me to express our confidence that your prestigious international forum will make a tangible contribution to the struggle for the triumph of the just and humane Palestinian cause.

Message from His Excellency Zhao Ziyang, Premier of the  
State Council of the People's Republic of China

1. On the occasion of the convocation of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, I wish to extend, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, warm congratulations to the Conference. The question of Palestine is one of the Palestinian and other Arab people's fight against Israeli aggression and expansion and for the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The Chinese Government and people have always condemned the Israeli authorities policy of aggression and expansion and have firmly supported the Palestinian people in their just struggle for the restoration of their legitimate national rights. We are convinced that the courageous Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization and with the support of all the justice upholding countries and peoples in the world, will uphold unity, persist in struggle and succeed in regaining their national rights.
2. May the Conference be crowned with success in mobilizing the international community to support the just cause of the Palestinian people and promoting the efforts for a just settlement of the Palestinian question.

Message from His excellency Gustav Husak, President of  
the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

1. On behalf of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, its Government, the entire Czechoslovak people and on my own, I have the honour to extend to you, delegates to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, in support of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, my warmest greetings and wishes of success in your worthy activities.
2. The tragic fate of the four million Palestinian people represents in our time the most brutal form of oppression and violation of basic national and human rights. The aggressive invasion of Israel into Lebanon, the slaughter of innocent victims in the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila, the increasing acts of violence against the population of occupied Arab territories, reveal the genuine face of Zionism and imperialism and once again demonstrate the urgency to equitably solve the Palestinian question, a key issue for the settlement of the situation and for the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East.
3. The people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic firmly condemn the aggressive policy pursued by Israel and consistently and fully support the just fight of the Palestinian people. We therefore welcomed the convening of this international conference as the outcome of the efforts developed by the international community, the democratic and progressive forces in order to promote the noble aim of satisfying the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and establishing an efficient international mechanism for their practical implementation. The manner in which the Palestinian issue has been developing up to now clearly indicates that any attempt to solve it unilaterally and in a separate frame, in the spirit of the so-called Camp David agreements, in fact only promotes and fosters the plans of conquest bred by Israel, implemented by the direct support of the United States, worsens and prolongs the sufferings of the Palestinian people and further aggravates tensions in this part of the world. In the

Political Declaration adopted at the Prague meeting of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member States in January last, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has once again confirmed, jointly with the other socialist States, its firm and principled stand on the equitable solution of the Palestinian problem. It will continue to stand up for a peaceful and global settlement of the situation in the Middle East and for the ensuring of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to the establishment of its own independent State, as recommended by the relevant United Nations resolutions. International negotiations held with the participation of all interested parties including the Palestine Liberation Organization, as proposed by the USSR, might represent a realistic and feasible road to this goal.

4. I am sure that the debates of your Conference will lead to positive results in the interest of the hardly tried Palestinian people, as well as in the interest of peace in the Middle East and in other parts of the world.

Message from His Excellency Prince Norodom Sihanouk,  
President of Democratic Kampuchea

1. On behalf of the people and coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea I have the honour to address our warm greetings to the International Conference on Palestine and to wish it every success in its noble work. Democratic Kampuchea reaffirms its wholehearted and unwavering support for the just cause and the just struggle of the Palestinian people whose sole and legal representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization. The sacred and inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination to the recovery of their sovereignty and their territories and to the foundation of a free and independent Palestinian State should be recognized by all the other States of the world. Israel's troops should withdraw from the Arab territories occupied since 1967 as well as from Lebanon.

Message from His Excellency Mengistu Haile-Mariam, Chairman of the Provisional military Administrative Council and of COPWE, Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Army of Socialist Ethiopia, and current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity.

1. In my capacity as the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, I have the pleasure of conveying to you, and through you, to the participants in this world Conference, Africa's best wishes for the success of your deliberations and reiterate our support and fraternal solidarity with the heroic people of Palestine.

2. It is tragic to note that for nearly four decades the rights of the people of Palestine have been trampled underfoot in full view of the international community. Not only have the long suffering people of Palestine remained homeless but they have also been subjected to continuous harassment, deportation and indiscriminate murder even in the places where they have been given temporary refuge.

3. The injustice being perpetuated on the people of Palestine, therefore, should not be allowed to continue nor should the international community remain a passive observer in the face of Israeli flagrant violations of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian people must, without any further delay, be allowed to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent State.

4. To this end, it is our earnest hope that this Conference will call for strong measures that would advance the just cause of the Palestinian people and ensure the stability of the region as well as international peace and security.

5. While once again reiterating our firm solidarity with the people of Palestine and our full support for their just cause, let me reassure this Conference of Africa's unwavering commitment to the struggle for justice, equality and peace in the Middle East.

6. May I, in conclusion, convey my very best wishes for the success of your worthy endeavours at this timely Conference on the question of Palestine.

Message from Her Excellency Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India

1. The plight of the Palestinian people has been one of the great tragedies of history. Few people have been more systematically oppressed and humiliated in their own land. The past year has witnessed yet another chapter in their tribulations as Israel's policy of aggression and terrorism continues to strain the limits of Patience and tolerance of the international community.

2. As long as Israeli aggression over Arab occupied territories remains invoked and the just and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to the establishment of an independent national State are unrecognized, peace and security in West Asia will remain a chimera and the desire of all States in the area to live within secure International frontiers will remain unfulfilled.

3. India's sympathy for the Palestinian Arabs has been part of our foreign policy since its very inception. Since its recognition as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people at the Algiers Non-Aligned Summit in 1973, the Palestine Liberation Organization has worked with dedication, courage and determination to ensure that the voice of the Palestinian people is heard in international forums. The brave fighters of the Palestine Liberation Organization have displayed a commendable spirit of sacrifice in the face of the continuing acts of intimidation and violence perpetrated against them by Israelis.

4. My good wishes for the conference.

Message from His Excellency Jambyn Batmunkh, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic

1. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic and the Mongolian people attach great importance and wish every success to your Conference, which is being held for the first time, under the auspices of the United Nations, to consider the question of Palestine the key to the settlement of the Middle East crisis at a time when the situation in the region is becoming increasingly explosive as a result of imperialist and Zionist aggression.

2. The entire Mongolian people resolutely condemns the attempts of the United States and Israel to overcome the Arab peoples by means of separate agreements, to impede the exercise of the national rights of the Palestinian people and to exclude their sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, from any Middle East settlement.

3. The Middle East question can be settled only by the collective efforts of all interested parties. Consequently, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic supports wholeheartedly the proposal to convene a special international conference on the Middle East question, in which all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, are to participate.

4. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic reaffirms that a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East question can be achieved only through the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967 and the exercise, by the Arab people of Palestine, of their inalienable rights, including their right to self-determination and to establish their own independent State.

5. I take this opportunity to express the hope that your Conference will make an important contribution to the strengthening of the unity and co-operation of the Arab peoples against imperialism and Zionism and to the just settlement of both the Palestinian question and the Middle East problem.

Message from His Excellency Henryk Jablonski,  
Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic

1. On the occasion of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine I would like to convey through you on behalf of the highest authorities of the Polish People's Republic, Polish people and in my own name cordial greetings for the participants of the Conference and expressions of sincere support for its lofty goals. I am deeply convinced that the Conference, convened in accordance with the will of the international community expressed in appropriate resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, provides a special opportunity for a thorough analysis of the cause and of the present state of the question of Palestine as well as for a search for measures for its just solution.

2. The United Nations and its Security Council adopted scores of resolutions defining the principles of such a solution and reaffirming the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Despite these years long efforts of the international community Israel stubbornly refuses to implement the resolutions of the United Nations and to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people and

pursues its practices of discrimination against the population of the occupied Arab territories and the policy of expansion against Arab States.

3. It is evident that Israel's arrogant position with regard to decisions of the international community would have been impossible without the political support and military and economic assistance granted to it by the United States.

4. I would also like to confirm full solidarity of the Polish people and of the authorities of the Polish People's Republic with the striving and aspirations of the Palestinian question to a peaceful life in their homeland. We are convinced that the Palestinian question, as the main aspect of the Middle East conflict, can be solved only in the framework of a comprehensive settlement of the conflict with the participation of all the interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This requires the withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and the exercise of inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent State.

5. Expressing the conviction that the debates and decisions of the Conference will contribute to peace for all the countries and peoples in the Middle East I request you, Mr. President, to accept cordial wishes of fruitful debates and success of the Conference.

Message from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council  
of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

1. We extend cordial greetings to the participants in the International Conference on the Question of Palestine.

2. The purpose of this representative gathering is to consider one of the most acute and important international problems, namely, the need to ensure the exercise by the Arab people of Palestine of their inalienable national rights, including their right to establish their own State. Without this there can be no peace in the Middle East.

3. The Arab people of Palestine have been engaged for many years in a heroic struggle for their legitimate rights, demonstrating courage, steadfastness and an unswerving belief in the justness of their cause. The Palestine Liberation Organization which is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, is in the vanguard of that struggle which enjoys wider support throughout the world.

4. The Soviet Union strongly condemns the policy of aggression, genocide and oppression systematically pursued by Israel's leadership with regard to the Palestinians and other Arabs, as well as Israel's colonizing activities on the Arab lands seized by it and the atrocities which it has committed on Lebanese soil.

5. Responsibility for the fact that the solution of the Palestinian problem and a Middle East settlement as a whole have been blocked for many years also rests with the ruling circles of those countries which, by their military and economic aid and political support, encourage Israel to continue its anti-Palestinian anti-Arab policy of aggression.

6. The Soviet Union reiterates its unfailing solidarity with the struggle for national independence being waged by the Arab people of Palestine against Israeli aggression. The satisfaction of the legitimate national aspirations of the Arab people of Palestine and the Liberation of the Arab lands seized by Israel in 1967 will open up favourable prospects for establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and ensuring the security of all States and peoples of the region. Such a peace can be established only as a result of the collective efforts of all parties concerned, including, of course, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

7. We wish the participants in the Conference every success in their work.

Message from His Excellency Captain Thomas Sankara, President of the National Revolutionary Council,  
Head of State of the Republic of the Upper Volta

On behalf of the people of the Upper Volta, the National Revolutionary Council and the Government and on my own behalf, I wish to express to you, Sir, and to all the delegations of fraternal and friendly countries present at the Conference my warmest congratulations and by best wishes for your success. I have no doubt that the history of the heroic struggle being waged by the Palestinian people for the realisation of its inalienable rights will be a powerful and determining inspiration to you freedom fighters, for that is what you are, in the orientation and ultimate success of your work.

Message from His Excellency Truong Chinh, President of  
the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam

1. On behalf of the Vietnamese people and of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, and on my own behalf, I extend to the Conference and, through it, to the heroic people of Palestine and to the Palestine Liberation Organization, my warm congratulations on the occasion of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine.

2. I warmly welcome the holding of this Conference, which I regard as a source of great encouragement and timely support for the Palestinian People, who, in recent decades, have endured many sacrifices and privations, have struggled with perseverance and determination for their fundamental national rights, and as at present opposing valiantly all attempts by the American imperialists, the Zionist aggressors of Israel and other reactionary forces to undermine and divide them.

3. The people and government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam continue to lend their vigorous and constant support to the just, and undoubtedly victorious, struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their sacred and inviolable national rights, including the right to return to their lands and to establish their own independent and sovereign national State there. The Arab peoples are also assured of our wholehearted support in their struggle to regain the Arab territories illegally occupied by Israel.

4. I am convinced that, united behind the Palestine Liberation Organization and with the sympathy and support of the Arab countries, the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries and all progressive mankind, the Palestinian people will resolutely pursue their revolutionary efforts until final victory is achieved.

5. With this firm conviction, I wish the Conference every success.

Message from His Excellency Mika Spiljak, President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

1. On the occasion of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, I would like to express this time again, on behalf of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the solidarity and full support of Yugoslavia for the struggle of the Palestinian people, headed by the Palestine Liberation Organization, to realize their legitimate national rights.

2. Along with other non-aligned countries, Yugoslavia has always fully supported the efforts made by the United Nations and the international community to find a just and durable solution to this problem. The rights of the Palestinian people are as inviolable as the rights of any other nation in the world, and are based on the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, as reaffirmed in numerous resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as at the summit conferences and other gatherings of non-aligned countries.

3. Although the entire international community recognizes today that the question of Palestine is the core of the Middle East problem and that without its settlement there can be no lasting peace in the Middle East, the Palestinian people, due to an aggressive and expansionist policy of Israel, is unable to exercise its inalienable national rights. Moreover, this courageous people is still experiencing great suffering and tribulations. At the same time, such a policy of Israel has turned the Middle East into the most dangerous hotbed of crisis in the world today, posing an ever more serious threat to peace and stability not only in the region, but also beyond it.

4. I would like to reiterate, on this occasion as well, our firm belief that a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East crisis should be based on Israel's withdrawal from all the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied in June 1967 and later; on the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, independence and their own State on the national soil, and on the ensuring of the right of all countries of the region to independence, life in security and to development.

5. The role of the United Nations in the solution of this important question is irreplaceable. That solution, in turn, cannot be achieved without an equal and independent participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate

representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

6. In anticipation of a successful outcome of the International conference on the Question of Palestine, I would like to express non-aligned Yugoslavia's most resolute support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

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#### Annex V

#### RESERVATIONS AND STATEMENTS OF POSITION

##### Brazil

1. Brazil participated in the consensus regarding the approval of the Geneva Declaration on Palestine and of the Programme of action of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine as an additional expression of its support, in principle, to the just cause of the Palestinian people.

2. Brazil has repeatedly stated the view that the Middle East conflicts can be solved only on the basis of the following principles, which are the essence of the Brazilian position on the matter:

- (a) The need for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied since 1967;
- (b) The right of the Palestinian people to return to Palestine and the recognition of its right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty, including the constitution of an independent Palestinian State;
- (c) The participation of the Palestinians in the peace negotiations through its representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization;
- (d) The recognition of the right of all States in the region, including Israel, to existence within internationally recognized borders.

##### Chile

1. The delegation of Chile considers that the texts of the declaration and the Programme of Action adopted by consensus at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine constitute a significant demonstration of the concern of a large portion of the international community to achieve a peaceful solution of the Middle East problem.

2. Without prejudice to the foregoing, the delegation of Chile wishes to reiterate the reservations which it has expressed during the consideration of the Palestine problem in the various competent forums of the United Nations and specifically, those which it expressed at the Latin American Regional Preparatory Meeting held in Managua, Nicaragua, from 12 to 15 April 1983.

3. These reservations relate to certain concepts which constitute a prejudgement of the nature of the situation in the Middle East and to others which are incompatible with the sovereign right of States freely to conduct their international relations. Likewise, we do not endorse those statements which imply the proposing of sanctions and condemnations - these are the prerogative of the Security Council - or which refer to States which are not involved in the Palestine problem for they do nothing to contribute to facilitating the search for a negotiated solution such as is advocated by the majority of the international community.

4. Finally, the delegation of Chile deems it relevant to reaffirm its position that full implementation of security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) which, *inter alia*, affirm the right of all States in the region to live within secure recognized boundaries constitutes the most effective framework for achieving a realistic solution to the Middle East question.

##### Colombia

1. True to its policy of supporting the legal cause of the Palestinian people, which was announced in its statement on 5 September in plenary meeting, Colombia participated in the consensus on the draft declaration contained in document A/CONF.114/L.3/Rev.1. In its opinion, it is necessary to put into effect the international community's desire for there also to be a Palestinian State so as to enable that people fully to exercise its inalienable rights.

2. In accordance with the need for objectivity mentioned in the same statement, and with a view to providing an overall picture of the Middle East problem and establishing the climate of negotiation necessary for the protection of those rights, Colombia feels that, in analysing the Middle East conflict, all the regional and evolve appropriate, stable solutions.

##### Ecuador

Ecuador wishes to reserve its position with regard to the provisions of paragraphs (5) and (18) of part I of the Programme of Action, because it must protect its sovereign rights in the conduct of its international relations in each particular situation and in general. In addition, its position on these paragraphs is based on the fact that they contain elements infringing the sovereign acts of a State in which others should not interfere unless the Security Council of the United Nations has issued a formal condemnation, a step which it has not taken in this specific case. Of course, in accordance with the principles underlying its international policy and in keeping with its firm rejection of the occupation of territory by force, Ecuador has not accepted, nor will it accept, any unilateral change in the status of the Palestinian territories or of the other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem. Evidence of this position can be found in its compliance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

##### El Salvador

1. Pursuant to the decision adopted at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine to allow States participating in the Conference to state their positions on the documents emanating from the conference and acting upon specific instructions from the Government of El Salvador, the delegation of El Salvador wishes to express general reservations regarding the Declaration (A/CONF.114/L.3/Rev.1) and Programme of Action (A/CONF.114/L.4/Rev.2 and Add.1).

2. While recognizing that those documents contain elements of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), El Salvador would have preferred to see the resolution specifically incorporated in the text.

3. Furthermore, El Salvador wished to state that, if the documents had been put to a vote, it would have abstained on certain phrases.

##### Finland

1. The Government of Finland participated in the International Conference on the Question of Palestine because of its well-known and long-standing support for the legitimate rights of Palestinians to self-determination and in order to contribute to the goals of the Conference as defined in United Nations General Assembly resolutions 36/120 C of 10 December 1981 and 37/86 C of 10 December 1982. In particular, Finland shares the view that a wider international recognition of the facts underlying the question of Palestine will contribute to a just solution of the question of the Middle East. Finland recognizes that a lasting peace in the Middle East requires a just solution to the problem of Palestine through the attainment and exercises by the Palestinian people of their legitimate rights.

2. Throughout the Conference the delegation of Finland endeavoured to make a constructive contribution to the formulation of the Declaration in the interest of achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the problem of the Middle East through negotiation. The Government of Finland regrets that many of its proposals were rejected by the conference.

3. Particularly, the government of Finland, in accordance with its long-standing position, emphasizes that it continues to conceive the realization of the legitimate rights of Palestinians as a part and within the framework of a comprehensive peaceful solution of the question of the Middle East on the basis of Security council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), designed to achieve a negotiated settlement. Accordingly, all States in the region, including Israel, have the right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force. In the opinion of the Government of Finland, the Declaration would have been more constructive had it been in conformity with those resolutions.

4. The government of Finland has, despite these reservations, joined in the consensus on the Geneva Declaration on Palestine, with a view to the need to advance a negotiating process with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, aiming at a comprehensive peaceful settlement of the question of the Middle East, taking into account the Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.
5. The Government of Finland also has reservations on the Programme of Action adopted by the conference. Generally, the Programme of Action contains recommendations which in the opinion of the Government of Finland are too sweeping and categorical. As such they cannot form a basis from realistic action towards the achievement of a lasting solution of the problem of the Middle East and thereby the achievement by Palestinians of their legitimate rights.
6. Specifically, the government of Finland wishes to register reservations on paragraphs 7, 9 to 12, 15, 18, 23 and 26 of part I, as well as to paragraphs 1 and 2 of part II A, and to paragraph 3 of part II B of the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights.

#### Greece

1. Greece, in line with its unremitting support extended to the Palestinian people since 1947 for the exercise of the right to self-determination, in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter, has participated in the present Conference as a full member.
2. We hope and trust that the results of this Conference will give anew impetus to the search for a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to this problem which has caused so much suffering and bloodshed.
3. We have stressing during these long years that peace cannot be based on revenge or hatred and that all peoples in the area must have the right to share the gift of peace. We are therefore gratified to see in our Declaration that the right of all States in the region to live in peace within secure and internationally recognized boundaries, with just and security for all the peoples, as well as the establishment of a Palestinian State, as explicitly spelled out.
4. We are appreciative of the efforts made by the participating countries to smooth out divergences of views. My delegation, while joining the consensus feels bound to state for the record that certain provisions, especially of the Programme of Action, do not meet our unreserved acceptance. I refer, amongst others, to the long list of recommendations addressed to the Security Council and to certain other provisions such as those of paragraphs (5) and (18) of part I, which are not only extremely hard to implement but create almost insurmountable difficulties to certain countries and Greece is one of them which belong to a group of States with common economic and trade policies.
5. I would also like to refer to paragraph (10) of part I of the Programme of Action where special reference is made to Western European countries "which have not done so to welcome all initiatives based on the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people ...". We feel that this formulation renders the paragraph somewhat unbalanced. Suffice it here to recall the various steps taken by the European Community following the Venice Declaration, the Declaration of the Council of Ministers of September 1982 and the European Council declaration of last March adopted by the ten members of the European Community, all of which have found positive response in the Arab world.
6. In concluding I would like to stress that Greece will spare no effort in order to contribute positively and constructively to the recognition and implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people which encompass the creation of an independent and sovereign state, to the restoration of a just and lasting peace amongst all the peoples of the strife-torn region with which Greece maintains strong and uninterrupted ties of traditional friendship and to the implementation of the right of all States in the area to existence within secure and internationally recognized boundaries.

#### Islamic Republic of Iran

1. Expressions in support of the provision of regional security and recognition of international boundaries of all the States contain clear, though implicit, recognition of the Zionist usurper regime, and to this the Islamic Republic of Iran does not subscribe.
2. The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, for a number of reasons, believes that an independent Palestinian State should be established which would have sovereignty over Palestine as a whole.
3. Therefore any designs (such as the plan concluded at the Fez Summit conference in September 1982) which, in one way or another, legitimize or recognize the existence of the Zionist entity in Palestine are totally unacceptable.
4. Previous United Nations resolutions on the question of Palestine, in particular resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, contain such decisions regarding the partition of Palestine. The Islamic Republic of Iran, however, does not recognize such designs.
5. Thus, confrontation of the formation and advancement of any kind of compromising designs or accords is essential for the achievement of a just and lasting settlement of the question of Palestine. Therefore we regard any kind of negotiations with the usurper Zionist regime inadmissible and condemn all compromising and submissive positions adopted by some States, in particular a number of Muslim Arab States, toward the usurper Zionist regime.
6. We believe that it is with the advancement, on a large scale, of the popular, protracted and systematic armed struggle of the great Palestinian combatants, through the mobilization of all military, political, economical, cultural and propaganda resources of all concerned nations, particularly Muslim and Arab nations, that a just and lasting solution may be reached to the question of Palestine.
7. Economic sanctions, particularly the shutting off oil exports by Arab States, can have a dramatic effect on the totally unacceptable and degrading policies of the usurper Zionist regime and its supporters towards Palestine and the Palestinian people. Thus the adoption of united policies towards an effective economic sanction against the usurper Zionist regime and its supporters is an essential element in finding a solution to the question of Palestine.
8. Zionism is based on racism; thus its division into two aspects and the recognition of one aspect of it as being backward and the other as being progressive is nothing but a deceiving and dangerous thought, fabricated in order to cover or legitimize the deviatory positions adopted by some conservative leaders and Governments who, instead of putting their trust in the power of Almighty God and that of the faithful masses, have chosen rather to look forward to American favours and to the results of the negotiations with the Zionist regime. However, we insist that Zionism is unintegrable and constitutes, in itself backwardness petrification and savagery.

#### Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

1. The delegation of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya endorses the draft final declaration and the draft programme of action issued by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983.
2. The delegation of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya wishes to affirm that the country has a reservation concerning any paragraph in the draft Declaration and Programme of Action referring directly or indirectly to the granting of legitimacy to the Zionist occupation of Palestine.
3. Accordingly, it requests that this reservation be mentioned in the final report of the conference.

#### Mexico

The delegation of Mexico wishes to state, with regard to paragraphs (5) and (18) of part I of the Programme of Action adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, that the purpose of its economic, commercial and financial relations with Israel has never been nor is it currently, to encourage policies that entail any violation of international law. In addition, it would like to reiterate that, in accordance with national legislation, the economic, cultural, technical and other relations it maintains with Israel do not imply any recognition whatsoever, under international law, of any change in the status of Jerusalem or of the Arab territories occupied since 1967.

#### Peru

Through this statement, the Peruvian delegation wished to reiterate its support for all efforts directed towards enabling the Palestinian people to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and independent statehood. The Peruvian delegation also supports the right of all the States of the region to exist within secure and internationally recognized boundaries, in accordance with the provisions of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and of other decisions taken by the international community.

However, the approach and drafting of several of the paragraphs in the Declaration and Programme of Action prevent the Peruvian delegation from supporting the document as a whole. This is true, in particular, of paragraphs (5) and (18) of part I of the Programme of Action.

#### Portugal

On instructions from the Government of Portugal and in pursuance of the decision taken by the main Committee of the International Conference on the question of Palestine, the delegation of Portugal draws attention to the fact that Portugal's participation in the adoption by acclamation of the Final Declaration and Programme of Action of the conference was based on the understanding that nothing in their content could be interpreted as being prejudicial to or contradicting Portugal's official positions with regard to the relevant resolutions on the question of Palestine adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council.

#### Spain

Spain, which has repeatedly demonstrated its profound interest in the problem of the Palestinian cause and its early solution by means of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace, wishes to state, with respect to paragraph (5) of the Geneva Declaration on Palestine, that although it fully subscribes to the content of that paragraph as regards the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, in the terms stated, it is nevertheless of the view that acceptance of this principle does not imply the exclusion of other peace plans for the regime.

#### Sweden

1. In the view of the government of Sweden, a comprehensive and lasting solution to the conflict in the Middle East will necessarily have to take into account the legitimate interests of all the parties concerned. Sweden's participation in the International Conference on the Question of Palestine should be seen as an effort to contribute actively to such a fair and equitable solution.
2. In recent years there has been a trend towards a broad international consensus concerning certain basic elements that must form part of a negotiated settlement. These basic elements are, as seen by the Swedish government, the withdrawal by Israel from the territories occupied in 1967, the right of all States in the region, including Israel, to existence within secure and recognized borders and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination including the right to establish a State of their own.
3. The declaration adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine includes these elements in a way that made it possible for the Swedish delegation to join the consensus. It should be placed on record, however, that the declaration does not in all respects adequately reflect the Swedish position. Lacking are references to Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which the Swedish government regards as forming the basis for a settlement, and lacking is also reference in explicit form to Israel's right to existence within secure and recognized borders. These omissions, as well as certain sweeping and unsubstantiated formulations, make the declaration less balanced than the Swedish delegation would have wished.
4. Sweden also maintains certain reservations in relation to the Programme of Action adopted by the Conference without a vote.
5. Substantial improvements to the text have been made as compared to its unrevised version. The Programme of Action still contains formulations, however, that are sweeping, categorical or unrealistic and therefore not fully acceptable to the Swedish delegation.
6. Such formulations are found in several paragraphs, among which the Swedish delegation wishes to register specific reservations in relation to paragraphs 9 and 23 of part I, to paragraphs 1 and 2 of part II A and to paragraph 3 of part II B.

#### Trinidad and Tobago

1. The delegation of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, having carefully considered paragraphs (5) and (18) of part I of the Programme of Action contained in Conference document A/CONF.114/L.4/rev.2 dated 7 September 1983, is concerned with certain implications of language that may arise.
2. Accordingly, the delegation wishes to register its formal reservations with respect to paragraphs (5) and (18) of part I of the Programme of Action as approved by the plenary session of the Conference on 7 September 1983.

#### Uruguay

1. With reference to the Declaration, and without prejudice to the fact that the concepts formulated in the Declaration coincide to a large extent with the position adopted by Uruguay in various international forums, Uruguay would have preferred the conference to have adopted the working paper submitted by the secretariat as a draft declaration (A/CONF.114/L.3). That balanced text would speedily have won the support of all the countries which voted in favour of General Assembly resolutions 37/86 D and E (of 10 and 20 December 1982, respectively). These would have included Uruguay, which supported the said resolutions even though they did not fully reflect its views on the subject, in particular with respect to the need to consider Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) as indispensable factors in the solution to the Palestine question.
2. Uruguay endorses the spirit and the objectives of the Programme of Action, whose aim is to seek effective ways to enable the Palestinian people to attain and exercise their rights in accordance with international principles and rules; it nevertheless feels compelled to express reservations regarding the following recommendations;
  - (a) Recommendation 5 and 18, in view of the sovereign right of States to conduct their international relations freely,
  - (b) Recommendations 26, since the representation of the Palestinian people and whatever political entity it may constitute must be determined by the Palestinian people in the exercise of its right to self-determination.

#### Venezuela

With regard to paragraph (5) of part I of the Programme of Action, Venezuela wishes to express its reservations regarding the fact that the wording of this paragraph does not establish any precise, clear and objective causes-and effect relationship between assisting Israel and encouraging it to continue its expansion and occupation. As the paragraph now stands, it lends itself to subjective and contradictory interpretations which might eventually hamper even the normal and lawful relations which States maintain, in the exercise of their sovereignty, at the international level.

As regards paragraph (18) of part I of the Programme of Action, Venezuela would also like to express its reservation regarding the fact that this paragraph could be construed as implying that the economic, cultural, technical and other relations which States maintain in the exercise of their sovereignty have intentionally included elements related to Israel's policy towards the Middle East problem. Since this has not been true of Venezuela and since the wording of the paragraph is ambiguous and, like paragraph (5), fails to establish any cause and effect relationship, our country has reservations about it.

As to paragraph (10) of part I of the Programme of Action, in Venezuela's understanding, this paragraph refers, without any distinction, to "all peace initiatives based on the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people". Venezuela believes that it is necessary to recognize the various initiatives taken and to pursue them, through bilateral and multilateral channels, in order to find the means of establishing a legitimate, equitable and stable peace in the Middle East as soon as possible.

Annex VI  
LIST OF DOCUMENTS  
Basic documentation

- A/CONF.114/L.1 Provisional agenda  
A/CONF.114/L.2 Organizational and procedural matters  
A/CONF.114/L.3 Draft declaration  
A/CONF.114/1 Report of the African Regional Preparatory Meeting, Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, 29 March-1 April 1983  
A/CONF.114/2 Report of the Latin American Regional Preparatory Meeting, Managua, Nicaragua, 12-15 April 1983  
A/CONF.114/3 Report of the West Asian Regional Preparatory Meeting, Sharjah, United Arab Emirates, 25-29 April 1983  
A/CONF.114/4 Report of the Asian Regional Preparatory Meeting, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 3-7 May 1983  
a/CONF.114/5 Report of the European Regional Preparatory Meeting, Palais des Nations, Geneva, 4-8 July 1983  
A/CONF.114/6 Economic activity and access to national resources; legal restrictions on access to land and water in Israel: paper prepared for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine by a consultant at the request of the Preparatory committee  
A/CONF.114/7 The Palestinian people's legal right to exercise self-determination: paper prepared for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine by Dr. W. Thomas Mallison and Sally V. Mallison, George Washington University, at the request of the Preparatory Committee  
A/CONF.114/8 Comparative study of land, labour and citizenship control in Israel and South Africa: paper prepared for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine by a consultant, at the request of the Preparatory Committee  
A/CONF.114/9 The status of Jerusalem: paper prepared for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine by a consultant at the request of the Preparatory Committee  
A/CONF.114/10 United Nations initiatives on the question of Palestine  
A/CONF.114/11 Palestine in the history of decolonization: paper prepared for the International Conference on the question of Palestine by a consultant at the request of the Preparatory Committee  
A/CONF.114/12 Provisional rules of procedure of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine  
A/CONF.114/13 Review of the activities of the United Nations system of organizations to assist the Palestinian people: report prepared by the secretariat of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine  
A/CONF.114/13/Add.1 Idem: United Nations Industrial Development Organization  
A/CONF.114/13/Add.2 Idem: Economic Commission for Western Asia  
A/CONF.114/14 The economic viability of an independent Palestinian State: paper prepared for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine by Dr. Atif Kubursi, McMaster University, Ontario, Canada, at the request of the Preparatory Committee  
A/CONF.114/15 The Strategic and economic significance of Palestine: paper prepared for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine by a consultant at the request of the Preparatory Committee  
A/CONF.114/16 Not issued  
A/CONF.114/17 Annotated agenda  
A/CONF.114/19 Message from H.E. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India  
A/CONF.114/20 Message from H.E. Mr. Zhao Ziyang, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China  
A/CONF.114/21 Message from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
A/CONF.114/22 Message from H.E. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea  
A/CONF.114/23 Message from H.E. Mr. Truong Chinh, President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam  
A/CONF.114/24 Message from H.E. Mr. Jambyn Batmunkh, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic  
A/CONF.114/25 Message from H.C. Mr. Mika Spiljak, President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia  
A/CONF.114/26 Message from H.C. Mr. Gustav Musak, President of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia  
A/CONF.114/27 Message from His Highness Shaik Issa Bin Sulman Al Kalifa, Amir of the State of Bahrain, to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine  
A/CONF.114/28 Message from H.E. Mr. Todor Zhivkov, President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria  
A/CONF.114/29 Communication dated 30 August 1983 from the delegations of Afghanistan, Angola, Benin, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Nicaragua, Poland, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Viet Nam, addressed to the President of the Conference.  
A/CONF.114/30 Message from H.E. Lt. General H.M. Ershad, President of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bangladesh  
A/CONF.114/31 Communication dated 1 September 1983 from the Chairman of the delegation of the People Republic of China addressed to the President of the conference  
A/CONF.114/32 Message from Captain Thomas Sankara, President of the National Revolutionary Council, Head of State of the Republic of the Upper Volta  
A/CONF.114/L.3/Rev.1 Draft Declaration finalized by the Drafting Group for Submission to the main Committee  
A/CONF.114/L.4 Draft Programme of Action  
A/CONF.114/Rev.1: Draft Programme of Action finalized by the Drafting Group for submission to the Main Committee  
A/CONF.114/Rev.2: Draft Programme of Action finalized by the Drafting Group for submission to the Main Committee  
A/CONF.114/Rev.2/Add.1, Part A of II: Draft Programme of Action finalized by the Drafting Group for submission to the Main Committee  
A/CONF.114/L.5: Draft Report. Table of contents  
A/CONF.114/L.5/Add.1: Draft report. Part two: Proceedings of the Conferences Origins of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine  
A/CONF.114/L.5/Add.2: Draft report. Attendance and organization of work  
A/CONF.114/L.5/Add.3: Draft report. Summary of the general debate  
A/CONF.114/L.5/Add.8/1: Draft report. Text of statements made at the opening meeting  
(1/ A/CONF.114/L.5/Add.4 through Add.7 were not issued)  
A/CONF.114/L.6  
(English only) Draft report. Text of statements made at the opening meeting Statement to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine submitted by Mr. John Conyers, Jr.

Supplementary documents

- Report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian-Peoples Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 35 (A/31/35)  
Report of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine Official Records of the General assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 49 (A/37/49)



Report of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979): Official Records of the security Council, thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for October, November, December 1979, document S/13679

Report of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979)s Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, supplement for October, November, December 1980, document S/14268

Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories note by the Secretary-General (A/37/485)

The Origins and Evolution of the Palestine Problem, Part I: 1917-1947 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.I.19), Part II: 1947-1977 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.I.20) Study prepared for the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People by the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights

The Right of Return of the Palestinian People (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.I.21)

Study prepared for the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People by the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights

W. Thomas Mallison and Sally U. Mallison, An International Law analysis of the Major United Nations Resolutions concerning the Palestine Question (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.19 and Corr.1) ; Study prepared for the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People

The Right of Self-Determination of the Palestinian people (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.I.22) Study prepared for the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People

HR/GENEVA/BP.2 United Nations Seminar on Violation of Human Rights in the Palestinian and Other Arab Territories Occupied by Israel: Background paper prepared by Antonio Cassesse, Professor of International Law, University of Florence

HR/GENEVA/1982/BP.3 United Nations & Seminar on Violation of Human Rights in the Palestinian and Other Arab Territories Occupied by Israel background paper prepared by Konstantin Obradovic, Institute of International Policy and Economics, Belgrade

ST/HR/SER.A/14 Report of the United Nations Seminar on Violations of Human Rights in the Palestinian and Other Arab Territories Occupied by Israel, Geneva, 29 November-3 December 1982

TD/B/960 Palestine options for development report prepared for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development by P. G. Sadler, formerly Director of the Institute for the Study of Sparsely Populated Areas, University of Aberdeen, United Kingdom

A/38/282  
E/1983/84 Permanent Sovereignty over national resources in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories report of the Secretary-General

A/38/265  
E/1983/85 Implications, under international law, of the United Nations resolutions on permanent sovereignty over natural resources, on the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories and on the obligations of Israel concerning its conduct in these territories report of the Secretary-General

E/1983/72 and Add.1 Assistance to the Palestinian people report of the Secretary-General  
Information documents

A/CONF.114/Misc.1 and Rev.1. List of participants

A/CONF.114/INF.1. Information for participants

A/CONF.114/INF.2. List of documents and Corr.1

A/CONF.114/33. Letter dated 31 August 1983 from the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, addressed to the President of the Conference

A/CONF.114/34. Message from H.E. Prof. Henryk Jablonski, Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic

A/CONF.114/35. Letter dated 2 September 1983 from the Head of the delegation of Singapore addressed to the President of the Conference

A/CONF.114/36. Statement made by H.E. Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization at the 8th plenary meeting on 2 September 1983\*

A/CONF.114/37. Report of the Credentials Committee

A/CONF.114/38. Report of the Main Committee Rev.1 and Corr.1

A/CONF.114/39. Statement by H.E. M. Moustapha Niassé

A/CONF.114/40. Message from H.E. Mengistu Haile-Mariam, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of COPWE, Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Army of Socialist Ethiopia, and current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)

A/CONF.114/41 and Corr.1. Geneva Declaration on Palestine and Programme of action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights

\* Circulated in accordance with the decision taken by the Conference at the 9th plenary meeting.

#### Background documents submitted by non-governmental organizations

A/CONF.114/NGO/1. Call for Israeli Accountability proper Treatment of Prisoners Demanded. NAJDA: Women Concerned about the Middle East (United States of America)

A/CONF.114/NGO/2. Declaration presentee à la Conférence internationale sur la question de Palestine. International Progress Organization

A/CONF.114/NGO/3. Trade unions on the question of Palestine. World Federation of Trade Unions

A/CONF.114/NGO/4. The daily life of Palestinians in South Lebanon and Beirut: A witness account. International Centre for information on Palestinian and Lebanese Prisoners, Deportees and Missing Persons

A/CONF.114/NGO/5. Les nouvelles implantations Israéliennes dans les territoires arabes occupés vent dépourvues de toute légalité juridique. Union of Arab Jurists

A/CONF.114/NGO/6. Report to the United Nations Conference on Palestine Geneva 29 August- September 1983. Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization

A/CONF.114/NGO/7. Declaration to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. Association Suisse - Palestine

- A/CONF.114/NGO/8. Report on the situation of the Lebanese and Palestinian refugees in West Berlin. Project for Aiding Palestinian and Lebanese Refugees
- A/CONF.114/NGO/9. Statement on the Middle East. Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches
- A/CONF.114/NGO/10. C.P.C. Promoting a just and peaceful solution of the Palestinian question. Christian Peace Conference
- A/CONF.114/NGO/11. Zionist activities and the media against Islam in the United States of America. Federation of Islamic Associations in the United States and Canada
- A/CONF.114/NGO/12. Statement to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine  
Project for Aiding Palestinian Prisoners and Refugees in West Berlin; Friends of Middle East Perspective (United States of America); American Educational Trust (United States of America); The Palestine Front of Norway; Rights and Education for All Palestinians (United Kingdom); Christian Peace Conference; War Resisters International; NAJDA: Women concerned About the Middle East (United States of America); Labour Middle East Council (United Kingdom); United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; Federation of Islamic Associations in the United States and Canada; Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation; London Friends of Palestine; Presbyterian Church (United States of America); Palestine Studies; University of Exeter; United Kingdom Trade Union; Friends of Palestine (United Kingdom); Association de solidarité Franco-Arabe; Projet pour le soutien des réfugiés Palestiniens et libanais, West Germany; Parliamentary Association for Euro-Arab Co-operation; EURABIA Association Belgo-Palestinienne; Centre Europe Tiers Monde; United Towns Organization.
- A/CONF.114/NGO/13. Statement to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine  
Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation; Labour Middle East Council (United Kingdom); Federation of Islamic Associations in the United States and Canada; EAFORD; Federated Arab Organizations; International Union of Students Committee Against the War in Lebanon; Israeli Committee for Solidarity with Bir-Zeit University; entre-culturel de Umm al-Fahms; Radda Barnen International; Association Suisse-Palestine et Israel Pvivront; CIMADE; Palestine Committee/Norway; Association médicale franco-palestiniennes; National Committee for Defense of Arab Land/Israel; Democratic Front for Peace/Israel; CETIMs National Progressif Unionist Party of Egypt; Federation syndicale mondiale; World Federation of Democratic Youths; Federation syndicale internationale de l'enseignement; Sewas International; London Friends of Palestine; United Nations Association of Great Britain; REAP; Comité catholique contre la faim et pour le développement; Movement of Democratic Women in Israel; War Resisters International; Institute of Development Studies; United Schools International; Women against the Invasion of Lebanon; Women against the Occupation/Israel; NAJDA: Women Concerned about the Middle East; Islamic Council of Europe; Palestine Human Rights Campaign in the United States of America; Christian Peace Conference, American Educational Trust.
- A/CONF.114/NGO/14. Statement to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. Democratic Front for Peace and Equality of Israel
- A/CONF.114/NGO/15. Statement to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. Parliamentary Association for Euro-Arab Co-operation
- A/CONF.114/NGO/16. Submission to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. The Committee Against the War in Lebanon/The Israeli Committee for Solidarity with Bir Zeit University
- A/CONF.114/NGO/17. Statement to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine.  
International Progress Organization; Comité catholique contre la faim et pour le développement; CIMADE; Conference of European Churches; Centre international d'information sur les prisonniers, déportés et disparus palestiniens et libanais; NAJDA: Women Concerned about the Middle East; Christian Peace Conference; Department of Palestine Studies, University of Exeter; Association de Solidarité franco-arabe; Project to Assist Palestinian and Lebanese Refugees in West Berlin; Palestine Front of Norway; REAP: Rights and Education for all Palestinians; Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace; American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism; EAFORD: International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; Federated Arab-American Organizations American Educational Trust; Organization France-Palestine Committee Against the War in Lebanon (Israel); Israel Committee for Solidarity with Bir Zeit University; World Peace Council Prisoners; Friends Association, Nazareth, Israel; Association medical Franco-Palestinienne; National Committee for the Defence of Arab Lands (Israel); Palestine Human Rights Campaign; Quaker: Peace and Service; Ligue internationale pour les droits et la libération des peuples; Association Belgo-Palestinienne; Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation; Association parlementaire pour la coopération Euro-Arabe; Finnish-Arab Friendship Society; Association Suisse-Palestine; Federation of Islamic Associations in the United States and Canada; Emergency Committee against the Invasion of the Lebanon; War Resisters International; World University Service; Women against the Occupation (Israel); Cultural Centre of Um El-Fahem; The Oxford Committee for Famine Relief; Servas International; Comité Palestine et Israel vivront; United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; Association des amis de l'université de Bir-Zeit en Suisse; International Movement of conscientious War Resisters WRI in Israel; Mouvement international pour l'union fraternelle entre les races et les peuples; November 29th Coalition; Labour Middle East Council (United Kingdom); Friends World Committee for Consultation (United Kingdom); Movement of Democratic Women in Israel; World Muslim Congress.
- A/CONF.114/NGO/18. Some points regarding legal questions of Israeli rule in the occupied territories. Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace
- A/CONF.114/NGO/19. Statement to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. The Committee Against the War in Lebanon/the Committee of Solidarity with Bir Zeit
- A/CONF.114/NGO/20. The realities of public opinion in the United States and Middle East peace. Federation of Arab-American Associations
- A/CONF.114/NGO/21. Statement to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. Association suisse des amis de la Bir-Zeit
- A/CONF.114/NGO/22. Statement to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. Palestine Studies, University of Exeter
- A/CONF.114/NGO/23. Statement to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. London Friends of Palestine
- A/CONF.114/NGO/24. Declaration présentée à la Conférence internationale sur la question de Palestine. Association de Solidarité franco-arabe
- A/CONF.114/NGO/25. Statement to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, November 29th Coalition
- A/CONF.114/NGO/26. Statement to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. International Movement of Conscientious War Resisters
- A/CONF.114/NGO/27. Statement to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine International Union of Students
- A/CONF.114/NGO/28. Statement to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. Committee "Palestine and Israel

shall live"; Women Against Occupation; NAJDA: Women Concerned about the Middle East; November 29th Coalition; Federation of Arab American Organizations; Cultural Centre of Um El-Fahem; American Educational Trust; World YWCA; International Movement of Conscientious War Resisters; World Committee for Consultation (Quakers); Committee in Solidarity with Bir-Zeit University and Against the War in Lebanon; Movement of Democratic Women in Israel; Women International Democratic Federation; Association de Solidarité Franco-Arabe; Right and Education for all Palestinians; United Nations Association in Great Britain and Northern Ireland; Palestine Studies, Exeter University; War Resisters' International; International Association of Democratic Lawyers; International Youth and Students Movement for United Nations; Bertrand Russell Foundation; Palestine Front in Norway; Association Suisse-Palestine; Centre Europe Tiers Monde; Project for Aiding Palestinian and Lebanese Refugees in West Berlin; Prisoners Friends Association, Nazareth, Israel; London Friends of Palestine; Labour Middle East Council; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace; Association Belgo-Palestinienne; Belgian Parliamentary Association; World Peace Council; Committee for Defence of Arab Land in Israel; Servas International.

A/CONF.114/NGO/29. Statement to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. United Methodist Church, General Board of Global Ministries

A/CONF.114/NGO/30. Statement to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. Soviet Committee of Solidarity with the Countries of Asia and Africa

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#### Annex VII LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

##### Afghanistan

Shah Mohammed Dost, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères (chef de la délégation)

M. Farid Zarif, Représentant permanent de la République Démocratique d'Afghanistan auprès des Nations Unies

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##### Austria

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Mr. Albert Rohan, Director, Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Vienna

Mr. Peter Hohenfellner, Ambassador

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Mr. Karim A1 Shakar, Permanent Representative of the State of Bahrain to the United Nations Office at Geneva (Deputy Head of Delegation)

Mr. Ebrahim A1 Majed, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission of the State of Bahrain, Geneva

Mr. Abdulla A1 Ansari, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission of the State of Bahrain, Geneva

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(Alternate Representative)

##### Bangladesh

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Mr. Habibur Rahman, Economic Minister, Permanent Mission of Bangladesh, Geneva

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Mr. Alimul Haque, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Bangladesh, Geneva

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Mr. Gulam Moula, Adviser

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M. Ayelevi Kpodar, Secrétaire du Directeur des Organisations Internationales

#### Bhutan

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Mr. am Pradhan, Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Mr. Sonam R. Rabgye, Under-Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Alternate Representative)

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Sra. Ana Carola Sanchez Peña de Lorenz, Ministro Consejero, Oficina Europea de las Naciones Unidas, Ginebra

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Mr. Kamal Naji  
Mr. Mourad Abderraouf  
Mr. Saleh Ayoub  
Mr. Mohamed K. Aissa

\* At its second plenary meeting on 30 August 1983, the Conference decided to seat the Palestine Liberation Organization among the full participants.

#### Panama

Dr. Jorge A. Medrano V, Embajador Representante Permanente ante la Oficina Europea de las Naciones Unidas, Ginebra (Jefe de la Delegación)  
Sr. Octavio Ferrer Anguizola, Embajador, Representante Permanente Adjunto ante la Oficina Europea de las Naciones Unidas  
Sr. Luis Aquirre Gallardo, Tercer Secretario de la Misión de Panamá, Ginebra

#### Papua New Guinea

Mr. Alan Oaisa, Counsellor, Papua New Guinea High Commission, London

#### Peru

Sr. Roberto Villarán Coechlin, Embajador, Representante Permanente ante la Oficina Europea de las Naciones Unidas, Ginebra (Jefe de la Delegación)  
Sr. José Manuel Pacheco, Ministro Consejero de la Misión Permanente de Peru, Ginebra  
Sr. Juan Alvarez Vita, Consejero de la Misión Permanente de Peru, Ginebra  
Sr. Vicente Rojas, Segundo Secretario de la Misión Permanente de Peru, Ginebra  
Sra. Noela Pantoja, Tercera Secretaria de la Misión Permanente de Peru, Ginebra

#### Philippines

Ambassador Liningding P. Pangandaman, Assistant Minister, Office of Middle East and African Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Manila  
Mr. H. J. Brillantes, Permanent Representative, Philippine Mission to the United Nations, Geneva  
Mr. Tomas T. Syquia, Deputy Permanent Representative, Philippine Mission to the United Nations Geneva  
Ms. Erlinda Nicolas, Attaché, Philippine Mission to the United Nations, Geneva

#### Poland

H.E. Mr. Henryk Jaroszek, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs  
H.E. Mr. Stanislaw Turbanski, Ambassador, Permanent Representative to the United Nations Office at Geneva, (Deputy Head of Delegation)  
Mr. Jan Natkanski, Counsellor in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Mr. Gromoslaw Czempinski, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Poland, Geneva

#### Portugal

Ambassador Rui Eduardo Barbosa de Medina, Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York (Head of Delegation)  
Mr. Antonio Monteiro, Counsellor of Embassy, Permanent Mission of Portugal, New York  
Mr. Antonio Martins da Cruz, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of Portugal, Geneva  
Mr. João Teixeira da Mota, First Secretary of Embassy, Ministry for Foreign Affairs

#### Qatar

Sheikh Ahmed Bin Saif Al-Thani, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs  
Mr. Jasim Y. Jamal, Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York  
Mr. Mohamed Salem Al-Kuwari, Permanent Representative to the United Nations Office, Geneva  
Mr. Mohamed Noor Al-Obeidly, Director, Organisations Department  
Mr. Atiq Nasser Al-Bader, Director, Office of the Minister of State  
Mr. Mohamed Hamad Al-Khalifa, Director, Political Affairs Department  
Mr. Mohamed Hassan Al-Jaber, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of Qatar, Geneva  
Mr. Rashed Abdulla Al-Khalifa, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Qatar, Geneva  
Mr. Hassan Abdulla Dhiyab, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Mr. Ahmed Jassem Al-Qattari, Third Secretary, Permanent Mission of Qatar, Geneva

#### Republic of Korea

Mr. Soo Gil Park, Minister, Deputy Permanent Observer to the United Nations. New York (Head of Delegation)  
Mr. Haeng Kyeam Oh, First Secretary, Embassy of the Republic of Korea in Saudi Arabia  
Mr. Seok Jeong Eom, Third Secretary, Permanent Observer Mission to the United Nations Office, Geneva

#### Romania

M. Ion Datcu, Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, Genève (chef de la délégation)  
M. Teodor Melescanu, Conseiller, Mission permanente de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, Genève (Adjoint du Chef de la délégation)  
M. Mihail Bichir, Premier Secrétaire, Mission permanente de la République Socialiste de Roumanie  
M. Aurelian Cretu, Deuxième Secrétaire, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères de Roumanie

#### Rwanda

Mr. Joseph Nesngiyumva, Secretary-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation (Head of Delegation)  
Mr. Mathias Shyirambere, Director-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

#### San Marino

Mr. Dieter Thomas, Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative of San Marino to the United Nations Office, Geneva

#### Saudi Arabia

Sheikh Mohammed Ibrahim Masoud, Minister of State (Head of Delegation)

Sheikh Ahmed Abdul-Jabbar, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Saudi Arabia to the United Nations Office, Geneva

Mr. Fouad Hassan Faki, Minister Plenipotentiary, Head of the United Nations and International Conferences Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. Yousof al Amran, Director, of the Minister of State Cabinet (Alternate Delegate)

Mr. Kamal Kattan, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Saudi Arabia, Geneva

Mr. Omar Haliq, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of Saudi Arabia, Geneva

#### Senegal

M. Moustapha Niassé, Ministre d'Etat, Chargé d'Affaires étrangères de la République du Sénégal

M. Medoune Fall, Ministre des Forces Armées de la République du Sénégal

M. Massamba Sarré, Ambassadeur, Représentant Permanent du Sénégal auprès des Nations Unies, New York

M. Alioune Sene, Ambassadeur, Représentant Permanent du Sénégal auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies, Genève

Mme. Absa Claude Beckers Diallo, Ambassadeur, Directeur des Affaires politiques et culturelles au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Dakar

M. Cheikh Leye, Ambassadeur de Sénégal en République Fédérale d'Allemagne

M. Cheikh Tidiane Disye, Conseiller de Presse

M. Babacar Deme, Adjoint au Chef du Protocole du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Dakar

M. Ibrahima Sy, Premier Conseiller à la Mission permanente du Sénégal, Genève

M. Samba Cor Konate, Conseiller à la Mission permanente du Sénégal, Genève

M. Mamadou Moustapha Ndisye. Secrétaire, Mission permanente du Sénégal, Genève

M. Assane Ndiaye Niang, Attaché à l'Ambassade du Sénégal, Berne

M. Bakary Seck. Fonctionnaire au Ministère de l'Intérieur

M. Papa Abdou Cisse, Directeur de cabinet au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères

M. Arona Diop, Conseiller au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères

M. Bara Diouf, Conseiller au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères

M. Sammy L. Chaupin, Conseiller au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères

#### Seychelles

Mr. Robert Delpech, Deputy High Commission to the United Kingdom, Republic of Seychelles

#### Sierra Leone

Dr. Abdulai O. Contech, Minister for Foreign Affairs

Mr. Abdul G. Koroma, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone to the United Nations Office, Geneva

#### Singapore

Mr. Subramaniam Mokanasivam, Charge d'Affaires a.i., Permanent Mission of Singapore to the United Nations Office, Geneva

#### Somalia

Mr. Abdillahi Said Osman, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Somalia to the United Nations Office and Specialized Agencies, Geneva (Head of Delegation)

Mr. Mohamed Hussein Abby, Political Counsellor, Somali Permanent Mission, Geneva

Mr. Abdulkarim Najib, Counsellor, Somali Permanent Mission, Geneva

#### Spain

Sr. D. Alfonso de la Serna y Gutierrez-Repide, Embajador, Representante Permanente de España ante los Organismos Internacionales, Ginebra

Sr. D. Juan Ignacio López de Chicheri y Sáinz, Consejero de Embajada, Delegación Permanente de España ante los Organismos Internacionales, Ginebra

Sr. D. Manuel Gómez de Valenzuela, Subdirector General de Próximo y Medio Oriente, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores

Sr. Julian Palacios, Secretario, Misión Permanente de España ante los Organismos Internacionales, Ginebra

Sr. Fernando Moran, Director Organismos Jurídicos, Organizaciones y Conferencias Internacionales, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores

Sr. José Maria Campa, Consejero Información, Misión Permanente de España ante los Organismos Internacionales, Ginebra

#### Sri Lanka

Mr. A.C.S. Hameed, M.P., Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sri Lanka (Head of Delegation)

Mr. A. Tissa Jayakoddy, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka to the United Nations Office, Geneva

Mr. A.C. A. Ghafoor, Private Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs

Mr. A. C. A. M. Nuhuman, Private Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs

Mr. D. E. N. Rodrigo, Director, United Nations Conference Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. H. M. G. S. Paliakkara, Third Secretary, Permanent Mission of Sri Lanka to the United Nations, Geneva

Mr. C. R. Jayasinghe, Third Secretary, Embassy of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, Bonn

Mr. Prasod Kariyawasam, Third Secretary, Permanent Mission of Sri Lanka to the United Nations, Geneva

Mr. Gamini Gunawardena (Advisor)

#### Sudan

Mr. Mustafa Medani, State Minister of Foreign Affairs (Head of Delegation)

Mr. Mohamed Izzat Babiker El Deeb, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of the Sudan to the United Nations Office, Geneva

Galal Atabani, Ambassador, Director of Arab Department

Mr. Ibrahim Hamra, Ambassador, Deputy Permanent Representative of the Sudan to the United Nations Office, Geneva

Mr. Yousif Elhadi Ismail, Counsellor, Sudan Mission, Geneva

Mr. Mohamed Salsh El Din Abbas, Counsellor, Sudan Mission, Geneva

#### Suriname

Dr. Werner Vreedzaam, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of the Republic of Suriname, New York

#### Sweden

Mr. Jan Lundvik, Minister, Permanent Swedish Delegation, New York (Head of Delegation)  
Mr. Björn Elmer, Counsellor, Permanent Swedish Delegation, New York (Alternate Representative)  
Ms. Lena Sudh, first Secretary, Permanent Swedish Delegation, Geneva

#### Syrian Arab Republic

M. Abdel Halim Khaddam, Deputy Prime Minister, Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Head of Delegation)  
Dr. Adib Daoudy, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to the United Nations Office, Geneva (Vice-President of the Delegation)  
Mr. Ahmad Saker, Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Mission of the Syrian Arab Republic, Geneva  
Mrs. Souad Abdalla, Minister-Counsellor, Permanent Mission of the Syrian Arab Republic, Geneva  
Mr. Hicham Joundi, Minister-Counsellor, Permanent Mission of the Syrian Arab Republic, Geneva  
Mr. Mushen Sayadi, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of the Syrian Arab Republic, Geneva  
Mrs. Wafika Ohdé-Barakat, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of the Syrian Arab Republic, Geneva  
Mr. Adnan Hamoui, Attache, Permanent Mission of the Syrian Arab Republic, Geneva (Alternate Representative)  
Mr. Samih Abou Farez

#### Thailand

Mr. Chawan Chawanid, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Thailand to the United Nations Office and other International Organizations, Geneva (Head of Delegation)  
Mr. Vibhak Bhinyoying, Minister-Counsellor, Deputy Permanent Representative of Thailand to the United Nations Office, Geneva  
Mr. Chaibong Satjipanon, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission of Thailand, Geneva

#### Trinidad and Tobago

Mr. W. S. Naimool, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago to the United Nations Office, Geneva  
Dr. H. Robertson, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, Geneva  
Mr. M. G-A. Lashley, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, Geneva

#### Tunisia

M. Béji Caid Essebsi, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères (chef de la délégation)  
M. Fouad Mebazaa, Ambassadeur Représentant Permanent de la Tunisie, Genève (chef-adjoint de la délégation)  
M. Salah Badgham, Conseiller diplomatique au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères  
M. Abdelaziz Beltaief, Vice-président de la Chambre des Députés  
M. Khalifa El Hafdhi, Ministre Plenipotentiaire, Mission de Tunisie, Genève  
M. Sadok Fayala, Chargé des relations extérieures au Parti socialiste destourien

#### Turkey

Prof. Dr. İlhan Öztrak, Minister of State (Head of Delegation)  
Mr. Ali Coskun Kirca, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations, New York  
Mr. Umit Pamir, Director of the Department of Middle East and Africa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Mr. Nazim Dumlu, Chief of Cabinet  
Bilge Cankorel, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of Turkey, Geneva  
Mr. Ertugrul Apakan, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of Turkey, Geneva  
Mr. Hasan Gogus, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Turkey, Geneva

#### Uganda

Mr. Shafiq Arain, Minister without Portfolio, Office of the President and High Commissioner to the United Kingdom (Head of Delegation)  
Mr. Nathan Irumba, Minister-Counsellor, Permanent Mission of the Republic of Uganda to the United Nations  
Ms. Veronica Asima

#### Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

Mr. Yuri Kochubey, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs (Head of Delegation)  
Mr. Victor Batyuk, Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations Office, Geneva  
Mr. Yuri Zybanov, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Mr. Yuri Mal'ko Second Secretary, Permanent Mission of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations Office, Geneva

#### Union of Soviet socialist Republics

Mr. Vladimir Vingoradov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian soviet Federative Socialist Republic (Head of Delegation)  
Mr. Mikhail D. Sytenko, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of the USSR to the United Nations Office, Geneva  
Mr. Yuri S. Griadunov, Chief of Section, Institute of World Economy and Foreign Relations, Academy of Sciences of the USSR  
Mr. Felix N. Fedotov, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR  
Mr. Vladimir N. Kudriavtsev, Director of Institute of State and Law, Academy of Sciences of the USSR  
Mr. E. Primakov, Director, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the USSR  
Mr. Vafa Gulizade, Senior Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR  
Mr. Oleg S. Derkovsky, Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR  
Mr. Vessili S. Sidorov, Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR  
Mr. Oleg Kovtunovich, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the USSR  
Mr. Victor M. Tsanga, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic  
Mr. Oleg I. Fomin, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR  
Mr. Georgi Antonov, Adviser  
Mr. Leonid Titov, Adviser  
Mr. Petr Baulin, Adviser  
Mr. Alesander Mandrov, Adviser  
Mr. T. Bagirov, Adviser  
Mr. Teimouroz Ramishvili, Adviser  
Mr. Vladimir Fedorovski, Adviser

Mr. Sergueir Modine, Adviser  
Mr. Alexander Ribkin, Adviser

#### United Arab Emirates

Mr. Abdul Rahman Al Jarawn, Under-Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Arab Emirates  
Mr. Mohamad Jassam Al Samhan, Director of International Conferences and Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Arab Emirates  
Mr. Abdulla Al Noaimi, Chargé d'Affaires, Permanent Mission of the United Arab Emirates, Geneva  
Mr. Adbul Rahman Al-Shamlan, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of the United Arab Emirates, Geneva  
Mr. Hussein O. Ghubash, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of the United Arab Emirates, Geneva  
Mr. Nasser Khamis Suleiman, Member of National Council in the United Arab Emirates

#### United Republic of Cameroon

Mr. Dominique Yong, Représentant Permanent Adjoint, Mission permanente, Genève (chef de la délégation)  
Mr. Nestor Fomekong, Premier Secrétaire, Mission permanente, Genève  
Mr. William Eyambe Eyambe, Deuxième Secrétaire, Mission permanente, Genève

#### United Republic of Tanzania

Mr. Amir H. Jamal, Minister Without Portfolio in the Office of the President of the United Republic of Tanzania (Head of Delegation)  
Mr. Paul Rupia, Ambassador and Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission of Tanzania, New York (Alternate head of Delegation)  
Dr. Wilbert Chagula, Ambassador and Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission of Tanzania, Geneva  
Mr. Elly E. E. Mtango, Minister-Counsellor, Permanent Mission of Tanzania, Geneva  
Mr. Eliud A. Mwandembwa, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of Tanzania, Geneva

#### Upper Volta

Mr. Leandre Bacilli, Chargé d'Affaires, Mission permanente de la Haute Volta, New York (Head of Delegation)  
Mr. Rinnanguiya Gaetan Ouedraogo, Conseiller, Chef de la Division des Nations Unies, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères

#### Uruguay

Sr. Federico Grunwaldt Ramasso, Embajador (Jefe de la Delegación)  
Sr. Carlos Fernandez Ballesteros, Ministro  
Sr. Carloa Nadal, Primer Secretario

#### Venezuela

Sr. Alberto López Oliver, Embajador, Representante Permanente en la Misión Permanente de Venezuela ante la Oficina de las Naciones Unidas y los Organismos Especializados, Ginebra  
Sra. Elsa Boccechiampe Crovati, Ministro Consejero, Director de Política Exterior para asuntos bilaterales, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores  
Sr. Teófilo Labrador Rubio, Consojero, Misión Permanente de Venezuela ante la Oficina de las Naciones Unidas y los Organismos Especializados, Ginebra  
Sra. María Esperanza Ruesta, Primer Secretario, Misión Permanente de Venezuela ante la Oficina de las Naciones Unidas y los Organismos Especializados, Ginebra  
Sr. Oscar García García, Segundo Secretario, Misión Permanente de Venezuela ante la Oficina de las Naciones Unidas y los Organismos Especializados, Ginebra

#### Viet Nam

M. Hoang Anh Tuan, Vice-Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la République Socialiste du Viet Nam (chef de la délégation)  
M. Nguyen Thoong, Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent de la République Socialiste du Viet Nam auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies (chef adjoint)  
M. Trinh Van Anh, Conseiller, Mission du Viet Nam, Genève  
M. Do Tat Chat, Troisième Secrétaire, Mission du Viet Nam, Genève

#### Yemen

Mr. Ali Lotf Althor, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Yemen Arab Republic (Head of Delegation)  
Mr. Hussein Almagbaly, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Yemen to the United Nations Office, Geneva  
Mr. Abduldayem Mubarez, Counsellor, Director-General of Political Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Yemen  
Mr. Hassan Zabarah, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of Yemen, Geneva  
Mr. Abdul Elah Hajar, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Yemen, Geneva  
Mr. Abdulwahab Alshukani, First Secretary, Director of the Minister's Office (Alternate Member)  
Mr. Abdelaziz Al-Kostaban, Third Secretary, Permanent Mission of Yemen (Alternate Member)

#### Yugoslavia

Mr. Nijas Dizdarevic, President of the Federal Social Council for Foreign Affairs (Head of Delegation)  
Mr. Kazimir Vidas, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of the SFR of Yugoslavia to the United Nations Office, Geneva (Deputy Head of Delegation)  
Mr. Dusan Litvinovic, Director of Department for Middle East and North Africa, Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs  
Ms. Zagorka Ilic, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations Office, Geneva

#### Zaire

M. Kamanda wa Kamanda, Commissaire d'Etat aux Affaires Etrangères et à la Coopération Internationale (chef de la délégation)  
M. Mukamba Kadiata-Nzemba, Représentant permanent du Zaïre auprès des Nations Unies, Genève (chef-adjoint de la délégation)  
Mme Ekanga Esaki-Rabeya, Premier Secrétaire, Mission permanente du Zaïre auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies et des Institutions Spécialisées  
M. Bula Lokwa, Premier Secrétaire, Mission permanente du Zaïre auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies et des Institutions Spécialisées

#### Zambia

Mr. O. Musuka, Minister of State of Foreign Affairs (Head of Delegation)  
Mrs. I. B. Chiwele, Princia, International Organizations Dept., Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Alternate Representative)

Mr. Godwin M. S. Mfula, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Zambia to the United Nations New York

Zimbabwe

Mr. E. P. Mashaire, Ambassador of Zimbabwe to the Federal Republic of Germany

States participating as observers

Australia

Mr. W. R. M. Steele, Acting Deputy Permanent Representative, Australian Permanent Mission to the United Nations Office

Belgium

Mme. C. Funes-Noppen, Premier Secrétaire, Mission permanente de la Belgique auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies et des Institutions Spécialisées, Genève

M. J. M. Noirfalisse, Premier Secrétaire, Mission permanente de la Belgique auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies et des Institutions Spécialisées, Genève

Mlle. J. Harroy, Attache, Mission permanente de la Belgique auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies et des Institutions Spécialisées, Genève

Canada

M. James Lynch, Premier Secrétaire, Mission permanente du Canada, Genève

Costa Rica

Mr. Elias Soley Soler, Embajador, Representante Permanente, Misión de Costa Rica, Ginebra

Mr. Jorge Rhenan Segura, Consejero, Misión Permanente de Costa Rica, Ginebra

Denmark

Mr. Henrik Skouenborg, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of Denmark to the United Nations Office, Geneva

France

M. Robert de Souza, Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent de la France auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies, Genève

M. Jean-Marie Momal, Deuxième Conseiller, Mission permanente de la France auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies, Genève

M. J.-F. Thibault, Mission permanente de la France, New York

M. Bruno Gibert, Attache, Mission permanente de la France auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies, Genève

Germany, Federal Republic of

Dr. Frank Lambach, First Counsellor, Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations Office, Geneva

Guatemala

Embajador Arturo Fajardo-Maldonado, Representante Permanente de Guatemala

Sra. N. M. de Contreras-Saravia, Ministro Consejero, Misión Permanente de Guatemala, Ginebra

Holy See

Mgr. Edoardo Roviola, Nonce Apostolique, Observateur permanent du Saint-Siège à Genève (chef de la délégation)

Mgr. John G. Nolan, Président de la Mission Pontificale pour la Palestine

Mgr. Giuseppe Bertello, Conseiller de la Mission permanente du Saint-Siège, Genève

M. R. P. Raymond Roch, P.B.

Honduras

Sr. Ivan Romero, Representante Permanente de Honduras ante la Oficina de las Naciones Unidas y las Organizaciones Internacionales, Ginebra (Jefe de la Delegación)

Sr. J. M. Ritter, Consejero, Misión Permanente de Honduras

Sr. Rafael Castro, Secretario, Misión Permanente de Honduras

Sra. J. Kaffati, Agregada, Misión Permanente de Honduras

Iceland

Mr. Valgeir Arsaellsson, Minister-Counsellor, Deputy Permanent Representative to the Office of the United Nations and other International Organizations, Geneva

Ireland

Mr. Francis Mahon Hayes, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Ireland, Geneva

Mr. Peter Gunning, First Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs, Dublin

Mr. John D. Biggar, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Ireland, Geneva

Italy

M. Mario Scialoja, Représentant permanent adjoint, Chargé d'Affaires a.i., Mission permanente d'Italie auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies et des autres organisations internationales à Genève (chef de la délégation)

M. Enrico De Maio, Conseiller, Mission permanente d'Italie auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies et des autres organisations internationales à Genève

Japan

Mr. Hiromi Sato, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of Japan to the International Organizations, Geneva

Mr. Hideaki Asahi, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Japan to the International Organizations, Geneva

Mr. Isao Dekiba, Official, Political Affairs Division, United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Luxembourg

M. Fernand Vanetti, Attaché à l'Ambassade du Luxembourg à Berne

#### Netherlands

Mr. Hans Johan Heinemann, Minister, Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations Office, Geneva  
Mr. Robert J. Akkerman, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Geneva

#### New Zealand

Mr. J. N. Goodman, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of New Zealand to the United Nations Office, Geneva

#### Norway

Mr. Hans Fredrik Lehne, Secretary of Embassy

#### Switzerland

M. André de Graffenried, Section des Nations Unies et Organisations internationales, département fédéral des affaires étrangères, Berne

#### United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Mr. Christopher William Long, Counsellor and Deputy Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations Office, Geneva  
Mr. B. D. Adams, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission of the United Kingdom, Geneva  
Mr. A. R. Michael, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission of the United Kingdom, Geneva

#### National Liberation Movements

##### African National Congress (South Africa)

Mr. Johnstone Makatini, Head, International Department

##### Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

Mr. Hamilton Z. Keke, Chief Representative to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Member of the Central Committee  
Mr. Count Pieterse, Chief Representative, Scandinavian countries  
Mr. John Masuku, Education Officer, External Headquarters, Dar Es-Salaam, Tanzania

##### South West Africa People's Organization

Mr. Herman Ethete, Deputy Secretary for legal Affairs

#### United Nations organs

Commission for Human Rights

Mrs. Halima Warzazi Chairman, Sub-Committee of the Human Rights Commission on the Protection of Minorities

Mr. Munzer Anabtawi, Adviser

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

Mr. M. Sarré (Senegal), Chairman

Mr. R. Roa-Kouri (Cuba)

Mr. F. Zarif (Afghanistan)

Mr. V. Gauci (Malta)

Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia)

Mr. Ian Fraser (Guyana)

Miss Kunadi (India)

Mr. Lessir (Tunisia)

Mr. Z. L. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization)

Special Committee against Apartheid

Ambassador Valdimir Alekseyevich Kravets (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) Head of Delegation

Mr. Lila Prasad Sharma (Nepal)

Mr. Boris Ivanovich Tarasyuk (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)

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

Mr. Abdul G. Koroma (Sierra Leone) Chairman

Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories

Mr. I. B. Fonseka (Sri Lanka), Chairman

Mr. A. Sene (Senegal)

Prof. B. Meholjic (Yugoslavia)

#### Specialized agencies

International Labour Organisation (ILO)

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

World Health Organization (WHO)

Universal Postal Union (UPU)

International Telecommunication Union (ITU)

World Meteorological Organization (WMO)

World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)

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International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

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United Nations offices, programmes and bodies

Office of the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation  
United Nations Office at Geneva  
Department for Political and General Assembly Affairs  
Centre for Human Rights  
Department of International Economic and Social affairs  
Centre against Apartheid  
Economic Commission for Western Asia (ECWA)  
Office of the Commissioner for Namibia  
United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (HABITAT)  
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)  
United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)  
United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)  
United Nations Disaster Relief Organization (UNDRO)  
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)  
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)  
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)  
United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA)  
United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR)  
United Nations Relief Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA)

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World Food Programme (WFP)

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Intergovernmental organizations

African, Caribbean and Pacific group of States (ACP)  
Mr. Peter Ipu Peipul, Ambassador, Independent State of Papua New Guinea, Member, ACP Committee of Ambassadors

Commission des Communautés Européennes

M. Christian Dutour, Attaché à la Délégation Permanente de la Commission des Communautés Européennes auprès des Organisations Internationales, Genève  
M. Gaston Maurel, Attaché à la Délégation permanente de la Commission des Communautés Européennes à Genève  
M. Antonio Seguso, Chef adjoints du Bureau de Liaison du Conseil des Communautés Européennes

Commonwealth Secretariat

Mr. D. Sankey, International Affairs Division (Observer)

Council of Europe

Mr. R. Muller, Swiss National Counsellor  
Mr. C. De Ardin, Member of the Parliament of Belgium

Intergovernmental Committee for Migration (ICM)

Mr. R. K. Jenny, Chief of Department of Operations and Transport  
Mr. A. Vassiliadis, Desk Officer, Africa and Middle East

Ligue des Etats Arabes

M. Chadli Klibi, Secrétaire-Général (chef de la délégation)  
M. Adnan Omran, Secrétaire-Général adjoints pour les Affaires Politiques  
M. Mohammed Alfarra, Secrétaire-Général adjoints pour les Affaires de la Palestine  
Ambassadeur Moncef El May, Observateur Permanente, Chef de la Mission permanente à Genève  
Mme. Nabila Annimer, Directeur, Ligue des Etats Arabes, Tunis  
M. Ahmed Elhargam, Chef de la Section des Relations Diplomatiques, Ligue Arabe, Tunis  
M. Ahmed Elmaghrebi, Chef de la Section des Relations de Presse, Ligue Arabe, Tunis  
M. Ali Binhadid, Deuxième Secrétaire, Mission permanente, Genève  
M. Allaadin Hassan, Troisième Secrétaire, Mission permanente à Genève  
M. Ala Almoman, Attaché, Mission permanente à Genève  
M. Oaman El Hajje, Mission permanente à Genève  
Dr. Adnan El Telawi, Chef de la Mission permanente de l'Organisation Arabe du Travail à Genève  
M. Abdullah Soubaih, Mission permanente de la Ligue des Etats Arabes à New York  
M. Hamdan Eadr, Directeur, Ligue des Etats Arabes, Tunis  
M. Mhamed Dayri, Membre de la délégation permanente, Genève  
M. Adel Salame, Membre de la délégation permanente à Genève  
M. Majib Sekkouri Alaoui, Membre de la délégation Permanente à Genève

Organisation de la Conference Islamique

M. Habib Chatty, Secrétaire-Général  
M. Zeinoel Arifin Oesman, Secrétaire-Général Adjoint chargé des Affaires de la Cause Palestinienne et d'Al-Quds  
M. Nabil Maarouf, Directeur du Département de la Cause Palestinienne et d'Al-Quds  
Mr. Nouredine Mezni, Attaché de Cabinet

Organization of African Unity (OAU)

H. E. Mr. A. N. Chimuka, Assistant Secretary-General and Leader of the Delegation  
Dr. Omar M. Muntasser, Executive Secretary of the OAU Permanent Delegation in Geneva  
Mr. Mohamoud Daar, Assistant Executive Secretary, OAU Permanent Delegation in Genève  
Mr. Mpwotsh Ngung, Chief of General Political Affairs, OAU Addis Ababa



#### Eminent persons

Mr. Roeslan Abdulgani (Indonesia)  
Mr. Uri Avnery (Israel)  
Mr. Elmer Berger (United States of America)  
Mr. Luis Echeverria (Mexico)  
Mr. Medoune Fall (Senegal)  
Ms. Cecile Goldet (France)  
Mr. P. N. Hakear (India)  
Ms. Felicia Langer (Israel)  
Mr. Sean McBride (Ireland)  
Lord Christopher Paget Mayhew (United Kingdom)  
Mr. Paul J. McCloskey (United States of America)  
Mr. Mattitayhu Peled (Israel)  
Mr. Yevgeniy Primakov (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)  
Mr. Edward Said (United States of America)  
Dr. Amal Shamma (Lebanon)  
Mr. Tawfiq Toubi (Israel)

#### Non-governmental organizations

Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (Egypt)  
All India Women's Conference  
American Educational Trust  
Arab Interparliamentary Union (Syria)  
Arab Lawyers Union  
Association belgo-palestinienne (Belgique)  
Association des amis de l'Universite de Bir-Zeit (Suisse)  
Association France-Palestine  
Association médicale franco-palestinienne  
Association suisse-arabe  
Association Suisse-Palestine  
Association de solidarité franco-arabe (France)  
Association des jeunes avocats (Tunisie)  
Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation (United Kingdom)  
Canada Arab World Parliamentary group  
  
Centre Europe tiers-monde  
  
Centre international d'information sur les prisonniers disparus et déportés palestiniennes/libanais (France)  
  
Christian Peace Conference (Czechoslovakia)  
  
Comité Catholique contre la Faim et pour le Developpement (France)  
  
Comité de l'Appel des Juifs contre la Guerre au Liban (France)  
  
Comité Palestine et Israel Vivront (France)  
  
Comité pour la Paix au Proche-Orient (France)  
  
Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the Wbld Council of Churches (Switzerland)  
  
Committee for Defense of Arab Land (Israel)  
  
Confederation Mbndiale du Travail (Belgique)  
  
Conference of European Churches (Switzerland)  
  
Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding  
  
Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Israel)  
  
Emergency Committee against the Invasion of Lebanon (United Kingdom)  
  
EURABIA - European Co-ordinating Committee of Friendship Societies with the Arab World (France)  
  
Federation of Arab-American Organizations (United States of America)  
  
Federation of Arab Scientific Research Councils  
  
Federation of Islamic Associations in the United States and Canada (United States of America)  
  
Finnish-Arab Friendship Society  
  
Friends of the Prisoners in Israel (Israel)

Friends World Committee for Consultation

Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex (United Kingdom)

International Association of Democratic Lawyers (Belgium)

International Catholic Migration Commission (Switzerland)

International Commission of Jurists (Switzerland)

International Federation of Human Rights

International Movement for Fraternal Union Among Races and Peoples (Belgium)

International Movement of Conscientious War Resisters (Israel)

International League for the Rights and Liberation of Peoples (Italy)

International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination - EAFORD (United Kingdom)

International Progress Organization (Austria)

International Union of Students (Czechoslovakia)

International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations (Switzerland)

Interparliamentary Union (Switzerland)

Islamic Council of Europe (United Kingdom)

Israel Council for Israeli Palestinian Peace (Israel)

Israeli Committee for Solidarity with Bir-Zeit University/Committee against the War in Lebanon (Israel)

Labour Middle East Council (United Kingdom)

League of Red Cross Societies (Switzerland)

London Friends of Palestine (United Kingdom)

Lutheran World Federation

Middle East Council of Churches (Lebanon)

Minority Rights group

Movement of Democratic Women (Israel)

Muslim World League (Saudi Arabia)

Najdas Women Concerned about the Middle East (United States of America)

National Association of Arab Americans

National Council of Churches of Christ (United States of America)

National Lawyers Guild (United States of America)

November 29 Coalition (United States of America)

OXFAM (United Kingdom)

Palestinafronten (Norway)

Palestinakomiteen (Norway)

Palestine Human Rights Campaign (United States of America)

Palestine Studies Programme, Exeter University (United Kingdom)

Parliamentary Association for Euro-Arab Co-operation (France)

Pax Romana

Presbyterian Church (United States of America)

project for Aiding Palestinian Prisoners and Refugees - West Berlin

Radda barren's riksförbund (Sweden)

Rights and Education for All Palestinians

Sarvas International

Service oecuménique d'entraide-CIMADE (France)

Trade Union Friends of Palestine (United Kingdom)

Um-el-Fahem Cultural Center (Israel)

Union of Arab Jurists (Iraq)

United Methodist Church, General Board of Global Ministries (United States of America)

United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (United Kingdom)

United Schools International (India)

United Towns Organization

War Resisters International (United Kingdom)

Women against the Invasion of Lebanon (Israel)

Women's International Democratic Federation (German Democratic Republic)

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Switzerland)

World Alliance of YMCAs (Switzerland)

World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (Switzerland)

World Federation of Democratic Youth (Hungary)

World Federation of Teacher's Unions

World Federation of Trade Unions (Czechoslovakia)

World Federation of United Nations Associations (Switzerland)

World Muslim Congress (Pakistan)

World Peace Council (Finland)

World Student Christian Federation (Switzerland)

World University Service (Switzerland)

World Young Women's Christian Association (Switzerland)