



# SPECIAL UNIT ON PALESTINIAN RIGHTS

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1. Action taken by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People

On 8 March 1982, the Chairman of the Committee sent a letter to the Secretary-General (A/37/109) drawing his attention once again to the violation of human rights committed by the Israeli authorities in the occupied Arab territories of the West Bank and Gaza. The full text of the letter is reproduced below.

At its meeting on 20 April 1982 the Committee considered matters in connexion with the resumption of the seventh emergency special session and decided that the Chairman of the Committee should take part on behalf of the Committee in the General Assembly's debate of the resumed seventh emergency special session on the Question of Palestine.

At the same meeting the Committee heard reports by the Chairman on his participation in the meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement in Kuwait and also on the Sixth United Nations Seminar on the Question of Palestine held in Valletta, Malta.

At its meetings on 23 April and 26 April 1982 the Committee considered the draft resolution to be submitted to the seventh emergency special session.

Letter dated 8 March 1982 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People addressed to the Secretary-General  
(A/37/109)

As Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I have the honour to draw your attention once again to the violations of human rights committed by the Israeli authorities in the occupied Arab territories of the West Bank and Gaza. By way of example, I refer to the New York Times of Saturday, 27 February 1982, which mentions a number of these violations. All this clearly reveals the difficulties faced daily by Arab families under the occupying régime.

These practices can only exacerbate tension and thereby create an explosive situation which could threaten international peace and security.

On behalf of the Committee, I appeal to you to request once again that decisive steps be taken forthwith to protect the rights of the Palestinian people living in the occupied territories.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter issued as a document of the General Assembly under item 31 of the preliminary list and as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Massamba SARRE  
Chairman of the Committee on the  
Exercise of the Inalienable Rights  
of the Palestinian People

2. Action taken by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People acting as the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine

On 31 March 1981 the Committee, acting as the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, decided that the Bureau of the Committee would also serve as the officers of the Preparatory Committee.

The Committee also decided to establish a Working Group to prepare the ground for the work of the Preparatory Committee.

The Committee was informed by the Chairman that, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 36/120 C, the Secretary-General had appointed Mrs. Lucille Mair Secretary-General of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. A biographical note is reproduced below.

At this meeting the Committee also decided to admit Ecuador as an Observer.

Biographical note

Mrs. Mair, a national of Jamaica, has been Special Adviser for Women's Development to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) since 1981. Prior to that, she was Secretary-General of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women which was held in Copenhagen in 1980.

Mrs. Mair was her country's Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations from 1975 to 1978, and subsequently served as Jamaica's Ambassador to Cuba. While serving as Deputy Permanent Representative, she was elected Chairman of the Assembly's Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) for the thirty-second session in 1977. She represented Jamaica on that Committee for the twenty-eighth, thirtieth and thirty-first sessions of the Assembly in the 1973, 1975 and 1976, respectively, as well as at a number of United Nations meetings and conferences, including the World Conference of the International Women's Year in 1975.

From 1976 to 1979, she represented the Latin American region on the Consultative Committee for the Voluntary Fund of the United Nations Decade for Women.

Prior to becoming her country's Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Mrs. Mair served in the public services in Jamaica.

She was Director of Public Information in 1974-1975, and served on the Boards of Management of the National Family Planning Board, the Social Development Commission and the Jamaica Children's Service, and was, for many years, Chairman of the Board of Management of the Jamaica School of Arts.

Mrs. Mair holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in history from London University and a Doctor of Philosophy degree in history from the University of the West Indies. From 1957 to 1974, she served on the staff of the University of the West Indies, both as a lecturer in the Department of History, where she pioneered research in the history of Jamaican women, and as an administrator with responsibility for women students.

Mrs. Mair was born in Kingston, Jamaica, on 21 June 1924.

3. Security Council considers the situation in the occupied Arab territories

The Council met on 24 March in response to a request by the Permanent Representative of Jordan as current Chairman of the Group of Arab States members of the Arab League to consider the grave and rapidly deteriorating situation in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, including Jerusalem. In his letter calling an urgent Council meeting S/194917), the Permanent Representative of Jordan stated:

"The gravity of the situation is underscored by the general strike which the victimized inhabitants have declared; the curfews which the occupying Israeli authorities have imposed on and between population centres which have cut off and paralysed Palestinian civilian life in all of its aspects; the wanton inhuman and indiscriminate use of firearms and other incapacitating devices against peaceful sit-ins, funerals and demonstrations; the arbitrary and forcible dissolution of the duly elected municipal council of Al-Bireh and its replacement by an Israeli military officer, and the incessant acts of deliberate provocations, assaults, abductions and murder, perpetrated by heavily armed Israeli troops and intruding settlers".

The Council devoted five meetings to the consideration of this question in which representatives of 30 Member States, among them the Permanent Representative of Senegal and Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, as well as the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, took part.

On 1 April 1982 a Jordanian draft resolution was circulated (S/14943). Under this resolution the Security Council would have denounced measures imposed on the Palestinian population, such as the dismissal of elected mayors by Israeli authorities, as well as the violation of the liberties and rights of the inhabitants of the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip which followed the measures taken by Israel with regard to the Golan Heights. The Council would have called on Israel, the occupying Power, to rescind its decision disbanding the elected municipal council of El-Bireh and its decision to remove from their posts the mayors of Nablus and Ramallah, and would also have reaffirmed that all the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 1949 continued to apply in full to all the occupied territories.

On 2 April, at its 2348th meeting, the Security Council proceeded to vote on the draft resolution. The draft resolution received 13 votes in favour, 1 against (United States) and 1 abstention (Zaire) and was not adopted, owing to the negative vote of a permanent member of the Council.

The text of the draft resolution presented to the Council by Jordan, which was not adopted, is as follows:

The Security Council,

Having considered the letter dated 22 March 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Jordan (S/14917),

1. Denounces measures imposed on the Palestinian population such as the dismissal of elected mayors by Israeli authorities, as well as the violation of the liberties and rights of the inhabitants of the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip which followed the measures taken by Israel with regard to the Golan Heights, and which could only damage the prospects for peace;
2. Calls on Israel, the occupying Power, to rescind its decision disbanding the elected municipal council of El Bireh and its decision to remove from their posts the Mayors of Nablus and Ramallah;
3. Reaffirms that all the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949 continue to apply in full to all of the occupied territories;
4. Calls upon Israel to cease forthwith all measures applied in the West Bank, including Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights, which contravene the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949;
5. Calls upon the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council not later than 7 April 1982 on the implementation of this resolution;
6. Decides to remain seized with this item.

The Council met again on 13 April 1982 at the request of Morocco, Chairman of the Al-Quds Committee of the Islamic Conference, and also at the request of Iraq, current Chairman of the Islamic Conference. In his letter, the Permanent Representative of Morocco asked for an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the grave events now taking place in the occupied Palestinian territory, and most particularly in the Holy City of Jerusalem; and in the letter of the President of Iraq, the convening of an immediate meeting of the Council was requested to consider "the very grave situation which has arisen consequent upon the wanton, indiscriminate and deliberate armed attack against the holy sanctuary of the sacred Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem" (S/14967).

The Council held six meetings on this question.

On 20 April 1982 the Permanent Representative of Jordan, also on behalf of Iraq, Morocco and Uganda, introduced a draft resolution (S/14985). Under this resolution the Security Council would have condemned in the strongest terms the appalling acts of sacrilege perpetrated within the precincts of al-Haram al-Shareef. The Council would have deplored any act or encouragement of destruction or profanation of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in Jerusalem, as leading to disturb world peace, and would have called upon Israel, the occupying Power, to observe and apply scrupulously the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention and the principles of international law governing military occupation and to refrain from causing any hindrance to the discharge of the established functions of the High Islamic Council in Jerusalem.

On the same day, at its 2357th meeting, the Security Council proceeded to vote on the draft resolution. The draft resolution received 14 votes in favour and 1 against (United States) and was not adopted, owing to the negative vote of a permanent member of the Council.

The text of the draft resolution, which was not adopted, is as follows:

The Security Council,

Having considered the letter of the Permanent Representative of Morocco dated 12 April 1982, conveying the request of His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco, Chairman of the Al Quds Committee (S/14967),

Having considered the letter dated 13 April 1982 of the representative of Iraq, the current Chairman of the Islamic Conference, contained in document S/14969,

Having heard the message of His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco and the statements made before the Council reflecting the universal outrage caused by the acts of sacrilege at al-Haram al-Shareef, one of the holiest places of mankind,

Taking note of the statement received from the Higher Islamic Council in Jerusalem (S/14982) concerning the shooting of worshippers by armed Israelis within the precincts of al-Haram al-Shareef,

Bearing in mind the unique status of Jerusalem and, in particular, the need for protection and preservation of the spiritual and religious dimension of the Holy Places in the city,

Recalling its relevant resolutions pertaining to the status and character of the Holy City of Jerusalem,

Deeply concerned over the sacrilegious acts perpetrated against the sanctity of al-Haram al-Shareef in Jerusalem on 11 April 1982 and the criminal acts of shooting at worshippers, particularly inside the sanctuary of the Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aqsa Mosque,

Deeply grieved at the loss of and injury to civilian life as a result of these criminal acts,

Affirming once more that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949 is applicable to all territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem,

1. Condemns in the strongest terms these appalling acts of sacrilege perpetrated within the precincts of al-Haram al-Shareef;
2. Deplores any act or encouragement of destruction or profanation of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in Jerusalem as tending to disturb world peace;
3. Calls upon Israel, the occupying Power, to observe and apply scrupulously the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention and the principles of international law governing military occupation and to refrain from causing any hindrance to the discharge of the established functions of the Higher Islamic Council in Jerusalem;
4. Requests the Secretary-General as he deems appropriate to keep the Security Council fully informed on the implementation of this resolution;
5. Decides to remain seized of this serious matter.

Relevant portions of the statement of the Chairman,  
H.E. Mr. Massamba Sarré, Senegal, in the Security Council,  
Wednesday, 24 March 1982  
(S/PV.2334)

I should like first of all to express my gratitude to the members of the Security Council, who have been kind enough to permit me in my two-fold capacity as representative of Senegal and Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to participate in this debate, which is important because it assuredly has an impact on international peace.

From December to this very day the Council has quite properly been faced with the consideration of the situation in the occupied Arab territories. The El Bireh events, if they are to be properly understood, should be placed within a general context, that is, that of the whole Middle East questions, and underlying it the Palestinian problem.

I am sure you will recall, Madam President, that in this context the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, of which I have the honour to be Chairman, in its report to the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, published in document A/36/35, made concrete and objective proposals, all stemming from the desire to find a just and honourable solution to the Palestinian question. These recommendations, as you are aware, were approved by the General Assembly by a very large majority.

They are:

First, the Palestinians have the right to return to their homes and to recover the goods of which they were stripped;

Second, they have the right to self-determination without outside interference and the right to national independence and sovereignty;

Third, they have the right to create an independent State in Palestine;

Fourth, the question of Palestine is at the very heart of the Middle East problem and no solution to this problem can be contemplated if it fails to take account of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people;

Fifth, the exercise of these inalienable rights of the Palestinian people will contribute also to a final solution to the whole Middle East crisis;

Sixth, the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with all other parties on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) and 3375 (XXX), is indispensable in all efforts, at all meetings and in all debates and all conferences on the Middle East organized under the auspices of the United Nations;

Seven, the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible and Israel consequently has an obligation to withdraw totally and rapidly from all the occupied Arab territories;

Eight, the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention must be applied; and

Nine, all States in the region have the right to live in peace.

I wanted to set forth all these recommendations because we believe that, in the light of what I have just said, everyone will agree with me that any approach - past, present and future - to solve this crisis must necessarily take account of the elements I have outlined. We also believe that this is the time for the Security Council to take up all these recommendations and put them into effect. Any delay in carrying them out will only serve to increase tension in the area, as borne out by the cycles of violence which have been triggered off there with all their untold consequences.

But until such time as these measures are applied, the Security Council must also take all necessary measures to contain the events in El Bireh. In this regard the Committee believes that the draft resolution submitted for the Council's approval will contribute to this.

4. Resumed seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly on the Question of Palestine

In accordance with resolution A/ES-7/2 the seventh special emergency special session was reconvened on 20 April 1982 upon request from Member States and adjourned on 28 April 1982. The session adopted a resolution.



In resolution A/ES-7/4, which was adopted by a roll-call vote of 86 in favour, to 20 against with 36 abstentions, the General Assembly urged the Security Council to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as defined in General Assembly resolution A/ES-7/2 and to endorse the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, to initiate contacts with all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, with a view to finding concrete ways and means to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting solution, conducive to peace, in conformity with the principles of the Charter and relevant resolutions and based on the implementation of the recommendations of the Committee as endorsed by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session.

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

The General Assembly decided to adjourn the seventh emergency special session temporarily and to authorize the President of the latest regular session of the General Assembly to resume its meetings upon request from Member States.

The full text of the resolution adopted in the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly is reproduced below. The general debate on the question of Palestine in that session began with a statement by the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, which is also reproduced below.

#### ES-7/4. Question of Palestine

##### The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Palestine at its resumed seventh emergency special session,

Noting with regret and concern that the Security Council, at its 2348th meeting, on 2 April 1982, and at its 2357th meeting, on 20 April 1982, failed to take a decision as a result of the negative votes of the United States of America,

Having heard the statement by the Head of the Political Department of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, 1/

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1/ A/ES-7/PV.12, p. 16.

Convinced that the worsening situation in the Middle East and the failure to find a solution to this question pose a grave threat to international peace and security,

Deploring the repressive measures taken by the Israeli authorities in the illegally occupied Palestinian Arab territories, including Jerusalem,

Recalling the relevant United Nations resolutions pertaining to the status and unique character of the Holy City of Jerusalem, in particular Security Council resolutions 465 (1980) of 1 March 1980, 476 (1980) of 30 June 1980 and 478 (1980) of 20 August 1980,

Affirming once more that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, 2/ is applicable to all territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem,

Noting with regret that, owing to the negative vote of one of its permanent members, the Security Council has, so far, failed to take a decision on the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 31/20 of 24 November 1976, 32/40 A of 2 December 1977, 33/28 A of 7 December 1978, 34/65 A of 29 November 1979, 35/169 A of 15 December 1980 and 36/120 D of 10 December 1981,

1. Reaffirms its resolutions ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980 and 3236 (XXIX) and 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 and all other relevant United Nations resolutions pertinent to the question of Palestine;
2. Reaffirms the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force;
3. Reaffirms that all the provisions of the Hague Conventions of 1907 3/ and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, apply to all territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, and calls upon all parties to these instruments to respect and ensure respect of their obligations in all circumstances;
4. Demands that Israel should comply with the provisions of Security Council resolution 465 (1980);
5. Further demands that Israel should comply with all United Nations resolutions relevant to the status and unique character of the Holy City of Jerusalem, in particular with Security Council resolutions 476 (1980) and 478 (1980);

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

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

6. Expresses its rejection of all policies and plans aiming at the resettlement of the Palestinians outside their homeland;

7. Condemns Israel, the occupying Power, for its:

(a) Failure to fulfil its obligations under the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War;

(b) Disbanding of the elected municipal council of El-Bireh;

(c) Dismissal of the elected mayors of Ramallah and Nablus;

(d) Violation of the sanctity of the Holy Places, particularly of Al-Haram Al-Shareef, in Jerusalem;

(e) Shooting and killing and wounding of worshippers in the precincts of Al-Haram Al-Shareef by members of the Israeli army on 11 April 1982;

(f) Repressive measures, including shooting at the unarmed civilian population in the occupied Palestinian territory and in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights, resulting in death and injury;

(g) Attacks against and interference with the functions of various civic and religious institutions in the occupied Palestine territory, including Jerusalem, in particular educational institutions;

8. Condemns all policies which frustrate the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, in particular providing Israel with military, economic and political assistance and the misuse of the veto by a permanent member of the Security Council, thus enabling Israel to continue its aggression, occupation and unwillingness to carry out its obligations under the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations;

9. Urges all Governments which have not yet done so:

(a) To recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people;

(b) To renounce the policy of providing Israel with military, economic and political assistance, thus discouraging Israel from continuing its aggression, occupation and disregard of its obligations under the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations;

(c) To act accordingly in all the organs of the United Nations;

10. Condemns the policies which encourage the flow of human resources to Israel, enabling it to implement and to proceed with its colonization and settlement policies in the occupied Arab territories;

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

12. Calls again upon Israel, the occupying Power, to observe and apply scrupulously the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and the principles of international law governing military occupation in all the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem;
13. Demands that Israel, the occupying Power, should permit entry into the occupied territories of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories and of the Commission established by Security Council resolution 446 (1979), in order to facilitate the fulfilment of the mandates entrusted to them by the General Assembly and by the Council, respectively;
14. Urges the Security Council to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as defined in General Assembly resolution ES-7/2 and to endorse the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, as endorsed by the Assembly in its resolution 31/20 and in subsequent resolutions;
15. Calls upon the Secretary-General, in concurrence with the Security Council and in consultation as appropriate with the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, to initiate contacts with all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, with a view to finding concrete ways and means to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting solution, conducive to peace, in conformity with the principles of the Charter and relevant resolutions and based on the implementation of the recommendations of the Committee as endorsed by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session;
16. Requests the Secretary-General to follow up the implementation of the present resolution and to report thereon at appropriate intervals to Member States as well as to the Security Council and to submit a comprehensive report to the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session under the item entitled "Question of Palestine";
17. Decides to adjourn the seventh emergency special session temporarily and to authorize the President of the latest regular session of the General Assembly to resume its meetings upon request from Member States.

20th plenary meeting  
28 April 1982

Text of the statement of the Chairman of the Committee on the  
Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People,  
H.E. Mr. Massamba Sarré, Senegal (A/ES-7/PV.12)

Almost two years ago, when tension and violence were raging in the Middle East, when the peace talks on Palestine were marking time and the United Nations was unable to play its proper role in the quest for a just and peaceful solution to the Palestinian problem, Senegal, as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, requested the convening of an emergency special session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine.

In requesting the convening of that session we wanted in particular - and indeed quite rightly - to manifest our refusal to see the situation in Palestine deteriorating, to see international peace and security being daily threatened without the United Nations being able to play its rightful role in stopping such a process.

Today the resumption of the seventh emergency special session simultaneously with the series of Security Council meetings which has just ended, has come at a particularly crucial time for the situation in that part of the world. Even over the past five months we have convened the Security Council five times and the General Assembly twice to consider a highly disquieting situation. All those meetings are based on two considerations: on the one hand, our faith in and devotion to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and, on the other hand, our desire to find, within the United Nations framework, a just and comprehensive solution to the question of the Middle East, whose basic, central element is the question of Palestine.

The problem confronting us today is especially serious since the constant worsening of the situation in the region has not yet led the Security Council - and we have just seen proof of this - to take the necessary steps to safeguard international peace and security there.

Since July 1980, when the seventh emergency special session was adjourned, the Israeli leaders have not only made claims to the occupied Arab territories but have proceeded to action.

Indeed, after having annexed the eastern part of the Holy City of Jerusalem in June 1980 and the Syrian Golan Heights last December, the Tel Aviv authorities, exploiting the paralysis of the Security Council and insensitive to the oft-repeated appeals of the international community, now seem to have decided to speed up the process of the steady annexation of the occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

By dismissing last March the democratically elected mayors of El Bireh, Nablus and Ramallah within the framework of the so-called civil-administration plan for the occupied territories, by systematically stepping up acts of intimidation against the Palestinian population and by encouraging or tolerating the desecration of the Al Aqsa and Dome of the Rock Mosques, Israel has clearly shown that it is determined, at any cost, to subject the Palestinian people and their occupied territories to Israeli rule.

The unanimous reaction of the Moslem, Christian and Jewish world to these acts of desecration should have impelled the Israeli authorities to ponder the consequences of their escalating actions against the Palestinian people, whose only fault is that they claim restitution of their rights. The recent events in Jerusalem will only strengthen the resolve of the Palestinian people to fight for the triumph of justice and equality.

Following the annexation of Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights, an attempt is now being made to create in the remainder of the occupied territories a de facto situation which they hope will be one day sanctioned by law. One need only refer to recent statements of Mr. Mattityahu Drobbles, Chairman of the Settlement Commission. He said:

"In view of the talks on the future of Judea and Samaria, it has become necessary to engage in a race against time. During this period, everything will be decided by faits accomplis, which we will have imposed on those territories. Isolated by the Jewish settlements, the local population will have difficulty maintaining territorial and political continuity."

My country, through its President, His Excellency Mr. Abdou Diouf, who, like all other African leaders, rightly appreciates the gravity of this situation, and he clearly stated this in a communiqué published on 6 April last from which I shall quote some extracts:

"The Government of Senegal continues to follow with profound disquiet the tragedy of the martyred people of Palestine who have fallen victim to repression by the Zionist army of occupation. The brutal dismissals of the Palestinian mayors in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip is part of a plan of systematic expropriation of the territory of the Palestinian inhabitants by organized violence and bloody means. The implementation of this plan, which flouts all juridical, human and moral considerations, was illustrated in the annexation of eastern Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights. For these reasons, the Government of Senegal again expresses its unswerving solidarity with the Palestinian people in the struggle it is waging under the leadership of its sole authentic representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Government of Senegal vehemently condemns the policy of hegemony and domination institutionalized by the Government and authorities of Israel, a policy which runs counter to the fundamental principles of international law and the provisions contained in the United Nations Charter."

By, on the one hand, requesting Israel to withdraw from all the territories occupied since 1967 while recognizing its right to live within secure and recognized borders, and, on the other hand, recognizing that the Palestinian people have the right to establish an independent State in Palestine in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the relevant provisions of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, the General Assembly endorsed the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise

of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, recommendations which, in the view of the Committee, form the only framework within which the question of the Middle East - particularly the question of Palestine - can find a just and global solution. Must we recall that the Palestinian people has the right to independence and self-determination; to return to the homes from which they were unjustly ousted to participate, through the Palestine Liberation Organization, their sole and authentic representative, in any negotiations to determine the future of the Palestinian people; and above all, as a precondition, to obtain the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the territories occupied since 1967.

Those recommendations have been recently reproduced in the programme of action adopted by the special meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries in Kuwait from 5 to 8 April 1982. The communiqué states that the Bureau requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations to undertake appropriate efforts as soon as possible to establish contact with all the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict in order to find concrete means to reach a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement that can lead to peace in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. The Bureau also called on the Security Council to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as set forth in resolution ES-7/2 of the emergency special session of the General Assembly.

Unfortunately, by defying with impunity the authority of the United Nations which presided over the establishment of Israel - Israel continues to demand that the legitimate rights of the peoples of the region be sacrificed to its so-called security needs, a concept which implies that any settlement of the question must necessarily be based on conditions which Israel itself will impose.

With respect to the Palestinian people, in the light of events which have just occurred in occupied Arab territory, and particularly in Jerusalem, they have shown once again, through the demonstrations of resistance in the occupied territories, that 15 years of occupation have not at all impaired their resolve to continue to fight to attain their legitimate goal of national liberation.

Today, as an international community, our goal should be to see to it that that people does not despair of seeing international law triumph. To keep them in despair will only uselessly prolong a tragedy, the short-term or long-term outcome of which is perfectly clear, namely, the exercise of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty, and then the right to establish their own sovereign, independent State.

The stakes are high. Today, in the light of these events, we must defuse a dangerous situation because it contains all the seeds of a generalized conflict with unforeseeable consequences in a region of the world already so troubled. The credibility of the United Nations among small countries and oppressed peoples is at stake, peoples who, like the Palestinian people, are only claiming their right to freedom and independence in the land of their ancestors.

We will succeed in strengthening the faith of the international community in the effectiveness of the United Nations if we manage to take action which bearing in mind the human and political dimensions of the problem, will initiate the process of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. To do that it would be sufficient for the legitimacy of the aspirations of the Palestinian people to be finally recognized by those who still continue today to turn their back on the exigencies of history. It is appropriate at this time to recall a statement made in July 1981 by an Israeli - Nahum Goldmann - who said:

"It is not good for a politician never to change his attitude. But there is a position which I have always adhered to since the age of 17: it is that without an agreement with the Arabs, there will be no future for the Jewish State. My great hope is that the Jewish people as a whole and particularly Israel will soon have the wisdom and courage to change course".

As I read out that quotation I am reminded of a letter which, after the events that recently took place in Jerusalem, an Israeli woman addressed to the Jerusalem Post. It said, in part:

"How can I inspire my children with pride in belonging to a nation which today has embarked on the course of all conquerors who are convinced of their rights and who are cruel? I have a 17 year old son, so I am like the mother of the young Palestinian killed by a bullet in the chest at El Bireh and I am ashamed. I cannot justify the death of that boy in any way. I can only weep with his mother, wee for the fate of all our sons".

Weeping for the fate of all our sons points to the need to find a change in the present situation in the occupied territories. With such a change it will perhaps be possible to create both peace in justice and justice in peace for all the peoples and States of that region. Peace, justice, love - that is the eternal motto of that region from which stem the great spiritual values of humanity.

As we embark on this debate, we must take that pathetic appeal into consideration and we must see to it that peace is restored to that region, that peace and justice prevail in that region, that the Arab and Jewish peoples use a Senegalese greeting when they meet, with the one saying "Peace be with you", and the other replying, "Only peace". Peace is the goal, peace is the principle, peace is the reason why we are meeting today and we must do everything not to prolong the suffering of these peoples.

5. Fifth United Nations Seminar on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People held at United Nations Headquarters, New York, from 15 to 19 March 1982

The Fifth United Nations Seminar on the Question of Palestine, with its central theme "The Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People", took place at United Nations Headquarters, New York from 15 - 19 March 1982, in accordance with the terms of General Assembly resolution 36/120 B. Nine meetings were held, at which twenty panelists presented papers on various aspects of the question of Palestine.



The United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People was represented by a delegation consisting of His Excellency, Mr. Massamba Sarré, Senegal, Chairman of the Committee; His Excellency, Mr. Raúl Roa-Kouri, Cuba, Vice-Chairman; His Excellency, Mr. Victor J. Gauci, Malta, Rapporteur; His Excellency, Mr. H. Ott, German Democratic Republic; His Excellency, Mr. Natarajan Krishnan, India; and Mr. Zehdi L. Terzi, Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations. His Excellency, Mr. Victor J. Gauci acted as Rapporteur of the Seminar.

The opening session of the Seminar on 15 March 1982 was addressed by Mr. William B. Buffum, Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs of the United Nations. In welcoming the participants on behalf of the Secretary-General, Mr. Buffum observed that efforts to find a just solution to the question of Palestine remained one of the main preoccupations of the United Nations; these efforts should be maintained since as long as the problem persisted, it posed a threat to international peace and security. He expressed the hope that the Seminar would be a major contribution to future consideration of the question of the United Nations which was widely accepted as the framework within which a comprehensive solution had to be found.

At the same session, Mr. Massamba Sarré, Chairman of the Committee, gave a brief account of the Committee's work and stressed the importance of ensuring that all facts surrounding the question of Palestine reach the public so that a proper understanding of the issues would be achieved.

The opening session of the Seminar was also addressed by His Excellency, Mr. Natarajan Krishnan, Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Gervais Charles, Rapporteur of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid and His Excellency, Mr. Frank Owen Abdullah, 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.

A message from His Excellency, Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization was conveyed to the Seminar by Mr. Zehdi L. Terzi, Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The Seminar was attended by Mrs. Lucille Mair, Secretary-General Designate of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine.

Seven panels were established to consider different aspects of the central theme "The Inalienable Rights of the Paelstinian People". These panels and their panelists were as follows:

- A. Panel I: The Nature and the Role of the Palestine Liberation Organization  
Mr. Khaled Abu Hudayb

- B. Panel II: The Palestine Issue and North American Public Opinion  
Prof. Thomas Naylor  
Rev. Donald Wagner  
Dr. Philip Rivera
- C. Panel III: The Palestine Question in the Context of Military Occupation  
Prof. Harold McDougal  
Dr. Khalil  
Dr. Eqbal Ahmed
- D. Panel IV: Domestic and Strategic Influences in the Formation of American and Canadian Policies  
Dr. Mordecai Briemberg  
Prof. Mark Solomon  
Mr. Jack O'Dell  
Miss Gail Pressberg
- E. Panel V: The Fundamental Rights of the Palestinian People  
Prof. Jamal Nassar  
Rev. Joseph L. Ryan, S.J.  
The Honourable Senator Heath Macquarrie
- F. Panel VI: The Evolution of American and Canadian Policies on the Question of Palestine  
Prof. Frank Epp  
Prof. Paul Noble  
Prof. John Quigley
- G. Panel VII: The Role of the United Nations in Seeking Effective Measures to Enable the Palestinian People to Attain and Exercise its Rights  
Prof. Charlotte Teuber  
His Excellency, Mr. Victor J. Gauci

In view of the well-researched and in-depth analysis contained in the papers presented at the Seminar, and in accordance with established practice, the papers will be published in full by the United Nations, with the report of the Seminar, as a contribution to a wider understanding of the Question of Palestine.

6. Sixth United Nations Seminar on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People held in Valletta, Malta, from 12 to 16 April 1982

The Sixth United Nations Seminar on the Question of Palestine with the title "The Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People" as its central theme, was held at the Mediterranean Conference Centre, Valletta, Malta, from 12 - 16 April 1982, in accordance with the terms of General Assembly resolution 36/120 B. Eight meetings were held and 17 panelists presented papers on various aspects of the question of Palestine.

The United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People was represented by a delegation consisting of His Excellency Mr. Massamba Sarré, Chairman of the Committee; His Excellency Mr. Victor J. Gauci, Malta, Rapporteur; His Excellency Mr. Abdullah Kamil, Indonesia; Dr. Ferenc Somogyi, Hungary; Mr. Bechir Chebaane, Tunisia; and Mr. Zehdi L. Terzi, Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations. His Excellency Mr. Victor J. Gauci acted as Rapporteur of the Seminar.

The Seminar was attended by Mrs. Lucille Mair, Secretary-General Designate of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine.

The opening session of the Seminar on 12 April 1982 was convened in the distinguished presence of the Acting-President of the Republic of Malta, The Honourable Dr. Daniel Micallef and was addressed by The Honourable Dr. Alex Sceberras Trigona, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Culture of the Republic of Malta.

The Minister outlined the justified struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination and stressed the recognition and support - including diplomatic accreditation to the Palestine Liberation Organization - given by Malta to their cause. Over many years the Palestinian people, despite many disappointments, continue to place their faith in the United Nations. This faith deserves to be rewarded with an equitable and peaceful outcome for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

The role of the United Nations in disseminating objective information on the Palestine issue was also outlined; the Seminar in Valletta was considered an important forerunner to active European involvement in the search for an equitable solution. It was necessary to investigate the constraints that so far have prevented Western Europe from making its effective contribution to a constructive Middle East policy.

The Venice Declaration, which spoke forthrightly of the rights of the Palestinian people and its representation, was an important element in European involvement, but the hopes raised in that Declaration have not yet been fulfilled. The Valletta Seminar could serve to consolidate progress and to identify new avenues to pursue, so that progress will no longer be delayed.

At the same opening session, Mr. Massamba Sarré, Chairman of the Committee, gave a brief account of the Committee's work. He also highlighted Europe's role in the shaping of history, as well as in the formation of world opinion. In this context, he emphasized the importance of the Seminar as one approach in helping to ensure that the rights of the Palestinians would be implemented.

The tragic violence perpetrated in Jerusalem by Israeli soldiers reported on that same day was a grim reminder of the constant deterioration of the situation and the consequent need for a new momentum in the search for a solution. The Seminar immediately decided to send a telegram to the President of the Security Council and another to the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Mr. Arafat, deploring the Israeli action.

A message from His Excellency Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization was conveyed to the Seminar by Mr. Mourad Essa Bahloul, Representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Malta.

A message from the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, His Excellency Mr. Chedli Klibi was conveyed to the Seminar by his personal representative to the Seminar, Mr. Youssef Al-Fayoumi.

The Seminar was graced by the presence of His Eminence Msgr. Hilarion Capucci, Archbishop of Jerusalem who addressed an inspiring message to the Seminar. He emphasized the essentially humanitarian nature of the problem of the Palestinians who should call for a universally positive response. The Palestinians wanted recognition as a people, entitled to their own nation and to their flag, thus attaining their inherent dignity, and liberty as any human person.

Six panels were established so as to consider different aspects of the central theme "The Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People". Those panels and their panelists were as follows:

- A. Panel I: The Fundamental Rights of the Palestinian People  
The Honourable Mr. Andrew Faulds, M.P. (United Kingdom)  
Senator Luigi Granelli, M.P. (Italy)  
Mr. Vladimir Ivanovich Kesselyov (U.S.S.R.)  
Dr. Vladimir S. Koshelev (Byelorussian S.S.R.)  
Dr. Jerzy Piotrowski (Poland)
- B. Panel II: The Nature of the Role of the Palestine Liberation Organization  
Dr. Sami Musallam (Palestine)
- C. Panel III: Israeli Settlements Policies in the Occupied Arab Territories  
Dr. Becir Meholjib (Yugoslavia)  
Mr. Bela Szilagyi (Hungary)
- D. Panel IV: The Palestine Issue and European Public Opinion  
Mr. Charles Saint-Prot (France)  
The Honourable Mr. Ernest Ross, M.P. (United Kingdom)
- E. Panel V: The Evolution of European Attitudes and Policies on the Question of Palestine  
Mr. Tijl de Clerq (Belgium)  
Mr. Jean Le Drian (France)  
Mr. Leonidas Kyrkos (Greece)  
Dr. George Vella (Malta)

F. Panel VI: The Role of the United Nations and the Search for Effective Measures to Enable the Palestinian People to Attain and Exercise its Rights

Mr. Marcel Dinu (Romania)  
The Honourable Mr. Giancarlo Pajetta, M.P. (Italy)  
Dr. Ingo Schoenfelder (German Democratic Republic)

In accordance with established practice, the opening statements and the papers presented by the panelists will be published in full by the United Nations, together with the report of the Seminar, as a further contribution towards objective appraisal of the Question of Palestine.

A programme of action was adopted by the Seminar, which also addressed an appeal to Western European Governments for justice in Palestine. A further appeal for a Western European initiative in the Near East was addressed by the Western European participants in the Seminar. The text of those documents is reproduced below:

Programme of Action

A sophisticated campaign should be launched in Western Europe to promote the Palestinian cause, and to do it at all levels - the media, trade unions, youth and women's organizations, non-governmental organizations and religious institutions. This could include the production of an information film which dramatizes the Palestinian question. Existing means and resources may be utilized to pursue this aim.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations is urged to ensure that the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights concentrate its efforts on increasing its contacts throughout Europe by establishing closer liaison with non-governmental organizations, the media and the other groups interested in the question of Palestine, so as to organize one or more regional meetings on the question of Palestine, at an appropriate time to be agreed upon, which would give maximum publicity to the just cause of the Palestinian people and promote effective governmental action to achieve an equitable solution.

The Valletta Appeal to Western Europe  
for Justice in Palestine  
Malta, 16 April 1982

We, the participants in the Sixth United Nations Seminar on the Question of Palestine:

Concerned at the situation in illegally-occupied Palestine;

Concerned at the acts of repression frequently and currently perpetrated by Israel on the Arab inhabitants of these territories;

Concerned, also, at the threat to peace in the area as a result of these acts;

Deploing Israel's continued refusal to abide by United Nations resolutions, its violations of international law and the Charter of the United Nations and its defiance of world public opinion;

Anxious to promote a just and peaceful solution;

Conscious of the potentially constructive role that Western Europe can, and has a moral responsibility to, play in promoting a resolution of the problem;

Convinced that an impartial consideration of the question of Palestine by all Governments would undoubtedly lead to the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and to a just solution of the question, thus removing existing tensions which constitute a threat to international peace and security;

Appeal to the Governmental organizations and people of Western Europe to urge their Governments urgently to adopt an impartial approach to the question of Palestine and to assume their proper role in restoring the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people on the basis of the recommendations of the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People thereby promoting a peaceful solution to a problem which has endangered international peace and security for an entire generation.

#### Appeal for a Western European Initiative in the Near East

For 35 years the situation of the Palestinian people has been constantly deteriorating: half of these people have been deprived of their lands and are living in the unacceptable condition of refugees; the other half are living under occupation and are the victims of repression, as is shown by the recent incidents in the West Bank area.

A defenceless people has been subjected to a veritable martyrdom, in violation of all the rules of international law and all the resolutions of the United Nations since 1947.

We, Europeans of all political and intellectual tendencies, who are participating in the Sixth United Nations Seminar on the Question of Palestine being held in Malta, have the duty to declare that the situation imposed on the Palestinian people is intolerable and that it is time for a just solution to this problem to be found.

Europe should demand that the State of Israel puts an end to its aggressive and expansionist policy and withdraws from all the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. The exercise by the Palestinian refugees of their right to return should be guaranteed. Like all other peoples, the Palestinian people should have the right of exercising their inalienable right to self-determination within a sovereign State on the territory of their fatherland and on the soil of their ancestors.

In addition, talks towards the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Near East should be opened with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

From Malta, we address an appeal to the parliamentarians, political parties, trade unions, organizations for solidarity and intellectuals of the European Community to give their support to an initiative which will express the desire of the European peoples to see the Palestinian people at last living in their own homeland in peace, freedom and dignity.

This initiative, which will include official recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, should be based on the United Nations resolutions in favour of recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinians as constituting the basis for a just and lasting peace in the Near East. Only this global peace will guarantee the security of all the peoples and states of the region, and it remains the essential condition for security throughout the Mediterranean area.

Accordingly, the signatories invite all those forces that are concerned for justice and peace to organize a European Conference to be held in Athens in November 1982.

Malta, 15 April 1982

Signatories:

Tjil DECLERCQ, Christian-Democrat Senator from Belgium  
Andrew FAULDS, Labour Member of Parliament from the United Kingdom  
Luigi GRANELLI, Christian-Democrat Senator from Italy  
Leonidas KYRKOS, Communist Deputy from the European Assembly (Greece)  
Jean-Yves LE DRIAN, Socialist Deputy from France  
Giancarlo PAJETTA, Communist Deputy from Italy  
Ernest ROSS, Labour Member of Parliament from the United Kingdom  
Charles SAINT-PROT, Chairman of the Committee for Peace in the Near East (France)  
George VELLA, Labour Member of Parliament from Malta

7. Final communiqué of the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries on the Question of Palestine, held in Kuwait from 5 to 8 April 1982

INTRODUCTION

In pursuance of the decision of the Ministerial Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries held at the United Nations Headquarters in New York from 25 to 28 September 1981, the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries met in Kuwait, in extraordinary session at the Ministerial level, from 5 to 8 April 1982, in order to evaluate the situation and take practical measures to strengthen comprehensive assistance to the struggle of the Palestinian people to attain and freely exercise its inalienable rights under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole and legitimate representative.

2. The following members of the Co-ordinating Bureau participated:

Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Burundi, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mauritania, Mozambique, Nigeria, Palestine Liberation Organization, Panama, Peru, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, United Republic of Cameroon, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.

The following members of the Movement also participated:

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Bahrain, Comoros, Ecuador, Egypt, Grenada, Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, Islamic Republic of Iran, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Morocco, Nicaragua, Niger, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), Sudan, Surinam, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Viet Nam and Yemen Arab Republic.

The following countries, organizations and national liberation movements attended as observers:

Philippines, African National Congress (South Africa), Organization of the Islamic Conference, Organization of African Unity, United Nations and League of Arab States.

The following countries and organizations were also present as guests:

Austria, Finland, Romania, Sweden, Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, Special Committee against Apartheid, United Nations Council for Namibia and International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

3. At the inaugural session, the Meeting was privileged to hear an important statement by His Excellency Sheikh Sabah Al Ahmed Al Jaber Al Sabah, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information of Kuwait. The Meeting also had the privilege of hearing addresses by H.E. Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, H.E. Ismat Al Kittani, President of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and H.E. Isidoro Malmierca, Minister of External Relations of Cuba, Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries.

4. On the proposal of Mr. Ignac Golob, Assistant Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, it was decided that the full texts of those statements should be circulated as official documents of the Bureau (Documents NAC/Conf.6/Bur.2/Doc.5, Doc.9, Doc.10 and Doc.6, respectively).

5. The decision to convene an Extraordinary Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau on Palestine demonstrates the Movement's abiding commitment to the liberation of peoples, an essential element in its struggle to bring about an international order free from all relations based on domination and exploitation.



6. The Ministers evaluated the most recent developments in the very serious situation in occupied Palestine and the Middle East and the consequences and implications for international peace and security.

On this subject, the Ministers adopted the following Communiqué and Programme of Action:

7. The Ministers recalled the Declarations of the VI Summit Conference in Havana in September 1979, the Ministerial Conference held in New Delhi in February 1981 and at the Headquarters of the United Nations in September 1981, and reaffirmed, once more, that the Question of Palestine is the core of the Middle East problem and the root cause of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

8. The Ministers asserted that the question of Palestine and the Middle East problem can be settled only by a comprehensive and just settlement that ensures the following:

(a) Complete, total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, in conformity with the fundamental principles of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force;

(b) The free exercise of the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted, and to those who choose not to return the payment of equitable compensation;

(c) The attainment and free exercise of the inalienable rights in Palestine of the Palestinian people, including:

(i) The right to self-determination without external interference, and to national independence and sovereignty;

(ii) The right to establish its own independent sovereign state.

9. The Ministers expressed their full support to the efforts of the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People: they highly praised the positive results achieved so far in the General Assembly on the question of Palestine and urged further support for the recommendations contained in the Committee's report.

10. The Ministers called upon all States and organizations to assist and facilitate actions and movements by the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, to pursue its efforts and legitimate struggle by all means, to attain and freely exercise its inalienable rights.

11. The Ministers recalled that the VI Summit Conference endorsed the right of the Palestine Liberation Organization and of the Arab States to reject and oppose any solution or settlement detrimental to the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the liberation of all the occupied Arab territories, and that it has also endorsed the right to foil such solutions and settlements by all possible means.

12. The Ministers reiterated their condemnation of any partial or separate solution and any agreement that would harm the rights of the Arab countries and the Palestinian people, violate the principles and resolutions of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations, or prevent the liberation of Jerusalem and the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and the attainment and full exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights.

13. The Ministers, taking note of the recent developments in the occupied Palestinian territory, expressed grave concern over the persistent efforts, actions, measures and on-going parleys to enforce those provisions of the Camp David Accords which purport to determine the future of the Palestinian people and Palestinian territory occupied by Israel, including Jerusalem, and rejected all attempts at their extension.

14. The Ministers expressed grave concern at the deployment of foreign forces on or near the territories of non-aligned countries in the Middle East, and emphasized the necessity of strict observance of the principles and the criteria of non-alignment in this regard.

15. The Ministers affirmed that any departure from the decisions and policies of the Conferences of Non-Aligned Countries relevant to the Question of Palestine and the continued aggression by Israel against the Arab countries undermines the legitimate struggle for the liberation of the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, and the attainment of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

16. The Ministers expressed their condemnation of Israeli aggressive and expansionist policies in Palestine and the occupied Arab territories, its violation of the basic rights and freedoms of the inhabitants of Palestine and the occupied Arab territories, its persistent establishment of settlements, displacement of Arab citizens, demolition of their houses and confiscation of their properties.

17. The Ministers also condemned Israel's usurpation of water and natural resources in Palestine and the occupied Arab territories, and expressed their deep concern at the excavations and diggings under the Aqsa Mosque, the Dome of the Rock and other holy places.

18. The Ministers after having considered in depth the latest repressive Israeli acts against the Palestinian people under occupation, including the imposition of curfews, the expulsion of popularly-elected officials, and even the shooting of unarmed student demonstrators, strongly condemned these acts. They called

upon all States to join in efforts to bring about the cessation of these acts and to put an end to the illegal Israeli occupation of the Palestinian and Arab territories.

19. The Ministers condemned Israel for its complete disregard of Security Council resolutions 465 (1980), 476 (1980) and 478 (1980) condemning the promulgation of the "basic law on Jerusalem" and condemned all Israeli measures aiming at the judaization of the Holy City of Jerusalem by altering its demographic composition, character and status. The Ministers reaffirmed their decision to refuse to accord any recognition to the Israeli "basic law on Jerusalem" and again called upon all States and organizations not to deal with Israeli institutions established in Jerusalem. In this connection, the Ministers deplored the decision of the Political Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly in the Council of Europe to hold a meeting in occupied Jerusalem. They called on the Committee to respect international law and Security Council resolutions and desist from holding this meeting in Jerusalem. They also reminded all States of their general duty under international law, not to deal with the Israeli occupying authorities in any manner that might be construed by the latter as implying recognition of their illegal presence in Jerusalem.

20. The Ministers decided to call upon the Security Council of the United Nations to convene in order to impose the measures prescribed in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against Israel for its failure to carry out the Security Council decisions and for endangering, through its actions, international peace and security.

21. The Ministers recalled resolution ES-7/2 adopted by the General Assembly at its Emergency Special Session on 29 July 1980 requesting the Secretary-General to take the necessary measures towards the implementation of the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to the General Assembly at its 31st Session as a basis for the solution of the Question of Palestine.

22. The Ministers noted with grave concern that in this context no action has yet been taken and urged the Security Council to meet to consider the situation and adopt measures without further delay.

23. The Ministers condemned all policies which frustrate the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. In

this respect they deplored the hostile attitude of the Government of the United States of America towards the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and condemned the misuse of the veto by the United States to impede the Security Council from taking action in support of the achievement of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

24. The Ministers expressed their sincere hope that the Government of the United States of America would review its policy and attitude in a positive and constructive way with the view to enhancing the prospects for a just and lasting solution of the question of Palestine conducive to a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East.

25. The Ministers reiterated their support for Lebanon's sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence, and called for the full implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978). They expressed their deep concern over the situation resulting from Israel's intense campaign, threatening to intervene militarily in Lebanon and, while reiterating their condemnation of Israel's aggression and aggressive policy, they reaffirmed their support for the efforts of the Lebanese Government, with regional and international endorsement, to restore the exclusive sovereignty and authority of the Lebanese State over all of its territory up to the internationally recognized boundaries. In this connection, they welcomed Security Council resolution 501 (1982) and urged all States to render increased sustained support to UNIFIL and to exert their efforts to bring an end to the tragic situation which prevails in Southern Lebanon.

26. The Ministers condemned Israel's projected construction of a canal linking the Mediterranean with the Dead Sea, and asserted that such a project constitutes a grave act of aggression against the legitimate rights and vital interests of the Palestinian people and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and imperils international peace and security. The Ministers called upon all countries to denounce this project and refrain from extending any form of support or assistance which might enable Israel to carry it out.

27. The Ministers expressed their serious concern over the recurrent financial deficit in the budget of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency and called upon the international community to shoulder its responsibility and increase its contributions to the budget of this Agency so that it may continue its services in view of the grave dangers involved in their discontinuation.

28. The Ministers strongly condemned Israel for its rejection of complying with Security Council resolution 497 (1981) of 17 December 1981 and General Assembly resolution 36/226B of 17 December 1981 concerning the occupied Syrian Golan Heights, and reiterated that all measures carried out by Israel to give effect to its decision annexing the Syrian Golan Heights are devoid of every legal validity and shall not be recognized.

29. The Ministers expressed their indignation at the aggressive, repressive and arbitrary measures taken by Israel against Syrian nationals, depriving them of their basic rights and fundamental freedoms, in violation of the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention which applies to these nationals.

30. The Ministers paid tribute to the resistance of the Syrian nationals in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights against Israeli occupation and annexation, and expressed support for their just struggle in defence of their freedom, territorial integrity and national identity.

31. The Ministers expressed the full support of the Members of the Non-Aligned Movement for and their solidarity with the just struggle of the Government and people of the Syrian Arab Republic against the Israeli occupation and aggression and for the liberation of its occupied territories.

32. The Ministers expressed their deep concern at the failure of the Security Council, which is responsible for maintaining international peace and security, to take appropriate measures against Israel under Chapter VII of the Charter owing to the veto cast on 20 January 1982 by the United States which is a permanent member of the Security Council.

33. The Ministers reaffirmed the commitment of the Members of the Movement of Non-Aligned countries to comply with the provisions of General Assembly Emergency Special Session resolution 9/1 of 5 February 1982, particularly the application of measure against Israel called for in that resolution.

34. The Ministers expressed their conviction that Israel's record and actions established conclusively that it is not a peace-loving State and that it has not carried out its obligations under the Charter.

35. The Ministers expressed deep concern over the expansion in Israeli conventional armaments, as well as nuclear armaments. The Ministers deplored imperialist policies, particularly those pursued by the United States, which armed Israel and supplied it, both directly and indirectly, with the nuclear technology and materials enabling it to continue its nuclear weapons programme designed to perpetuate its occupation of the Palestinian and other Arab territories. They also deplored the growing co-operation in the field of armaments between the racist Zionist entity and the South African regime.

36. The Ministers called upon all countries and peoples of the world to refrain from giving Israel any military, material or human support which would allow it to persist in its hostile policies

37. The Ministers further called upon all countries to refrain from concluding any military agreements with Israel, particularly for the purchase of Israeli military weapons and equipment, which would help it to develop its potential in the field of military industrialization and armaments and at the same time strengthen its economy, enabling it to persist in its hostile and expansionist policies and to finance its expansionist settlement schemes in Palestine and other occupied Arab territories.

38. The Ministers firmly condemned the premeditated Israeli attack on Iraqi nuclear installations and affirmed that such an attack, which could only be regarded as an act of State terrorism, revealed once more Israel's aggressive nature as a destructive imperialist tool aimed at undermining the cultural, scientific and economic development of Arab States. It also revealed Israeli intransigence which undermined all international values, standards and laws.

39. The Ministers also underlined the fact that the international community considered the aggression to be directed against the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and its subsidiary organs. They therefore expressed their support for all resolutions adopted by the United Nations and IAEA in this connexion, and emphasized the importance of taking effective and deterrent measures against Israel, including suspension of its membership in IAEA, particularly in view of the fact that Israel threatened to repeat its act of aggression.

40. The Ministers affirmed Israel's international responsibility to compensate for the material damage as well as for the loss of human life which had resulted from its premeditated act.

41. The Ministers considered the aggression to be a crime that concerned the non-aligned countries as a whole, since it constituted, inter alia, a violation of the non-aligned countries' right to possess scientific and technological knowledge. The Ministers therefore called for further solidarity and collaboration with Iraq and for support for its right and the right of all other non-aligned countries to the acquisition and development of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and as part of their development programmes.

42. The Ministers strongly condemned Israel's continued violations of the airspace of the Arab countries, which they considered an act of aggression, an infringement of their sovereignty, an aspect of Israel's aggressive policies against the Arab countries, and a violation of the rules of international law and the United Nations Charter.

43. The Ministers held the United States responsible for the support, weapons and means of aggression it provides Israel and declared that such support and aid were determining factors in the pursuit by the Zionist regime of its blatant policy of aggression, occupation and colonization of the occupied Arab territories and of its persistent refusal to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

44. The Ministers expressed grave concern that despite the adjournment of discussions between the United States and Israel, the Government of the United States is still pursuing its policy to conclude a "strategic alliance" with Israel in the Middle East. This policy and alliance, instead of contributing to the endeavours to achieve a comprehensive and final solution to the Middle East question, confirm the role of Israel as a true bridgehead of imperialism, and as an element threatening the stability of the countries in the Middle East region as well as international peace and security.

45. The Ministers recalled resolution 36/226 of the General Assembly which declared "once more that peace in the Middle East is indivisible and must be based on a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Middle East problem, under the auspices of the United Nations," which ensures the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and which enables the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, to exercise its inalienable rights, including the right to return and the

right to self-determination, national independence and the establishment of its independent sovereign State in Palestine, in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations relevant to the Question of Palestine, in particular, General Assembly resolutions ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980 and 36/120 A to F of 10 December 1981.

46. The Ministers strongly believed that the Secretary-General of the United Nations should undertake, at the earliest possible time, adequate endeavours to initiate contacts with all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East, with a view to finding concrete ways and means to achieve the comprehensive just and lasting solution conducive to peace as declared in paragraph 45 above.

47. The Ministers invited the members of the Security Council of the United Nations to assume their role and discharge their responsibilities so that the Security Council may take adequate measures as provided for in the Charter of the United Nations to attain the desired peace and to guarantee peace and security in the Middle East.

48. The Ministers denounced the attitude of those countries which give Israel aid and arms and considered that the real motive for providing such vast quantities of lethal weapons and means of destruction is to consolidate Israel as a base for colonialism and racism in Africa and Asia. The Ministers decided to call upon all Non-Aligned Countries to take any action that they may deem fit towards those States, particularly the United States of America.

49. The Ministers condemned Israel for its intransigence in pursuing its aggressive and expansionist policies against the Arab countries and the Palestinian people and called upon the States, especially the United States of America, to cease forthwith giving Israel any human, military, political and/or economic assistance that might encourage it to pursue its policies.

50. The Ministers condemned the invocation by Israel and the Zionist organizations of the right of individuals to travel in order to implement the Zionist programme for assembling Jews from all countries of the world and settling them in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories for the purpose of perpetuating occupation and aggression.

51. They called upon all countries to refrain from aiding or facilitating the implementation of Zionist schemes aimed at promoting the immigration of Jews from all over the world to Israel and the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, so long as the Zionists continue to occupy these territories and refuse to allow the Palestinians to return to their homes or even recognize their right to return.

52. The Ministers expressed their grave concern about the increasing collaboration between Israel and the racist régime in South Africa, in particular in the military and nuclear fields, and strongly condemned such collaboration and co-operation. They called on all members of the Movement to sever all relations with the two régimes, in all fields and to isolate them completely.



53. The Ministers welcomed the positive attitude taken by some States of the European Economic Community and called upon all other members of the Community to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, as identified and affirmed by the United Nations, and to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Programme of Action

54. The Ministers, after evaluating the extremely serious situation resulting from continued Israeli occupation and policies and practices, reaffirming their total and unconditional support for the struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole and legitimate representative, to attain and freely exercise its inalienable rights to return, self-determination and the establishment in Palestine of its independent sovereign state, and expressing its solidarity with the neighbouring Arab countries of Lebanon, Syria and Jordan:
- A. Urge all Member countries to reaffirm their total commitment to the just cause of the Palestinian people and its struggle under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization. In that regard, the Ministers undertake to react concretely and effectively to the provocative challenge of Israel to the entire international community.
  - B. Request friendly countries and organizations which have always contributed to national liberation struggles to intensify their assistance to the Palestine Liberation Organization and the neighbouring Arab countries, to enable them to meet the needs of the liberation struggle and defend their territories against repeated Israeli attacks and threats of destabilization.
  - C. Undertake to increase their moral, political diplomatic and material support for the Palestine Liberation Organization, in order to enable the latter to pursue and escalate its struggle by all means.
  - D. Calls on all members of the Movement to undertake similar commitments and to respond rapidly and effectively to appeals for solidarity and action by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, in accordance with the needs of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Arab countries facing threats or aggressions.
  - E. Call for the intensification, by national and international means, of the campaign for political and economic as well as mandatory sanctions against Israel, and call upon all countries which support the Palestinian cause to take whatever action they may deem fit against those States which encourage Israel to pursue its policies and practices, in particular the United States of America.
  - F. Call upon all States and organizations to isolate Israel completely, as its record and actions confirm that it is not a peace-loving Member State of the United Nations, and, to this end, to implement fully the set of measures contained in the operation section of General Assembly resolution ES-9/1.

55. To that end, the Ministers decided to:

1. Call upon the Secretary-General of the United Nations to undertake, at the earliest possible time, adequate endeavours to initiate contacts with all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East, with a view to finding concrete ways and means to achieve the comprehensive, just and lasting solution conducive to peace, in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter and relevant resolutions.

2. Call upon the Security Council to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as defined in General Assembly resolution ES-7/2 and to endorse the recommendations of the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People as endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 31/20 of 2 November 1976.

8. Text of the statement of the Rapporteur of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, H.E. Mr. Victor J. GAUCI (Malta), before the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries on the Question of Palestine, Kuwait, 5 to 8 April 1982

"Since the broad details of this question are so well-known to all the members of this movement, and to its observer friends, in theory we should not need to devote much attention to general principles, but rather we should concentrate on the essentials for promoting the tangible progress that has eluded us so far.

It is evident that the latter objective depends on a clear understanding of the situation as it has developed to this day. It is also evident that the situation is inexorably approaching a critical point, and that, within the United Nations, we would do well to maximise our strength and support in the attempt to overcome the remaining obstacles to a positive outcome. We know they are formidable obstacles that still lie ahead, and we should devise our future strategy in full realisation of our present assets and liabilities.

A brief survey of the past before we can project our strategy for the future is therefore called for.

In historical perspective, the Palestinian people theoretically by now should have achieved their independence, in conformity with the post-war decolonisation tendency, which this movement has resolutely spear-headed, and which provides the United Nations with perhaps the brightest chapter in its history.

In practice, the reality is quite different; the plight of the Palestinian people grows bleaker with every passing day, as we all know, and as we are grimly reminded, with ever more striking evidence, practically within hearing distance from this hall.

But at least the last eight years have seen a dramatic awakening of international concern over the real - and essentially political - nature of the question of Palestine.

The birth of the Committee on Palestine in 1975 is in itself the outcome of this new realism and understanding. It is therefore appropriate that our survey, while conscious of the historical background of the Palestine problem, should concentrate mainly on what the Committee has so far achieved, and more particularly on what still remains to be done.

You are all aware of the recommendations of the Committee, the background against which they evolved, and their subsequent endorsement by the National Council of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, by the Arab League, by the Islamic Conference, by the Non-Aligned Movement, and by the majority within the United Nations, "as a basis for the solution of the question of Palestine". Time and time again the Committee has explained the validity of its recommendations, their legal foundations, their peaceful intent, and the phased programme under United Nations auspices and supervision outlined for their implementation.

The Committee has also embarked on an intensive programme of study and information designed to disseminate accurate insight into the real nature of the Palestine question. In this latter aspect we have been particularly successful - you know the details. It is sufficient to mention that - despite deliberate obstacles posed in the way - we have just completed our first seminar in North America, and as soon as this Ministerial meeting is over, many of us will be travelling to Malta for a European seminar. For the first time, many influential members of Parliament will be participating at this Seminar. We are now practically bearding the lion in his den. Later this year another seminar will be held in Dakar - seven in all so far. A large number of studies have been published, and a film produced, which is being up-dated.

Our worst critics are getting irritated with the Committee's persistent efforts, which they consider as "a waste of limited United Nations resources". This contention aids Israel and serves as a convenient cloak under which it seeks to hide its humanly shameless and politically disastrous treatment of the rights of the Palestinian people.

Fortunately, this ostrich-like mentality is not predominant at the United Nations. The Committee's recommendations have already gained support from an impressive majority in the United Nations, as the statistical analysis appended below shows:

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

<u>Session</u>	<u>Resolution</u>	<u>V o t i n g</u>		
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Abstain</u>
30th Session 1975	Res. 3376 Establishment of Committee	93	18	27
31st Session 1976	Res. 31/20	90	16	30
32nd Session 1977	Res. 32/40A	100	12	29
33rd Session 1978	Res. 33/28A	97	19	25
34th Session 1979	Res. 34/65A	117	14	16
Seventh Emergency Special Session (July 1980)	Res. ES-7/2	112	7	24
35th Session 1980	Res. 35/169A	98	16	32
36th Session 1981	Res. 36/120D	111	13	20

The main element that emerges from the chart shows that support for the Committee's recommendations, with minor annual fluctuations, has increased from 90 votes in 1975 to 111 in 1981. The negative votes have decreased from 30 in 1975 to 20 in 1981. If we take negative votes and abstentions together, the decrease went from 46 in 1975 to 33 in 1981. This is good progress in both directions. On the other hand, we have to admit that our best vote has remained static at less than 120, and that the "fence-sitters" constitute an important element which requires our attention.

Set against the evolution of history in other part of the world, set against the heart-rending evidence of what is occurring on the spot, set against the new light already shed by the Committee, set against the new international emphasis on human rights since 1975, it is disconcerting to find a residue of around 35 countries or so which find themselves strangely unable to join a concerted, practical and effective movement to restore peace and justice in the area.

It is even more disconcerting to find that, among these countries, there are a few members of the non-aligned movement, or closely allied to it, as also other influential countries which are among the most strident advocates of the principles of human rights. Despite the many explanations given by the Committee, despite the passage of time, for varying reasons they have so far been unable to lend their crucial backing to the recommendations of the Committee.

In the last analysis, this lack of consensus within the United Nations tends to contribute to the intransigence, repression and arrogance shown by Israel, and gives the latter country - quite apart from the military and of its allies - a "cushion of respectability" under which it derives encouragement to prevaricate, to delay, and even to swallow up by its insidious settlements policies what is left of the erstwhile Palestinian homeland.

It is even equally disconcerting to observe the Security Council paralysed by inaction, to the extent that the mandate of its own investigative body set up to report on the situation in the illegally-occupied territories, through some obscure procedural device, has not been renewed. The Committee has in fact had to assume for itself the time-consuming task of monitoring events on the spot.

The inaction of the Security Council, and the hesitation of an influential section of the international community, is not matched by any inhibition on the part of Israel. On the contrary, its voracious appetite for territorial expansion is whetted. On Israel's real intentions in the illegally-occupied territories it is no longer possible to have any reasonable doubt.

A brief review would indicate that the Israeli Government continues to increase the already extensive network of settlements in those territories. Israeli radio has recently reported plans for a further 12 to 18 settlements in the West Bank by 1985. This will increase the Israeli population from around 24,000 to 125,000.

Statistics have ominous overtones for the Palestinians. Israeli maps now describe all the high ground of the West Bank as a "security area" and this is where the new settlements are now envisaged. The result is the steady erosion of the Palestinian people's homeland.

Furthermore, these new enclaves draw a growing constituency dedicated to perpetual Israeli sovereignty over the area. Defence Minister Sharon himself has stated: "I believe these settlements are the strongest answer against the threat of having a second Palestinian state". It would appear that Israel is fast approaching the point of no return; a point where political and physical considerations will result in withdrawal becoming very difficult to implement.

Israel's occupation, though civilian in name, is military in nature. The West Bank is being tied into Israel's electricity grid and the so-called "village leagues" are being aided with a view to undermining the leadership of the popularly elected Arab mayors and to imposing a measure of limited autonomy.

In the illegally occupied territories, there is no freedom of movement or assembly. There are no independent Arab trade unions. The press, when it is allowed to appear at all, is heavily censored. Prisons are overflowing with Palestinians whose only crime is that they cannot stand idly by and submit to the occupation and expropriation of their homeland.

The catalogue of violation of the most basic rights is further increased when we consider the human dimension - the families whose houses are routinely blown up; the students whose universities have been closed; the legions of Palestinians who must emigrate in order to secure a future for themselves and their children.

This shameful catalogue of repression is even directed against newly-born babies who in most cases have little chance of survival in their present conditions.

In this situation, Israeli offers of "personal" autonomy are meaningless. The ongoing Israeli settlements, trailing expropriation and repression in their wake, will ensure that the Palestinians remain voiceless in their own land. Sham proposals of this kind hold out no hope of progress towards a just solution of the Palestinian problem - they are but a desperate subterfuge which no sane person can accept.

If the world really wishes that there should be no more violence in the Middle East, it has to find a better scheme than Israel's for the future of Palestine. It can no longer hesitate to pass judgement on the mounting evidence of Israel's real intentions.

One suggested remedy has been the Camp David process. Whatever each one of us may think of the Camp David accords, it is clear that - in the absence of Palestinian representation - they suffer from a fatal flaw which cannot produce a lasting peace. They therefore cannot provide the solution, and in any case they have run out of steam. In an article entitled "Destroying the Dream" in the New York Times of 1 April 1982, Anthony Lewis writes:

"Returning from several weeks in the Middle East, I find myself haunted by this reality - and by the refusal of some friends of Israel to face it. Israeli policy in the occupied territories defies reason and experience. If it goes on, it will inevitably threaten the existence of Israel. Where is the outcry against such suicidal folly?"

The outcry, international in outlook, should first and foremost, be inspired by us, today. We can make of it an international clarion call for effective action.

It is equally clear - borne out by recent events - that contemporary attempts to circumvent the central issue of the Middle East dispute, to shroud it under a hail of East/West histrionics, to create a so-called "arc of consensus" based on wider issues, will only serve to make the matter more difficult to resolve, and hence to retard the pressing need for a resolution of the agony of the Palestinians.

And yet, despite this unequivocal evidence, despite the promptings of the Committee, despite the passage of time, the ominous situation deteriorates, and the Security Council remains paralysed by inaction.

Even in the General Assembly, the Committee's recommendations seem to have reached the peak of their support. Yet they - and they alone - are the only comprehensive plan for a peaceful settlement which already enjoys widespread international backing.

It is against this background that we should analyse and devise a strategy for the future. Our experience in the United Nations on the tabling of resolutions shows that, in terms of support, we have three choices: to go backwards, to stand still, or to move forward. It seems to me that we should consider the latter choice, and jointly contemplate what action we can take, at this critical phase, which can further advance the prospects of peace and strengthen the momentum in favour of the Palestinian cause.

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We need not spend time merely preaching to the converted. Neither can we afford to squander our scarce resources on fraternal criticism.

It follows that our concentration should be directed on those who, for the present time at any rate, have not yet joined us in the approach to peace favoured by the Committee, those that have preferred to remain aloof, to stand hesitant on the sidelines, either perplexed or indifferent but definitely undecided.

In contrast to the situation on the spot, in this effort too we can derive some encouragement.

The most salient aspect of the Committee's recommendations is that the Palestinians are the only people who have not attained in practice what the international community has authorized in theory; they alone continue to be denied a state of their own, their place among the brotherhood of nations.

In broad terms, those who subscribe to the principles of the United Nations, yet hesitate to accord support to the Committee's recommendations, should not fail to consider that implementation of these recommendations does not overlook the legitimate concerns of any State or people in the Middle East.

To be more specific, all nations should also note that the process recommended by the Committee advocates a role for the Security Council where all the parties to the Middle East conflict are represented, so that the preoccupation of no single party is overlooked. The recommendations would utilize the so-far untapped potential of the United Nations to secure, on the one hand, justice for the Palestinians and, on the other hand, would constitute an essential but preliminary requirement for peace in the wider Middle East context.

Implementation would thus bring about a triumvirate of benefits; justice, peace and a seminal role for the United Nations in that process.

Our course may therefore lie in a resolute effort to give a new boost to the recommendations of the Committee, which has laboured long and hard to present a prescription for peace.

We were the instigators of that seed for peace; the international community must now assume the mantle of midwife, by giving maximum assistance to its birth and subsequent growth.

For the recommendations to have quasi-universal backing, a last, major effort needs to be made so as to persuade those countries within our movement, and those outside it, to come forward in the conviction that an equitable, peaceful solution is not beyond the means of the international community. The path to peace lies in the unhesitant acceptance of the Committee's recommendations.

We cannot expect Israel to come on board, but we can isolate it

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completely, in a barren desert of its own creation, where eventually its sole and dubious companion may be racist South Africa.

We can dismantle the "cushion of respectability" on which it is relying to get away with an anachronistic colonialism, which in some of its manifestations seems to border on genocide.

In present circumstances, we must candidly admit that we have not yet removed the lingering doubts of all our potential supporters; it is here that we must succeed, and this is the new strategy that we could devise, so that the state which owes its very existence to the sanction of the United Nations for its creation will be alone, if it fails to respect the undertakings it had solemnly given when it was admitted to the United Nations.

We have not only to remove doubts within our own ranks, but also to ensure that the remaining weight of influential opinion joins our approach. We have to take into account the statements made by influential world leaders in the intervening period since the Committee's recommendations were made public. We have to make our approach clear and unequivocal, soundly based on the quasi-unanimous support given to the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination. On this very day, in this very place, we have to make a concerted move towards a just solution of the Question of Palestine.

It seems to me that the experience gained in the voting pattern on resolutions presented in the past, and careful attention to and analysis of authoritative statements repeatedly made in recent years, would tend to indicate that we can generate quasi-universal support for the following propositions:

- (i) Self-determination for the Palestinian people;
- (ii) Participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in any negotiating process;
- (iii) The right of the Palestinians to independent statehood if they so choose;
- (iv) The international character of the city of Jerusalem;
- (v) Recognition of the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property, or to receive compensation;
- (vi) The withdrawal by Israel from the illegally-occupied territories;
- (vii) The removal of Israeli settlements established in the illegally occupied territories;
- (viii) Security guarantees, if required, for all States and peoples in the area.

These essential propositions enjoy unequivocal, overwhelming support - with the notable exception and the strenuous objection of Israel. If promoted and acted upon through the Security Council, they would result in the peaceful creation of a Palestinian homeland within the geo-political map of the Middle East.

Bitter experience demonstrates that, for the Palestinians, there will be no "deus ex machina" to put right the wrongs of 40 years. That is a task which now confronts us; one which grows more pressing as events on the spot take shape.

If, in this forum, we can move to a position of full and unqualified support for the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, a positive step will have been achieved. Any chink in our armour at this crucial stage will provide yet another foothold for the forces of repression, injustice and confrontation. This would be a retrograde step which would only encourage further Israeli intransigence.

Once unanimity will have been reached among us - a unanimity which will have to be translated into actual positive votes at the forthcoming session of the United Nations we will also have a new platform from which to pursue our final objective.

For, if we want to move further forward, we even have to look beyond the next session of the General Assembly. As mentioned by the President of the Assembly this morning, the proposed international conference on Palestine "not later than 1984" give us the new forum and an opportunity to encourage universal participation, armed with the will to negotiate, and even more with the will to succeed. It is an invaluable opportunity for generating tangible progress, for which we have to start preparing now.

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