

UNITED NATIONS



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MEETING: 23 AUGUST 1979

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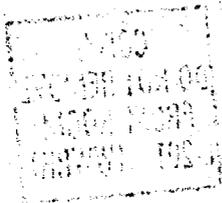
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NOTE

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2161st MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 23 August 1979, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Andrew YOUNG
(United States of America).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bangladesh, Bolivia, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria, Norway, Portugal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zambia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2161/Rev.1)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The question of the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights:
Letters dated 13 March 1979 and 27 June 1979 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13164 and S/13418)

The meeting was called to order at 4 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: Before proceeding with the business at hand, I should like to say a word about my predecessor in the presidency of the Council. During his tenure as Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Ambassador Richard served exceedingly well both his Government and the Security Council and the cause of world peace. Not only did he preside over our work during the month of July with consummate diplomatic skill and with that characteristic wit and charm that we had come to expect of him; he contributed significantly to the substantive work of the Council and saw to it that the Council's business was conducted efficiently and with due regard for the concerns of all. When the hours drew long and the negotiations became difficult, he was often the one who was able to relieve the tension with a humorous but cogent comment. His presence in these chambers will be greatly missed, I am sure, by all of us who worked here with him and admire him for his skills as a diplomat and his fine qualities as a colleague and friend. I am sure that I can count on the representative of the United Kingdom to convey to Ambassador Richard our appreciation for the important contribution he made to our work in the Council and our best wishes for success in his future endeavours.

Expression of welcome to the representative of Nigeria

2. The PRESIDENT: I should also like to take this opportunity to welcome the representative of Nigeria, Ambassador Clark, who is, of course, no stranger to these halls. We are happy to have him join us and we know that with his past experience he will be of great assistance to us in our work.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

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

Letters dated 13 March 1979 and 27 June 1979 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13164 and S/13418)

3. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2155th and 2160th meetings, I invite the representatives of Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, Israel, Jordan, Sri Lanka, the Syrian Arab Republic and Tunisia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; I invite the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Florin (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Blum (Israel), Mr. Nuseibeh (Jordan), Mr. Fernando (Sri Lanka), Mr. El-Choufi (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Mestiri (Tunisia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; Mr. Fall (Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

4. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform the members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Afghanistan, Cuba, Iraq, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Yugoslavia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant

provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Tabibi (Afghanistan), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Al-Ali (Iraq), Mr. Southichak (Lao People's Democratic Republic) and Mr. Komatina (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

5. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council considered the item on its agenda at its 2155th and 2160th meetings on 29 June and 27 July. On 30 July, following informal consultations, an understanding was reached to defer further consideration of the item until 23 August. The Security Council will now continue its consideration.

6. The first speaker is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

7. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt): Mr. President, it is a source of genuine pleasure to my delegation to see a renowned statesman with your wide experience in political affairs and your well-known diplomatic skills presiding over the deliberations of the Council. We are confident that under your able leadership the Council will be in a position to uphold the Charter of the United Nations and successfully to discharge its responsibilities. It is with great regret that we see you leaving your post at this crucial moment. You will be missed by all of us, but you will not be forgotten. Your contributions to the cause of third-world issues, particularly in Africa and the Middle East, will always be cherished and remembered. You have tremendously contributed to the prestige and role of the United States in the United Nations.

8. It gives me great pleasure to pay also a special tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Ivor Richard of the United Kingdom. Ambassador Richard's high qualifications as a skilled diplomat and parliamentarian were instrumental in the efficient and expeditious fulfilment of the important and sensitive tasks before the Council during the month of July. My Government wishes to put on record its appreciation and gratitude for the endeavours that he so successfully undertook. We wish Ambassador Richard success with his future plans.

9. The Security Council is now considering the most important issue concerned in the Middle East problem, an issue that directly affects the peace and security not only of the Middle East but of the whole world. It has become universally accepted now, more than ever before, that the prerequisite for attaining peace and stability in the Middle East is the application of the Charter and the rules of international law and justice to the Palestinian people. A just and comprehensive peace should be firmly based on the legitimate rights of all the peoples and countries in the area, in accordance with relevant United Nations resolutions. All sincere efforts should be exerted to enable the valiant and long-neglected Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights without delay.

10. The establishment of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, which my country has always supported, was a concrete and timely step taken to enable the United Nations to elaborate the measures required to redress past injustices. The General Assembly, in endorsing the recommendations of the Committee, requested the Security Council to examine those recommendations and the programme of action contained therein. It is our earnest hope that the Council, the highest organ responsible for the maintenance of peace and security in the world, will not fail to assume its responsibilities for the realization of a just peace in the Middle East. The Council has, in fact, been seized of the question in various instances throughout the past 30 years, and it is high time that it took the necessary action.

11. I would like to take this opportunity to pay a special tribute to Ambassador Fall of Senegal, the Chairman of the Committee, for his admirable and dedicated work in preparing this important report and for his able guidance of the Committee's deliberations. I shall not dwell here on the details of that report, because it was very lucidly and ably presented to the Council by the Committee Chairman. We believe that the report is balanced and factual, and that it reflects the basic requirements of international law as well as faithfully reflecting the principles of the Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions. Although a few Governments expressed reservations about the Committee's establishment, its Chairman, Ambassador Fall, extended invitations to all Members, especially those that did not support its establishment, to state their views. Some have done so but, unfortunately, others chose not to respond at all. We urge the latter, despite their position with regard to the Committee's establishment, to express their views before the Committee—or even in written statements—in order that the work of the Committee may be based on the widest variety of opinions. Furthermore, as Ambassador Fall said in his statement before the Council on 29 June [2155th meeting], all the members of the Council have, at one time or another, actually spoken in favour of the rights of the Palestinian people. That is a factor, in our opinion, which should be conducive to achieving progress.

12. It is indeed high time that the international community represented in the Security Council faced up squarely to its responsibilities. The core of the Middle East problem is the Palestinian question. Any delay in solving the latter will only lead to more instability in the area, more bloodshed, more energy wasted, not for progress, but on the war effort and destruction.

13. Therefore, Egypt's policy is to tackle the question directly and without any hesitation. President Sadat presented Egypt's policy in that context in his message on the celebration of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, on 29 November 1978:

“... the achievement of peace in the Middle East must be based on the principles of international legal-

ity, on the recognition that the Palestinian question is the core of the problem and that the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people is the basis for the establishment of a just and comprehensive peace.

"Egypt's peace initiative, which was supported by the entire world, came to emphasize the lessons and results of the October war, and to underline the fact that the Egyptian people are determined to shoulder their national responsibilities and to continue steadily on the road of establishing a just, durable and comprehensive settlement."¹

14. President Sadat's initiative has put an end forever to the situation of "neither peace nor war" forced on the Middle East and on the Palestinians in particular. That initiative opened the door for serious work towards the achievement of a just and comprehensive peace in the area and for the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The movement we witness today, whether here in the United Nations or in the area itself, was motivated by that initiative. I would like to emphasize that the idea of adopting a new resolution of the Security Council was put forward by Egypt in July 1973 and that after the 1973 war a joint Arab initiative was submitted to the Council.

15. I therefore wish to state in very clear terms that Egypt whole-heartedly has supported and continues to support any new attempt, whether in the Security Council or elsewhere, to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Council resolution 242 (1967) enjoys universal support, and we should develop and build upon that support and translate the resolution's provisions into concrete facts. In our opinion, such new attempts would of course reaffirm resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and contribute to the achievement of genuine progress in the ongoing peace process based on the Camp David accords. The principle contained in the peace treaty and the Camp David accords did, in fact, pave the way for a positive movement towards comprehensive peace in the area. It will be recalled that by signing the accords, Israel for the first time recognized the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Israel has, moreover, committed itself to resolving the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. If faithfully implemented, the accords would provide a suitable and practical framework for the realization of a just settlement firmly based on full respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Thus, any new resolution to be adopted by the Council on the basis of the aforementioned principles would in fact constitute a confirmation and a consecration of Palestinian rights. The interrelationship between these constructive developments moves the Palestinian question nearer to a positive solution. Such constructive developments deserve the encouragement and support of all peace-loving countries. It should therefore be clear that, while the Council calls for the recognition of the right of all nations in the area, including Israel, to exist, the Council should also call for the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

¹ See A/AC.183/SR.35, para. 23.

16. Egypt reiterates its support for the adoption by the Council of such a new resolution and hopes that it will lead to peace, stability and justice in the region. The violence and bloodshed which have inflicted heavy loss of innocent lives should be terminated. The cycle of violence and counter-violence has to be put to an end, whether in Lebanon or in any other part of the region, so that the Middle East, which witnessed the birth of three great religions, can contribute to world civilization and progress. All the peoples in the area, including the Palestinians and the Israelis, could thus live in peace and security, free from the threat or use of force.

17. I should like to emphasize also that the principles contained in the peace treaty and the Camp David accords did in fact pave the way for positive movement towards a comprehensive peace in the area, and Egypt fully considers that those agreements should be implemented. They constitute, in our opinion, a process for the achievement of a just solution on the basis of full respect for all the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

18. As I mentioned earlier, any new resolution to be adopted by the Council would in fact constitute a confirmation and a consecration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, which were addressed in the Camp David agreements.

19. Egypt's long-standing support for and its commitment to the Palestinian cause is a matter of record; I need not expound on it. What Egypt is striving to do now is simply to put the Palestinian question on the right track that will lead to the exercise by the Palestinian people of their right to self-determination. The Palestinians are the only ones who can decide ultimately on their own destiny and exercise their rights. We have always stressed and will always stress that they have the right to refuse any decision that they do not agree with. All sincere efforts must be exerted to help the Palestinian people to recover their national rights. And those efforts should be encouraged, not hindered. We do not claim for ourselves any monopoly in this field. Egypt supports any effort, international or individual, which contributes to the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. After 30 years, the Palestinian people cannot wait any longer, and they expect concrete results, not words. We have passed the verbal phase; what is required now is concrete and solid action.

20. Egypt, therefore, welcomes the position taken by the European Economic Community and believes that such a position represents a constructive and realistic approach and a positive factor conducive to the achievement of a just settlement of the Palestinian problem. In that context, we pay tribute to the Socialist International and hope that their initiative will soon bear fruit and pave the way to the successful conclusion of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Egypt welcomes—in fact, encourages—all initiatives aimed at resolving the procedural as well as the substantive components of the Palestinian problem.

21. In conclusion, allow me to reiterate briefly Egypt's position. There must be a comprehensive settlement in

the area based on the complete withdrawal by Israel from all the Arab territories, including Jerusalem, occupied since 1967 and the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. That is, and will be, Egypt's position. The Security Council is urged now, more than ever, to join the General Assembly in upholding the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in the context of a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East.

22. Mr. N'DONG (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, the delegation of Gabon is most happy to see you presiding over the work of the Security Council for the month of August. We are pleased for two reasons: first, because of the good relations which so happily exist between your great country, the United States of America, and my own, the Republic of Gabon; and, secondly, because of our personal relations of friendly co-operation. My delegation therefore extends to you its sincere wishes for success in your arduous duties as President.

23. May I also express my gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Richard, of the United Kingdom, whose departure from the Council is much regretted, for the diplomatic *savoir-faire* and great skill with which he guided the Council's work last month.

24. My country, a member of the Conference of Islamic countries, has been constantly concerned by the explosive situation prevailing in the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967. Indeed, as I stated clearly last March when the Council was considering the same question we are now reviewing [2131st meeting]:

"After certain bold initiatives, with which we are all familiar, in the attempt to search for a solution to this problem, one might reasonably have thought that we were nearing the end of that policy of gradually encroaching on the occupied Arab territories. The gloomy but detailed picture sketched for us by the representative of Senegal in his capacity as Chairman of the Conference of Islamic countries and the gloomy factual analysis presented to us by the representative of Jordan do not suggest that we are witnessing the dawn of a peaceful future."

25. The same concern is reflected in the report of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979), wherein we read:

"the policy and practices of Israel in establishing settlements in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967 have no legal validity and constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East". [S/13450 and Add.1, para. 229.]

26. That statement by eminent members of the Committee clearly shows that the current situation in the Middle East is explosive despite the relative calm that prevails. The reason for this abnormal situation is the persistent refusal of Israel to satisfy the national rights of the Palestinian people and to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

27. My delegation is absolutely convinced that without the effective exercise of those rights by the Palestinian people it will be impossible to arrive at an equitable and lasting settlement of the Middle East crisis. My delegation will continue to support the legitimate struggle being waged by the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and national independence.

28. One may certainly regret that Israel refused to co-operate with the Committee. That is a dilatory stance which should surprise no one. But their refusal to co-operate has in no way impaired either the morale of the members of the Committee, who have honestly discharged their mandate, or the quality of the report submitted, which truly provides a wealth of objective information leading to extremely grave conclusions, highly critical of Israeli policies in the occupied Arab territories, policies in violation of the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, as well as in violation of human rights. Given those serious facts, which form a grave obstacle to the quest for an equitable settlement of the Middle East problem, the Security Council, the supreme United Nations organ for the maintenance of international peace and security, must make the utmost use of all the means at its disposal to increase pressure on Israel to comply with the relevant resolutions, in particular its resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), as well as those of the General Assembly.

29. In conclusion, I should like to congratulate most sincerely all the members of the Committee for having discharged the delicate mission entrusted to them in an exemplary, objective and selfless manner.

30. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the representative of Yugoslavia to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

31. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): I wish to thank the Security Council for the opportunity to set forth the views of the Yugoslav delegation on the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights.

32. May I also extend to you, Mr. President, my warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of August. The diplomatic skill and political experience you have constantly demonstrated will enable the Council to deal in an appropriate way with one of the most acute and urgent issues under consideration. I should like to pay you a tribute for the contribution you have personally made in fostering a better understanding of the essence of the Palestinian question and of the way to resolve it. I also wish you every success in your future activities.

33. At the same time, I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to Ambassador Ivor Richard of the United Kingdom who most ably guided the work of the Council last month.

34. The present debate has assumed exceptional importance in view of the moment at which it is taking place

and of the acuteness of the problem and its profound implications in international relations as a whole. My delegation firmly believes that never has a greater sense of urgency been felt to find a just and lasting solution, in view of the ever more imminent danger of the outbreak of an armed conflict of wider proportions. It has also never been more evident that the crisis can be solved only within a comprehensive framework and that partial, separate moves are not only not in keeping with the consensus of the international community but also lead in the opposite direction and exacerbate the Middle East crisis. Further, it has never been more obvious that the liberation of the Palestinian people, which has become an issue involving the conscience of mankind, not only constitutes the core of the Middle East crisis, but is also a *conditio sine qua non* for its lasting and just settlement.

35. The national rights of the Palestinian people are inalienable. Therefore, the essence and the existence of those rights are not negotiable. What can be negotiated is the way leading to the realization of those rights, and that renders indispensable the equal participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization on behalf of the Palestinian people in all negotiations.

36. Yugoslavia's position regarding these problems is well known. My country has always advocated a comprehensive settlement based on the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab and Palestinian territories occupied in 1967 and on the realization of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return and to establish their own national State, as well as on the recognition of the right of all peoples and countries in the region to security and independence.

37. The international community has long since opted for such a basis for the settlement of the Middle East crisis and that is embodied in the resolutions of the General Assembly and in documents of the non-aligned countries and of the Organization of African Unity and other international and regional organizations and conferences.

38. The responsibility for the present disquieting situation is borne primarily by Israel, whose policies constitute an insurmountable obstacle to the achievement of peace in the Middle East. The political leaders of Israel do not conceal the fact that they refuse to withdraw from the occupied territories and that they reject any idea concerning the establishment of a national Palestinian State.

39. Israel is "arguing" its position by the forcible colonization of Palestinian territory through the establishment of settlements and other means of depriving the Palestinian people of their national, cultural and religious identity, as well as by daily aggression against Lebanon. Recently the Security Council has dealt with those questions, adopting appropriate decisions that my delegation fully endorses. Israel is turning a deaf ear to all the decisions, appeals, demands and warnings of the international community and is continuing to pursue its expansionist policy. All the greater is the responsibility, not only of Israel but also of all those who support it directly or indirectly or who, for one reason or another, are trans-

forming themselves into passive observers of such practices.

40. The international community has never before been faced with a more pressing question as to what to do in order to arrest the downhill slide and to create conditions for the settlement of the Middle East crisis in all its aspects. A clear answer to the question is provided by the report of the Committee on Palestine, whose recommendations were elaborated on the basis of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions which were widely endorsed—some of them even by Israel. My delegation, as a member of the Committee, wholly approves both its report and its recommendations.

41. There exists no more urgent task in the present situation than that of achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem. The Committee has quite naturally laid stress on that point, emphasizing the need to search for a peaceful solution.

42. In order to achieve such a solution, we must first and foremost find ways to help the Palestinian people, like all other peoples, to realize their inalienable national rights, by eliminating all obstacles and by rejecting energetically all that is likely to bar, directly or potentially, the road towards the establishment of a Palestinian national State.

43. We cannot allow the Palestinian people to be deprived of their inalienable right to freedom and independence in its own homeland without losing thereby a part of our own freedom, of our own independence and even of our own dignity; for, as long as aggression and oppression are tolerated in one part of the world, the freedom and independence of every single nation will be jeopardized. Therefore, it is necessary to proceed to the implementation of the recommendations of the Committee on Palestine in their entirety. In our view, it would be useful to continue, within the Security Council also, negotiations on ways and means of realizing those rights and of establishing peace in the Middle East. The Committee is open to all suggestions and new proposals.

44. The non-aligned countries, which have been in the forefront of the struggle for the freedom and independence of all peoples, have always insisted on such a solution of the Middle East crisis as would enable all the peoples of the region to realize their legitimate rights and, with that purpose in mind, they have elaborated a concrete platform; on the basis of that alone will it be possible to find a lasting and just solution. They have therefore become not only the closest allies but also the staunchest supporters of Arab countries and peoples in their struggle to erase all the consequences of aggression and domination.

45. Consistent with its policy of supporting every authentic struggle for freedom and independence, non-aligned and socialist Yugoslavia will continue to promote the realization of the objectives set by the Committee.

46. We feel that there is today no more noble duty than that of lending support to the Palestinian people to realize their right to freedom, independence and territorial integrity, as well as the rights enjoyed by all States Members of the United Nations, all in the name of the moral values and principles that we all uphold and in the interests of peace and international co-operation.

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

48. Mr. TABIBI (Afghanistan): Mr. President, let me at the outset thank you and the other members of the Council for your gracious gesture in giving me the opportunity to appear before the Council. Our delegation has every hope that under your wise leadership, that of an experienced diplomat and a well-known statesman of great stature, the important question of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people will be discussed properly.

49. The tragic story of the Palestinian people, with which the people of my country have firm cultural, historical and religious ties, is indeed a heart-breaking passage in contemporary history. Unfortunately, the United Nations caused that holocaust when it partitioned Palestine in 1947 and when as a result the lawful inhabitants of that ancient land were uprooted.

50. Three decades have passed since the partition. Year in and year out the Security Council, the General Assembly, special envoys, emissaries, committees and task forces have all considered ways and means of bringing peace to the Middle East. But our objective is elusive. The archives of the United Nations contain reams of text devoted to the question—speeches, documents and resolutions. Yet the legitimate aspirations of the brave and noble people of Palestine have not been realized and their right to return to their homeland, to their farms and orchards and to establish their own independent State has not been recognized. Since the issue of the Middle East and of the sufferings of its brave and noble people continues to pose the most critical threat to world peace and security, a solution of the cardinal problem of Palestine must be found. Otherwise, the conditions of suffering, anguish and turmoil under which the Palestinians live will continue to endanger world peace.

51. The United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, must shoulder its responsibility towards the people of Palestine. Three decades of being a spectator of the suffering and bloodshed of an innocent people are enough. It is now time to end the injustices being perpetrated against the Palestinian people.

52. There is no need here to go into the historical background surrounding this tragedy. The infamous Balfour Declaration and the international plot behind the adoption of a General Assembly resolution on the partition of Palestine in 1947 are known and need not be discussed. What is needed now are reason, justice, equity and realism in bringing peace to the area and in creating an atmosphere in which Arabs and Jews, with love, understanding and co-operation, can live together peacefully,

for their own sake and for that of future generations that must be taught to forget the wounds of Deir Yassin and other operations on other occasions and the humiliation of exile and homelessness.

53. Ever since the problem of Palestine was first brought before the United Nations, Afghanistan has staunchly defended the just cause of the Palestinian people—in the General Assembly, in the Security Council, in the non-aligned movement and, as a member of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. We have stressed the need for a comprehensive political settlement in the area, including the withdrawal of all Israeli troops from Arab territories occupied since 1967, the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence and the restoration of the Holy City of Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty.

54. We believe that the United Nations has a responsibility to ensure the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians. That responsibility derives from the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which uphold the right to self-determination of every people and nation. Fulfilment of that responsibility is the obligation of the Security Council by virtue of its rules and the principles of the Charter for the preservation of peace and international security.

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

56. Mr. AL-ALI (Iraq): The Security Council is continuing its consideration of recommendations made three years ago by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. The Council held its first meeting to consider this subject on 29 June 1979 [2155th meeting]. The Iraqi delegation firmly believes that the Council cannot escape its historical responsibilities in implementing General Assembly resolution 33/28. That resolution endorses the recommendations of the Committee; so do resolutions 32/40 and 31/20, adopted in 1977 and 1976 respectively.

57. In those recommendations it is stated, *inter alia*, that the question of Palestine is at the heart of the Middle East problem. Consequently, the Committee stressed its belief that no solution in the Middle East can be envisaged that does not fully take into account the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people and that the legitimate and inalienable right of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and property and to achieve self-determination, national independence and sovereignty has been endorsed by the General Assembly in its aforementioned resolutions. The Committee also recalled the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and stressed the consequent obligation of the complete and speedy evacuation of the occupied Arab territories.

58. The Security Council should, in particular, take appropriate action to facilitate the implementation of the General Assembly resolutions. But, regrettably, in spite

of all the powers conferred on it by the Charter, the Council has not taken the action it was urged to take by the Assembly. The reason is that the United States has turned a deaf ear to the aforementioned principles adopted by the international community. Further, in 1976 it used the veto to prevent the Council from adopting a constructive resolution.

59. The United States has used all means to liquidate the problem through separate deals. That led to the Camp David accords. The United States has been making further efforts to impose its domination and will on the Arab countries, in collusion with the Zionist entity, thus violating every right of the Arab people in the occupied territories. American imperialism has begun its new march towards full implementation of the Zionist-American plan which, under the cover of obsolete and false labels such as that of the so-called peaceful settlement in the Middle East, has led to a separate treaty between Egypt and the Zionist aggressors.

60. As a result of the meeting held by the Council of the League of Arab States in Iraq at the level of foreign, economic and finance ministers last March, the Arab countries rejected the Camp David agreement and the so-called peace treaty. At Baghdad, the Arab countries further resolved that the Egyptian Government had entered into complicity with the United States and had acted unilaterally in the Arab-Zionist conflict. By so doing, it had excommunicated itself and abandoned its national role of liberating the occupied Arab land, especially Jerusalem, as well as restoring the full national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to return to their homeland and their right to self-determination and the establishment of the Palestinian State on their land.

61. What did the American administration achieve from all this?

62. First, the parties to the Camp David agreement have decided that the West Bank and the Gaza Strip will remain under Zionist military control for another five years and that later, for the security of Israel, military domination will continue indefinitely. In the meantime, the settlements and military installations in the region under Zionist control will not only remain but will increase.

63. Secondly, according to Begin, Jerusalem will not be divided again.

64. Thirdly, the agreements are in conflict with the agreements of the international community as regards recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people and its representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, including its right to have recourse to any means to achieve its national objectives. Those agreements are, of course, designed to perpetuate the subjugation of the Palestinian people by the Zionist racist invaders and to put an end to its struggle for freedom.

65. The Iraqi delegation strongly urges the Council to take the necessary measures to implement resolution 33/28 and the recommendations of the Committee on the

Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. Any obstruction by Israel should warrant implementation of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

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

67. Mr. BLUM (Israel): Mr. President, permit me at the outset to pay my respects to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of August. You represent one of the most powerful nations on earth. I represent one of the smallest on earth. There is a tremendous discrepancy between our two nations in terms of physical size, military and economic power. However, our two nations share the illustrious spiritual heritage bequeathed to mankind by the prophets of Israel. Together we stand in our struggle for the preservation of the fundamental human freedoms in our world; for the equality and brotherhood of man, for the intrinsic dignity and value of every human being, for social justice, for the equality of all nations, great and small, for the peaceful settlement of international disputes and for peace among nations. It is this shared dedication of our two nations to those values and ideals that ensures that, just as we have stood together in the past, we shall continue to stand together also in the future.

68. Since becoming the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations last year, I have been privileged to develop with you a warm personal friendship which I shall always cherish. In the light of our close relationship, I believe I do not have to tell you here how sorry we are to see you depart from your present mission. Let me therefore only wish you and your family success and fulfilment in everything you may turn to in the future.

69. The naïveté and wishful thinking, the illusions and delusions which have come to surround the debate in recent weeks make it necessary for me to intervene again in the deliberations of the Council.

70. Since the signing of the Israel-Egypt peace treaty at Washington last March, persistent attempts have been made by those who reject peace in the Middle East to manipulate the Security Council in order to subvert the peace process.

71. The first shots in the concerted campaign were fired in the Council by Jordan at the very moment the President of the United States went to the Middle East personally to negotiate the last delicate stages of the peace treaty.

72. The present mischievous debate was consciously begun on the last working day of the Soviet presidency of the Council, in June, and has been deliberately staggered throughout the summer in an attempt to maximize the possible damage to the peace process.

73. The sponsors of the debate are the so-called Palestine Committee—a committee which, perhaps not by coincidence, was established on the very same day as the numerical majority in the General Assembly saw fit to

push through its infamous resolution on Zionism. The Committee has turned out to be nothing but a pliant tool in the hands of the terrorist PLO. Its recommendations, first formulated in 1976, are nothing but a translation of the criminal aims of the PLO into the legalistic jargon of the United Nations. They remain, therefore, a prescription for the destruction of Israel in stages.

74. Those recommendations reflect the true character of the PLO expressed in its so-called Covenant grotesquely proclaiming as a national duty the purging of "the Zionist presence from Palestine". The same so-called Covenant denies the existence of the Jewish people and their unbroken historical ties with the land of Israel. It alleges that the establishment of the State of Israel is null and void and rejects any plans to settle the Middle East conflict by peaceful means. The terrorist PLO reaffirmed that so-called Covenant less than two weeks ago at Damascus.

75. The PLO has not hesitated to translate its vicious doctrine into deeds. It has conducted a relentless campaign of indiscriminate terror aimed at the mass murder of innocent civilians in Israel. Between June 1967 and July 1979, it murdered 640 people in Israel and wounded 3,300 others. It has also terrorized and intimidated any Arab prepared to negotiate peace with Israel, killing more than 350 Arabs and injuring almost 2,000 others in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza. Most recently, it assassinated the Imam of Gaza, a prominent religious leader who was prepared to work for peace within the Camp David framework.

76. This, then, is the true face and the true character of that group of international criminals of the worst kind which masquerades under the banner of a national liberation movement.

77. Given the PLO's true character and aims, it was recognized by all parties at Camp David that it could not be a partner to the peace process. On the other hand, careful provision was made to involve the Palestinian Arab residents of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza district in the ongoing peace process.

78. The Camp David accords are squarely grounded in Security Council resolution 242 (1967). The Palestine Committee, at the instigation of the PLO, has consistently tried to bypass that resolution and to destroy it.

79. Resolution 242 (1967) was and is a carefully balanced whole. It cannot be supplemented without damage to its delicate balance. It remains the only agreed basis for peace negotiations in the Middle East. Any tampering with it can only gravely jeopardize the current peace process, and that is precisely what the initiators of the debate want.

80. The Camp David accords refer positively and constructively to Palestinian Arab aspirations and rights, as well as to the rights and security interests of the other parties. They see the solution of the question of the Palestinian Arabs concerned in terms of granting them full autonomy. For that reason, a proposal is now enshrined in the

second Camp David framework accord of last September regarding a self-governing authority for the Arab inhabitants in the areas in question. The proposal offers those Arab residents of the territories concerned greater opportunities for autonomy than anything they have ever experienced in their entire history. It offers them the prospect of governing themselves, and of enjoying peaceful co-existence and prosperity alongside their neighbours. It offers them a secure future free from terror.

81. The representatives of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza district have been invited to join the current negotiations but so far they have not done so, mainly as a result of the campaign of intimidation and assassination by the terrorist PLO directed against those disposed to participate. However, the negotiations will continue, despite the efforts to disrupt them, and we are confident that they will reach a successful conclusion.

82. The peoples of the Middle East have had enough of war. We have taken a major step forward towards peace and we owe it to our children and our children's children to carry that endeavour through to the end.

83. The Security Council's choice is clear. The Council, whose function is to support the cause of international peace and security, must not submit to the designs of warmongers. Let the Council give peace a chance.

84. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

85. Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, may I first of all congratulate you on assuming the important responsibility of presiding over the Security Council during the month of August.

86. For more than 30 years, the international community has been struggling with the so-called Middle East problem and the question of Palestine. The language of the official documents, dense, pedestrian and sometimes ambiguous cannot conceal, however, the immense tragedy with which both subjects are concerned. At issue is no more nor less than one of the most dangerous hotbeds of world tension, one that has brought mankind to the brink of war and that can still lead to conflicts with unforeseeable consequences.

87. The background of the problem is familiar to all, as are the names of those who are keeping it alive and preventing a solution in accordance with the rules of justice and international law. Today, no more than a handful of people entertain any doubt that the origin of the Middle East problem is the occupation and usurpation of Palestine by the Zionist State of Israel and that the continuation of that policy is the Gordian knot that must be severed if the problem is to have any definitive resolution.

88. The overwhelming majority of Members of the Organization have maintained and maintain that the question of Palestine is the core of the conflict in the Middle

East, and that it is therefore essential to recognize the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence; the right of those who were expelled, *manu militari*, by the Israeli army to return to their homes or to be compensated for the loss of their properties should they choose not to return; in short, the right of that people to live in peace in their own land and to create their own national State. It is likewise essential that the Israeli forces withdraw from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967.

89. Neither the Zionist Government of Israel nor its North American supporters and partners have taken a single step towards finding a genuine solution to the question of Palestine. Far from it, they have attempted to impose a *pax imperialista*, creating division in the Arab world and olympically ignoring those who are the central and key figures in the conflict, the people of Palestine. No partial agreement reached behind the back of the international community and incompatible with United Nations agreements on the subject can be other than an act vitiated by its nullity, one incapable of leading to a just and lasting peace for all the countries of the region, and far less of satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people.

90. The policy of the United States Government has been characterized precisely by its disregard of the rights of the Palestinian people and of that people's only legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization. The agreements it has promoted with its Israeli allies and with Egypt avoid that crucial question the settlement of which is the *sine qua non* for a just and genuine peace. Therefore, it is indisputable that the PLO has the right to reject that arrangement and any other arrangement whose objective is to liquidate the Palestine question and to jeopardize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. General Assembly resolution 33/28A is categorical in that respect. It declares that agreements that claim to solve the question of Palestine will be valid only if arrived at within the framework of the United Nations and that, therefore, those which do not meet those requirements will be null and void. That is also, of course, the position of the Government of the Republic of Cuba.

91. A few weeks ago, the Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo, stated its

“... very serious concern over the fact that significantly since the conclusion of the Israel-Egypt treaty in March 1979, Israel has escalated its continuous criminal attacks on Palestinian refugees in Southern Lebanon with the aim of eliminating them—a virtual genocide of the Palestinian people. These acts of aggression by air, sea and land, utilizing the most sophisticated weaponry supplied by the Government of the United States resulted in the death of hundreds of innocent Palestinian and Lebanese civilians and the dispersion of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children.”²

92. In the opinion of my delegation, and in accordance with the agreements adopted by the ministers of the non-aligned countries at Colombo and at other conferences of

the non-aligned countries, Israel should be condemned for the horrible crimes being committed—some as recently as two days ago—against the innocent Palestinian people and Lebanese citizens. The Security Council should adopt the measures against the State of Israel provided for in the Charter, particularly in its Chapter VII. We can but regret that the Council has been prevented up till now from taking any decision on the General Assembly recommendations concerning the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people contained in paragraphs 8 and 9 of resolution 33/28A.

93. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, of which I have the honour to be Vice-Chairman, and the report of which we fully endorse, has discussed and approved in principle a draft resolution to be presented to the Council. It is a most balanced text, solidly based on unchallengeable principles which, without exception, are all in the Charter and are internationally recognized by all Member States. Although in the opinion of my delegation the draft resolution should be far more energetic in its terms and expressly condemn the Israeli aggressors, although, obviously, the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter should be applied to the Zionist State of Israel, and although we are convinced that the draft should contain specific measures to implement the General Assembly recommendations, we did agree in the Committee that this was a draft that should present no difficulty for any member of the Council because of its principled nature and that it should command a consensus in this forum.

94. I must make it clear that, in the opinion of the delegation of Cuba, the draft resolution contains the minimum of elements essential to state the case of the question of Palestine, and that anything less would be totally unacceptable, in the light of prior Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and of the inalienable, unrenounceable and non-negotiable rights of the Palestinian people.

95. Despite the foregoing, several senior North American officials have publicly stated that the Government of the United States would veto even this minimal draft resolution if it were submitted. This is consistent with its inveterate policy of ignoring the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and of making a clear sweep of anything that does not suit its imperialist interests in that and other regions of the world. Actually, that attitude of the North American Government comes as no surprise to anyone. It is in keeping with its recognized role as the mainstay of the Zionist State of Israel, its supplier of weapons and funds and provider of every kind of support for the misdeeds it has been perpetrating for the past 30 years against the Arab peoples, especially against the heroic Palestinian people.

96. Fortunately, the exercise of the rights of the Palestinian people does not depend on the will of the Zionists or of their imperialist allies. Ultimately, peoples win their rights by the force of arms. The really free people of the world, not those who call themselves free while trampling underfoot the rights of their own people and of many

²See A/34/357, annex I, para. 70.

others—in Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and in the ghettos to which they confine the national minorities in their own countries—but those who in every part of the world struggle heroically for freedom and independence and to bring into being a genuinely just and equitable society unhesitatingly support the struggle of the Palestinian people and their militant front and only legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

97. The Government and people of Cuba, indissolubly in solidarity with the just cause of the Palestinian people, will continue to give them their modest assistance and firmest support, with unshakable faith in victory.

98. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, on whom I call.

99. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): Mr. President, I am sorry if my addressing you causes some embarrassment to your Government. The question of Palestine is no longer taboo. The awakening of conscience, in the United States in particular, is really encouraging and gratifying. We, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the recognized representative of the Palestinian people—recognized by the international community and, above all, by the entire Palestinian people, be they those under racist Zionist military occupation or those forcibly displaced all over the world—consider it an historic moment when a substantial constituency of the people of the United States has put in motion the building of bridges with my people by cementing the pillars of those bridges which are the Palestine Liberation Organization and a number of American organizations.

100. Mr. President, I cannot but read out the comment made by the Palestine Liberation Organization when you were honest enough to say what you did and submitted your resignation:

“The Palestine Liberation Organization appreciates the principled and courageous stand of former United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young, towards the just cause of the Palestinian people and the high price he was forced to pay for his beliefs as a result of the immense pressure and illegitimate methods practised against all those who express their free and objective point of view towards the Palestinian people and their cause.

“The dismissal of Andrew Young from his post represents the ugliest example of intellectual persecution and racist Nazi oppression employed against all those expressing honest principles and positions.

“The Palestine Liberation Organization calls on all free and honest people in the United States and the world community—and primarily the black community in the United States—to observe how democracy is assassinated and how honourable positions are overwhelmed by terrorist pressure and surreptitious methods. The Palestine Liberation Organization sincerely hopes that the citizens of the United States will soon awaken to this bitter reality.”

I may add that that awakening has now occurred.

101. The Palestine Liberation Organization wishes to reiterate its thanks to the Security Council and to reaffirm its confidence in the United Nations. We are in no way discouraged or deterred by statements made by officials of the United States administration. I refer to a statement made by special envoy Strauss, who said that the United States would cast a negative vote on any draft resolution relating to the rights of the Palestinian people. At the very least I might say that he was prejudging an issue, but let us assume that what he said was a slip of the tongue, for otherwise I would see little sense in our holding this meeting and in the United States being represented in it and wasting the time of the other members if they have in fact prejudged the question.

102. But what are the rights of the Palestinian people? The General Assembly has affirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including the right to self-determination without external interference and the right to national independence and sovereignty, and the United Nations has also reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted and it has called for their return.

103. The Committee entrusted with drawing up a programme to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights laboured hard for long hours, for long days and weeks, and presented a programme of implementation in its report to the General Assembly which contained the following considerations:

“The question of Palestine is at the heart of the Middle East problem, and, consequently, the Committee stresses its belief that no solution in the Middle East can be envisaged which does not fully take into account the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people.

“The legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and property and to achieve self-determination, national independence and sovereignty are endorsed by the Committee in the conviction that the full implementation of these rights will contribute decisively to a comprehensive and final settlement of the Middle East crisis.

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

“... ”

“The Committee considers that it is the duty and the responsibility of all concerned to enable the Palestinians to exercise their inalienable rights.”³

104. Several times already, the General Assembly has endorsed those recommendations, and they were presented to the meeting of the Palestine National Council in

³Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 35, paras. 59-63.

March 1977. The Palestine National Council adopted a unanimous decision in which those recommendations were described as a positive and constructive step towards the establishment of peace through the attainment and exercise of our inalienable rights. But all those rights have apparently been forgotten.

105. Let me refer to the Charter of the United Nations. Article I, paragraph 2, clearly states that the purposes of the United Nations are

“To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.”

Now the Palestinian people are a people and what we are seeking from the Council is that it should affirm that that principle of the Charter applies to the Palestinian people. Further, Article 55 states that,

“With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote . . . universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.”

106. In the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the following was declared and should be respected:

“All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status”—not merely their civil rights—“and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.”

107. The Government of the United States has declared before the General Assembly that the question of Palestine is also a political issue: Mr. Ribicoff said in his statement that it has become increasingly clear since June 1967 that the Palestinian issue must be addressed as a political as well as a humanitarian question. No party to the conflict today disputes that the strong sense of Palestinian identity must be taken into account. And the United States Government made its position very clear on resolution 242 (1967). Everybody talks about that resolution, but what does the United States think of it? Mr. Ribicoff told the General Assembly that

“We acknowledge that resolution 242 (1967) does not deal with the political dimension of the Palestinian issue.”⁴

And yet we are told that we can solve the political problem of the Middle East and achieve peace in the Middle East on the basis of resolution 242 (1967) when the United States says that it does not deal with the “political dimension”. Either something is wrong with my intelligence, or somebody is insulting it and that of the world.

108. What do we hear in this chamber? We hear that, on the basis of resolution 242 (1967)—which, since 1967, has

not been recognized or implemented—a new thing has been established: the Camp David accords. I do not see how people can believe that, if resolution 242 (1967) goes unimplemented, the accords based on it will ever be implemented.

109. What do those accords provide for us as Palestinians? What is there in the accords for the Palestinian people? What is there in conformity with the rights we have just read? With the principles of the Charter? First and foremost, the accords deal with the future of the Palestinian people. I wish to state here that no Palestinian or the Palestine Liberation Organization has authorized the parties to the Camp David accords to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people: not President Sadat, nor Begin, nor President Carter had that authority.

110. Yet they claim that they want to solve the question. They usurp that right for themselves and try to impose their will upon us. Now, what is contained in those accords? The Camp David accords envisage a final resolution of the Palestine problem that precludes the exercise of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to statehood in Palestine, the natural human right of dispersed Palestinians to return to their homes and the elementary right of the Palestinian people to choose and to designate their own representatives. What the General Assembly has adopted on this question and adopts anew every single year is a reaffirmation of the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and to live in peace. After all, that is one of the rights guaranteed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

111. The Camp David accords deny that right quite bluntly, and that is why the Palestine Liberation Organization promptly declared that that formula was unacceptable. The leaders of the Palestinian population in the West Bank and in Gaza, the Governments of the Arab States and all the post-Camp David meetings of non-aligned countries, Islamic States and socialist States have declared their non-acceptance and rejection of that formula, because it has transpired—and the world has perceived—that it was a violation of the international consensus on the Palestinian problem that has been repeatedly expressed by the summit conferences of all those groups of States as well as by the United Nations.

112. Yet we are told in this chamber that the Camp David accords enjoy the overwhelming support of the world. It does not enjoy any support by the principal party concerned, much less that of the world.

113. Now, here is something that we have to give serious thought to: the Camp David framework divides the Palestinian people into separate categories—we are some sort of species—and it offers different formulas for dealing with their respective situations. It places in one special class and focuses attention on the so-called inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. We are no longer citizens; we are just “inhabitants”, just numbers in our own country, and that is why the Camp David accords refer to us simply as “inhabitants”. The Camp David accords then take cognizance of a second group of Palestinians—those

⁴*Ibid.*, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings, 65th meeting, para. 88.

who were displaced from the West Bank and from Gaza in 1967. Finally, the accords refer imprecisely to the "refugee problem". I do not know what is meant by the word "refugee" since not all Palestinians are considered refugees simply because they did not register with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. They did not get their relief cards and so are not considered to be refugees.

114. The Camp David conferees assigned to each of the groups a separate and distinct permanent fate—and here let me be personal. After all, I am a Palestinian, I was born in Palestine and raised in Jerusalem and I still have my school books in Jerusalem. I do not know whether I have the right to return, or whether, should I apply to visit Jerusalem—because what is called an "application to enter" is required—in order to check my books, I would be granted permission. But, according to the Camp David accords, who will decide on my application for admittance? It will be a committee composed of an Israeli, an Egyptian and a third person appointed by Israel. So that is what the Camp David accords will do for me as a person, as an individual, and for all Palestinians. I am not talking now about our national rights; I am talking just about our individual rights. Is the Security Council prepared to endorse the Camp David accords and to deny the Palestinians their rights, to negate our existence? Those are some aspects of the Camp David accords.

115. Mr. President—I take it that you still represent the United States here; at least the United Nations has not been formally informed that the United States Government has accepted your resignation—the President of the United States, referring to the Camp David accords, said in September 1978 that "this framework concerns the principles and some specifics in the most substantive way that will govern a comprehensive peace settlement". I wonder whether the President still believes that, because he has apparently not taken full cognizance of the fate of 4 million Palestinians. Maybe he did not really see that there was a planned holocaust to eliminate 4 million Palestinians.

116. Then we were told that the Camp David accords afford us something called "autonomy". That is a beautiful word, but I wish somebody would tell me what it means. I know that when Jim Leonard, who used to sit here, gave an interpretation of "autonomy" and expressed the belief that it implied the establishment of a legislative body, a judicial body and an executive body, and that all Palestinians, including even those who lived in East Jerusalem, should go to the election polls, there was a cry of outrage. I must give him all credit for still maintaining his mission there. But what sort of autonomy was foreseen for us in the Camp David accords?

117. Since the accords were signed, we have noticed an escalation and intensification of Israeli occupation of Palestinian territory and the establishment of more and more illegal settlements. We have seen the Israelis drive our people from their homes by force, imposing curfews even in refugee camps and preventing those camps from getting water. In that respect, I should just like to refer to the report submitted by the Commission established by

the Council to investigate the fate of the people in the occupied territories, a report whose recommendations were accepted by the Council in its resolution 452 (1979).

118. What is really happening is that the Palestinian people are being given some sort of mirage called "Palestinian legitimacy". But in fact there is no such thing according to the Camp David accords as Palestinian legitimacy and, thanks to the Camp David framework for peace, an Israeli occupation which the entire international community—in particular, the Security Council—has for 11 or 12 years declared to be illegal will now all of a sudden be able to be maintained in the Palestinian territories concerned as a legitimate occupation for several more years, if not permanently.

119. As I read their intentions, the Zionists mean to stay there permanently. Only the other day, Mr. Yadin appeared on television and he said it was their right to establish those military installations for the security of Israel. Security is a very broad concept, and I really do not know what its limits are.

120. But let me read to the Council from an article by Meir Merhav that appeared in the 8-14 July issue of *The Jerusalem Post*, which is published at Jerusalem. He writes about the Zionists and says:

"Because we saw the occupation as temporary and conditional, we were justified in seeing no lasting contradiction between what we were doing and the norms and values that had been the essence of our Zionist State. That redeemed us from colonialism.

"Then came Premier Begin, bringing peace with Egypt. But the peace he pursues reveals itself as a ruse to perpetuate our rule over the Palestinians. The land on which they live is to be carved up by a grid of roads, settlements and strongholds into a score of little bantustans so that they shall never coalesce again into a contiguous area that can support autonomous, let alone independent, existence.

"Thus colonialism is to be formalized and made permanent in the guise of autonomy. Resistance is to be crushed by force. The Abraham who divided the land with Lot for peace, who at Beersheba paid Abimelech to establish his right to a well he had dug and who at Hebron paid Ephron for the cave of the Machpela, is to become an Ahab who forcibly takes Naboth's vineyard."

—and, I would add, "Naboth's life". Meir Merhav continues:

"That, say settlement czar Ariel Sharon and Menachem Begin, is the true zionism. All who oppose it aid and abet the enemy. All that went before, for a hundred years, is zionism only inasmuch as it prepared the ground for the new and true zionism."

Here is a Jew who is an Israeli citizen, who lives in Jerusalem and this is his concept and perception of zionism.

121. The Committee on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has overlooked a basic right of the Palestinians. I should have thought that the Committee

would have considered the rights of the Palestinians who remained in their homes in 1948. Well, for very obvious reasons, it could not get the information because it was boycotted and attacked. But let me cite a couple of instances of how the Palestinian Arabs who are known as Israeli Arabs are now faring under Israeli law.

122. Only the other day a bill passed the first reading in the Knesset, "one of the most democratic institutions in the Middle East", a bill that says that bedouins—and they are Semite Arabs—have lost their right to appeal in the courts when their lands are confiscated. Now, just name one other country where legally and constitutionally a citizen is denied the right to resort to court.

123. Sometimes, you people tell us this is the only democracy. I am glad that today we have not heard a lot of bragging about defending the Christians. Nevertheless, I should like to read out what Archbishop Rayah published in the *Post*. Archbishop Rayah is now touring in the United States. He went back to his diocese to see how his congregation was faring. This is what he says:

"My heart bleeds at the blind policy of the Government, which is driving the Arabs of Israel to hatred and extremism instead of creating love in their hearts."

That is an archbishop; that is not a "revolutionary Palestinian terrorist"; he is just an archbishop. He continues:

"Extremist Arab nationalism in Israel is a natural reaction to extremism by the Jews."

I shall not read out everything he says.

124. In the meantime, while there is this process for so-called peace and Camp David, you, Mr. President, and the Security Council have received from us several letters about the atrocities committed by Israel—the air raids, the shelling, the bombing, the navy.

125. Just yesterday I informed the Secretary-General about a heavy artillery and rocket attack on peaceful villages and on Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. Today, at 11 o'clock this morning, I had a telephone call from Chairman Arafat. He informed me that 637 shells had fallen on the villages around Tyre and Nabatiye. Even phosphorous bombs have been dropped on the port of Tyre, burning the fishing boats of the poor people of Tyre. The Prime Minister of Lebanon was obliged to go on the air and say that that was a very horrible escalation in

the south that would definitely lead to a new collective exodus of Lebanese from Southern Lebanon.

126. Mr. Reston, the United States spokesman, has expressed his surprise that this may be the beginning of a new round of aggression in the area. He is not sure that the United States knows the origin of the arms and aircraft used. How much more could we be insulted? Those are American aircraft; those are American bombs. And probably most of the pilots are trained in the United States. In any case, the United States is giving them \$2 billion a year to maintain their aggressive policy.

127. Something just came to my mind. If they took issue with you, Sir, because in the line of your duty you spoke to me, I really do not know why they take no measures against the people in the Pentagon and the State Department who, according to an agreement of 1952, were to supply Israel with arms, provided those arms were not used against neighbours but in defence of Israel. Those arms are now being used every day against Lebanon. They have been used against others and they may possibly be used against even others. What action did the administration take against those who kept sending arms and armaments, lethal weapons to kill our people? None. On the contrary, they increased the allocation.

128. The Council is meeting not only at the request of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People; it is meeting also because, in its resolution 33/28A, the General Assembly urges the Security Council to consider and take as soon as possible a decision on the recommendations endorsed. The question now is will the Council be enabled to carry out its duties in the interests of international peace and security or will its work be undermined, thus exacerbating the already explosive situation in the Middle East?

129. The Palestine Liberation Organization again and again appeals to the Council and to the entire world to help us to achieve peace and bring to an end the situation in the Middle East. The General Assembly has already said that we can only achieve peace by solving the question of Palestine, by redressing the injustice, by enabling the Palestinian people to exercise their rights. So let the Council join with the rest of the world so that we can have peace in the world and peace in the land of peace, where the Prince of Peace was sacrificed to redeem humanity.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

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