

THE PALESTINE QUESTION

**Documents adopted
by the United Nations
and
other international
organisations
and
conferences**

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ПАЛЕСТИНСКАЯ ПРОБЛЕМА

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FOREWORD

Support for the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine to exercise their inalienable national rights, primarily the right to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent state, is growing from day to day throughout the world. It is becoming increasingly evident that a just and lasting peace cannot be attained in the Middle East unless the Palestine question is resolved and this perilous hotbed of international tension, harbouring a serious threat to world peace and security, is removed.

The question of Palestine determined the key trends in the imperialist powers' policy regarding the East even at the beginning of the 20th century when the colonial metropolies, which were going through the first stage in their imperialist development, waged an acute and uncompromising struggle to repartition the world. At that time, Palestine formed part of the Ottoman Empire, its very heart as it were, and therefore not only could the possessions of Porte be divided up by establishing dominion over Palestine, but the basis of its very existence could be undermined. The imperialist states were, however, mainly interested in Palestine because they could use its territory as an advantageous strategic bridgehead for perpetuating their dominion over the Middle East, effecting political and economic expansion there and also exercising military and strategic control over the waterways at the crossroads of communications between Asia, Europe and Africa. Consequently, during the First World War when the opponents of the Triple Entente began to bargain over the dividing up of the territories of the Ottoman Empire, the question of Palestine sparked off especially heated and intense disputes in their camp. Each of the Entente powers—Britain, France, Ita-

ly, and tsarist Russia—wished to forge special ties with the “Holy Land”, to become the custodians of the Holy Places and gain an outpost from which to expand their influence in the Middle East. Considering how weak the positions of Russia and Italy were in the Entente, the main claimants to the right to control Palestine were, of course, Britain and France. The lengthy negotiations between them culminated in the signing on 16 May 1916, of the secret Sykes-Picot agreement on the partitioning of Asian Turkey into spheres of influence. According to this agreement, a compromise was reached on the question of Palestine: Britain gave up its claims to Palestine for which a special international regime was envisaged. This regime was to be determined later and concerted with Russia and the other allied states.

Palestine was occupied by British troops at the close of 1917, at the time when the government of Great Britain assumed the obligation of helping to set up in Palestine a national homeland for the Jewish people. This obligation was recorded in a letter from the British Foreign Secretary Lord Balfour to one of the eminent members of the Jewish community, Baron Edmond de Rothschild. This document was subsequently referred to as the Balfour Declaration.

The Balfour Declaration, which did, in fact, mark the union of British imperialism and international Zionism, served to boost the colonial occupation of Palestine, where the British authorities found support among the Jewish settlers. As Britain was supported by the Zionists, it was, moreover, easier for it to overcome the resistance of France, which insisted that Palestine should be placed under international control if it were not to be in the French sphere of influence. By 1919 the French government (earlier, in February 1918, it had approved the Balfour Declaration) agreed to Palestine being completely administered by the British.

At the San Remo conference on 25 April 1920, a Mandate of Class A, which applied to territories whose independence was conditionally recognised in the Covenant of the League of Nations, was extended to Palestine, as well as to a number of Arab countries, which had formerly been part of the Ottoman Empire. But the regime of mandated territory, which was to have been a transitional phase before the proclamation of Pal-

estine's independence, lasted for more than a quarter of a century.

On the one hand, this can be explained by Britain's striving with all the means at its disposal to prolong its occupation of Palestine which allowed it to pursue its colonial policy with regard to the so-called overseas territories, in particular India. On the other hand, the upsurge of the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples made it expedient for Britain to find "a suitable replacement" for its administration in Palestine which would dutifully carry out the tasks determined by the interest of British imperialism in the Middle East. To the forgers of British policy in Downing Street the Jewish Agency appeared to fit the part; this Agency was acting as the representative of the World Zionist Organisation in Palestine, mainly looking in those years to Britain, and not without good reason.

As the occupying power in Palestine, Britain had at its disposal every possibility for helping to further the aims of the World Zionist Organisation there, especially with regard to the major Zionist project, that of creating a "Jewish national homeland". Intensive Zionist infiltration into the territory of Palestine began with the assistance and consent of British civil and military authorities. From the moment that the Balfour Declaration appeared to that when the United Nations adopted a resolution on the partitioning of the mandated territory of Palestine, the number of Jewish settlers in Palestine grew more than tenfold from 57 thousand to 608 thousand.

In 1968, the eminent English researcher on the history of Palestine, Arnold Toynbee, wrote: "For thirty years, Jewish immigration was imposed on the Palestinian Arabs by British military power until the immigrants were sufficiently numerous and sufficiently well-armed to be able to fend for themselves with tanks and planes of their own.

"The tragedy in Palestine is not just a local one; it is a tragedy for the World, because it is an injustice that is a menace to the World's peace."¹

The Balfour Declaration evoked a wave of protests among the Arab residents of Palestine. "The land without a people"

¹ *The Question of Palestine*, United Nations, New York, 1979, p. 31.

promised by the Zionists "to a people without a land", was populated by real live people, the Palestinian Arabs, who were adamantly opposed to the Zionist plans to colonise Palestine. The ousting of the Arabs from their age-old lands in Palestine was achieved by devious methods for the time being: the Zionists extensively used the financial means offered to them by big Jewish capital to realise such chauvinistic slogans as "the Jewish land" and "Jewish labour", the outcome being that the Arab fellahs were gradually expelled from their lands, and Arab workers could not get a job at the enterprises belonging to Jews. Priorities in the Palestinian Arabs' campaign against British colonialism were that the British mandate should be revoked and a stop should be put to Jewish immigration and Zionist infiltration into Palestine. Of course, particular discontent was caused among the local Arab population by the Zionists' efforts to subjugate all the Jewish settlers to their political line based on the myth that the Jews are exceptional, "God's chosen race" and about their historical right to "the Promised Land", i.e. Palestine.

The heads of the Palestinian Arabs' political organisations repeatedly appealed to the League of Nations and to Britain as the mandatory state, demanding that the operations of the Zionist organisations should be restricted, but these lines of action had no effect. Owing to the inaction of the colonial authorities, the Arabs began to openly display their anti-Zionist feeling, sparking off Arab-Jewish hostilities, very often escalating into armed conflicts. It is sufficient to recall the campaigns waged by the Palestinian Arabs in August and September 1929 and in the autumn of 1933 under the slogan that Jewish immigration should be stopped. All in all, from 1920 to 1939 there were five nation-wide uprisings in Palestine in the course of which the Palestinian Arabs manifested their decisiveness to fight for the mandate to be rescinded, for the granting of independence to Palestine and for Jewish immigration to be ceased. All these acts were cruelly put down by the British occupation authorities, who fell back on the Jewish militarised organisations and groupings of extremist and chauvinist persuasions like Haganah, Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern gang; through their lawless acts they fostered terror and panic among the indigenous population of Palestine, among Arabs and Jews alike.

On the other hand, the British administration tried to create the impression that Britain was opposing the growing demands of the Zionists. Pursuing a dual policy with regard to Palestine, Britain tried to maintain its control there by political means, by offering the mandated territory formal independence. The British Royal commissions worked out various plans to achieve this goal: the partitioning of Palestine into two states, provincial autonomy for the Jewish community, the founding of a single "independent" Palestine, and so forth. But neither the Jews nor the Arabs supported these plans.

The struggle of the Arab people of Palestine to get the British mandate revoked, just like the anti-colonial struggle of the Arab peoples as a whole, received support from the young Soviet state. At the Lausanne Conference in 1922, the delegation from Soviet Russia subjected to principled criticism the Treaty of Sèvres on the partitioning of the Arab provinces of the former Ottoman Empire into spheres of influence by the imperialist powers and completely supported the demands put forward at the Conference by the Arab delegations. In 1923, the Soviet government sent notes to the governments of Britain and France condemning the imperialist system of mandates worked out within the framework of the League of Nations and demanding its immediate revocation. Later on, in 1927, at the International Economic Conference in Geneva, the Soviet delegation put forward a specific programme concerning the so-called colonial question, the main points of which were the abolition of the system of protectorates and mandates, the withdrawal of foreign troops from the colonially dependent territories and the granting of its population the right to political and economic self-determination.

As the USA gradually assumed the role of the leading capitalist power on the eve of and during the Second World War, international Zionism began to orient itself on Washington. Zionists had always regarded the search for a strong ally as a top priority in carrying out their plans to seize Palestine. In his time, one of the founders of Zionism, Theodor Herzl, sought to gain the support of Turkey, Russia, and even the Kaiser's Germany to ensure the success of the "Zionist project". In the first third of the twentieth century the Zionists' activity moved from the continent to the British Isles where a group of Zionists

headed by the future first president of Israel, Chaim Weizmann, was promoting an intensive campaign to gain (and it actually gained) the favour of the British authorities for the purposes of Zionism. As Britain gradually faded into the background in the capitalist world, the political and organisational centre of international Zionism moved across the Atlantic where the Zionists' plans for Palestine found complete understanding and support.

The ruling circles in the USA immediately seized upon the opportunity to use Zionism as a tool for implementing the plans of American imperialism in West and South-West Asia, perceiving in it an ally in the struggle among the imperialist powers for control of the Middle East with its wealth of natural resources, especially oil. The United States attempted to set up a military and political bridgehead in this region or, as one often hears said of Israel nowadays, "an unsinkable aircraft carrier" with which to hamper and suppress the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples.

After the Second World War the international Zionist organisations greatly stepped up their efforts to create a "Jewish national homeland" (by that time this term was already synonymous with "Jewish state") in Palestine. To achieve their aim as quickly as possible, the Zionists expanded the scale of their acts of terrorism, attempting, on the one hand, to urge the British colonial administration to take a decision on revoking the mandate and removing the restrictions on Jewish immigration it had introduced to pacify the Arabs, and, on the other hand, to create a situation that was intolerable for the Palestinian Arabs and would force them to abandon their motherland. When describing the situation in Palestine in that period the UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People stated in one of its publications: "Palestine was a land of violent strife ... in 1947."¹

The situation in Palestine became strained to the utmost. The British government, not being in a position to find a solution acceptable to both the hostile communities, and wishing simultaneously to maintain control over Palestine in the future too, in April 1947 transmitted the Palestine question to the United

¹ *The Question of Palestine*, p. 17.

Nations. The 1st Special Session of the UN General Assembly was convoked to consider the question of Palestine. On 15 May 1947, the Session adopted a decision establishing a Special Committee to study the situation on the spot and work out recommendations for stabilising the situation in Palestine. The Soviet Union abstained from the voting on the draft of this resolution since it passed over the question of Palestine's national independence and sovereignty.

The UN Special Committee proposed the following alternatives for solving the Palestine question: the partitioning of Palestine into two independent national states (a Jewish and an Arab one) and the founding of a unified federative state. On 29 November 1947, the UN General Assembly adopted resolution 181 (II), which provided for the rescinding of the British mandate over Palestine and the partitioning of Palestine into two states with the economic union between them being preserved; the city of Jerusalem and its environs were to be singled out as an independent territorial unit (*corpus separatum*) under a special international regime. The Jewish state was to have a territory of 14,100 sq. km. (56 per cent of the territory of Palestine) with a population of 498,000 Jews and 497,000 Arabs; the Arab state was allotted 11,100 sq. km. (43 per cent of the territory of Palestine) with a population of 725,000 Arabs and 10,000 Jews. The Jerusalem province was to cover an area of 117 sq. km. with a population of 205,000 people of whom 100,000 were Jews.

During the discussion of the Palestine question at the UN, the Soviet delegation demanded that the British mandate should be revoked, that the British occupation forces should be withdrawn from the mandated territory and that interference in the Palestinians' internal affairs should cease. The Soviet delegation spoke in favour of setting up a single democratic Arab-Jewish state in Palestine. However, considering the actual situation obtaining in Palestine, which, by the time resolution 181 (II) of the UN General Assembly was adopted, had become an arena of bitter armed clashes between the Jewish and Arab communities owing to Zionist actions, the Soviet Union voted for the formation of two separate states. The Soviet stand was based on recognition of the right of peoples to national self-determination. When describing the attitude of the USSR to the resolu-

tion on the partitioning of Palestine, the speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, A. A. Gromyko, at a regular session of the UN General Assembly in October 1982 should be recalled. In this speech A. A. Gromyko said, in particular: "Has any one rescinded the resolution adopted by the UN in 1947 which envisages the foundation of two sovereign states—an Arab one and a Jewish one—on the formerly mandated territory of Palestine? No one has rescinded it. So, what are the grounds for talking about the lawful existence of a Jewish state alone, and why the creation of the other state—the Arab one—has been hampered in every possible way for 35 years now? There were and are still no grounds for it."¹

The adoption by the UN General Assembly of a resolution on the partitioning of Palestine established a real basis for solving the Palestine question. But the Zionist leaders had not bargained for this. They were pursuing a policy to prevent the establishment of an Arab Palestinian state by every possible means and to enlarge the territories of the Jewish state as far as possible at the expense of the lands, which were, according to the UN resolution, allotted to the future Arab state. The Zionists unleashed an undeclared war to drive the Palestinian Arabs from their native land. Zionist militarised formations set about enforcing the Dalat Plan, which envisaged the gradual seizure of the entire territory of Palestine and the ousting of its Arab inhabitants. The cruel punitive raids carried out by the Zionist ruffians of the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern gang against Arab villages and populated points were intended to promote these ends. In this connection, one cannot fail to recall the bloody massacre perpetrated by the Zionists in April 1947 in the village of Deir-Yasin near Jerusalem. Two hundred and fifty four inhabitants of the village, including children and old people, were mercilessly slaughtered. The head of the Irgun Zvai Leumi at that time, Menachem Begin, until recently the prime minister of Israel, announced with blatant cynicism that the state of Israel would not exist had it not been for the "victory" in Deir-Yasin. In actual fact, this is not the case.

The state of Israel was proclaimed on the night of the 14th to 15th of May, 1948. A number of Arab states, which did not

¹ *Pravda*, October 2, 1982.

recognise the resolution regarding the partitioning of Palestine, declared war on Israel. As a result of the Palestinian war of 1948-1949 Israel annexed 6,600 sq. km. of the territory intended for the Arab state as well as the western part of Jerusalem. The West Bank of the river Jordan and the eastern part of Jerusalem came under Jordanian control. The southern part of Palestine's Mediterranean seaboard, the Gaza Strip, came under the administrative control of Egypt. As a result of the Zionists' acts of terror and the military operations between Israel and the Arab states almost 900,000 Palestinian Arabs found themselves refugees scattered about mainly in the neighbouring Arab countries - Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. The establishment of an Arab state as envisaged by the UN resolution, which had not been implemented owing to the manoeuvres of the imperialist states and the position of the ruling circles in Israel, was made more complicated by the emergence of a new problem, namely that of refugees. The UN General Assembly was forced to give special consideration to this aspect of the Palestine question and resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1949, was adopted which provided for the right of the Palestinian refugees to return "to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours" or to receive the respective compensation for property lost by them. As this resolution included a number of artificially created problems, in particular, the institution of a Conciliation Commission on Palestine and the demilitarisation of Jerusalem (this was nothing more than an attempt to revise the UN resolution on the establishment of two independent states in Palestine), the Soviet Union, like the Arab states, voted against it, demanding that all the provisions of the resolution on the partitioning of Palestine should be implemented without fail. The Soviet representative stated that a radical solution of the Palestine problem could only be achieved on the basis of the UN General Assembly resolution of 29 November 1947, which afforded both the peoples of Palestine the right to an independent existence with equal rights.

But Israel hampered the implementation of this and all other UN resolutions of the question of Palestine in every possible way. From the very instant the state of Israel was established its ruling circles consciously pursued a policy of ignoring and frustrating the UN resolution on the setting up of two independent

states on the territory of Palestine, of violating the prescribed norms of this organisation which require recognition of the rights of every people to self-determination, national sovereignty, and independence. Acts of provocation and aggression with regard to its Arab neighbours and the extending of its frontiers at their expense, formed the basis of the policy of Israel's Zionist leaders. The main trend in Tel Aviv's policy was the "fait accompli" expansionist conception, for the seizure of more and more Arab lands allowed Israel to consolidate its positions in those territories that had formerly been occupied by Israel.

In 1949, on the island of Rhodes, the General Armistice Agreements were concluded between Israel and the neighbouring Arab countries with the mediation of the United Nations. These Agreements determined the demarcation lines of the Armistice, which, as noted in them, were under no circumstances whatsoever to be regarded as political or territorial frontiers. In other words, the Agreements fixed temporary cease-fire and armistice lines, but by no means state frontiers. Several demilitarised zones were also set up, for example, in Oujda which were later (in the period prior to June 1967) unlawfully occupied by Israel.

Israel's aggression against Egypt, Syria and Jordan in June 1967 further aggravated the tragedy of the Palestinian people, forcing some 410,000 Palestinian Arabs to join the refugees. Among the Arab territories, the Sinai peninsula and the Golan Heights, Israel occupied part of the land intended for the Arab Palestinian state which was temporarily administered by Egypt and Jordan, namely the West Bank of the river Jordan and the Gaza Strip, and also the eastern part of Jerusalem.

Israel's acts of aggression against the Arab countries roused indignation among the world public. On 22 November 1967, the UN Security Council adopted resolution 242, which was to form the basis for regulating the Middle East conflict. It should be pointed out that the Palestine problem was examined in this resolution as something more than just a humanitarian question, as Israel, and the USA supporting it, had tried to present it. The main demand in the resolution was the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the territories occupied during the June conflict of 1967 and the need to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. As soon as the Palestinian territories of the

West Bank of the river Jordan, the Gaza Strip and the eastern part of Jerusalem also numbered among the territories occupied by Israel, the decision about their future after the withdrawal of Israeli forces was far from being a humanitarian task, but a purely political problem directly and immediately connected with the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

However, another, distorted interpretation of the spirit and letter of the Security Council's resolution 242 on the part of one of the sides in the conflict, Israel, has deprived it of its "universality". It was evident that only the precisely and clearly formulated thesis on the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine in the respective UN resolutions would help in working out an international legal basis for the comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. Proceeding from the fact the UN General Assembly already recognised the political aspects of the Palestine problem in resolution 2535 B back in 1969, having noted that the problem of "refugees has arisen from the denial of their inalienable rights under the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights". Later on, in 1971 and 1972, the General Assembly decreed that "complete respect for the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine is a necessary element in establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East".

In this connection, it should be pointed out that in Article 55 of the UN Charter the self-determination of peoples is defined as one of the principles of peaceful and friendly relations among nations. Moreover, the Charter indicates the legal grounds for the dependent peoples to employ every means, including armed force, to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination. The universally recognised norms of present-day international relations are based on the conception of the people's right to self-determination as their right primarily to exist as independent states, their right to national sovereignty and independence.

As mentioned above, the Palestinian Arabs offered decisive resistance to the Zionists' plans even before the state of Israel was founded, plans aimed at depriving the Arabs of Palestine of their right to self-determination. The end of the fifties and especially the period following June 1967 is marked by a transition of the Palestine Resistance Movement to a phase of active

and organised struggle to assert the national rights of the Arab Palestinian people. In 1964, at the 1st Session of the Palestine National Council (PNC), a type of parliament of the Arab people of Palestine, the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) was set up; the PLO is the political vanguard of the Palestinian people's struggle for their national rights and is one of the advanced detachments of the Arab peoples' national liberation movement. The political course pursued by the PLO and its leading body, the PLO Executive, finds extensive support in the international arena and is increasingly marked by maturity and realism, especially in the approach of the Palestinians to a Middle East settlement.

The lack of a settlement regarding the fundamental aspects of the Middle East conflict, including the Palestine problem, the continuing Israeli occupation of Arab lands, seized during the 1967 aggression, and also the obstructionist policy pursued by Israel's ruling circles, that have rejected any possibility of a just and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East on the basis of the respective UN resolutions, all led to the recommencement of military operations in this region in October 1973.

On 22 October 1973, the Security Council unanimously adopted a joint Soviet-American draft resolution, which, besides the clause on a cease-fire, contained an appeal to the sides involved in the conflict to start negotiations immediately "under the appropriate auspices" so as to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. On the basis of this resolution a peace conference under the co-chairmanship of the USSR and the USA started its work in Geneva on 22 December 1973, with the participation of Israel, Egypt and Jordan. The impression was created that the Middle East settlement had at last got on the right footing when this international mechanism was set in motion. However, owing to the separate actions of the USA and Israel, supported by the then president of Egypt Anwar Sadat, the conference's efforts were practically blocked at the initial stage already. Having set themselves the task of securing the most advantageous conditions for Israel in its agreements with the Arabs, of perpetuating its occupation of Arab lands and of not allowing the Palestinians to exercise their national rights, above all their right to self-determination and the establishing

of their own independent state, the USA and Israel, began to impose upon the Arab side partial or intermediate solutions, which not only lacked link with subsequent steps towards a comprehensive Middle East settlement, but were in direct contradiction to it. The implementation of Kissinger's "step by step" policy was facilitated by President Sadat's policy of concluding a separate peace settlement with Israel, circumventing the interests and rights of the other Arab participants in the Middle East conflict, first and foremost the Palestinians. Sadat's policy of treachery manifested itself most vividly in the concluding, with the active participation of the USA, of the Camp David agreements, which formed the basis of the Egypt-Israeli separate peace treaty, signed on 26 March 1979.

Before analysing the impact of this treaty on the prospects for solving the question of Palestine, it should be noted that by the time of the Camp David deal considerable changes had occurred in the attitude of the international community towards the essence and ways of achieving a settlement of the Palestine aspect of the Middle East conflict. The growing support for the just demands of the Palestinians in the world arena was largely connected with the assertion in the PLO of realistic tendencies, which were reflected in the Political Programme adopted by the XII Session of the PNC. The programme set the task of creating Palestinian national power, i.e. a state on "any part of the Palestinian territory, that will be liberated". It was a question of the readiness of the Palestinians to set up their own independent state on the West Bank of the river Jordan and in the Gaza Strip, which signified indirect recognition of the right of the state of Israel to existence. The adoption of this programme undermined the assertions of the Israeli leaders that the PLO set itself the task of destroying the state of Israel, and deprived them of their main argument for justifying their aggressive annexationist policy.

At the end of 1974, at the Rabat conference of the heads of Arab states and governments, a resolution was adopted on recognising the PLO as the sole lawful representative of the Arab people of Palestine. The PLO was granted the status of a full and equal member of the League of Arab States; and subsequently of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference as well. Both these international organisations fully uphold the just strug-

gle of the Arab people of Palestine, primarily to establish their own independent state, and render the PLO all-round assistance and support as the sole lawful representative of this people.

In the course of the XXIX Session of the UN General Assembly (1974) according to the draft of 72 of the non-aligned and socialist countries, a resolution was adopted, in agreement with which the General Assembly, considering the Palestinian people to be the *principal* party to the question of Palestine (my italics—R.D.) invited the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the representative of the Palestinian people to participate in discussing the question of Palestine at the plenary meetings of the General Assembly. At this session too the PLO was invited to take part as observer in the sessions and work of the General Assembly and all the international conferences convoked under the auspices of the General Assembly and other UN organs, and at the regular XXX session (1975) the General Assembly decided that the PLO should be invited to attend such conferences on an equal footing with other participants. Thus, the international community in the shape of the UN quite unambiguously pronounced itself in favour of the need for the participation of the PLO, as full and equal member, in all the efforts aimed at achieving a comprehensive Middle East settlement.

It is quite understandable as well that in the circumstances when the United States and Israel were imposing upon the Arabs partial and separate solutions, the UN General Assembly was clearly and definitely for combined efforts on the part of the interested sides, especially within the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East.

The UN General Assembly resolution 3236 was and still is of principled importance in working out the international legal basis of a solution to the Palestine problem. This resolution reaffirms the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination without external interference, to national independence and sovereignty, the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property. In 1975, by UN General Assembly decision, a Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People was set up (the so-called Committee of 23), which worked out a detailed programme for the

exercising of the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination.

The Committee recommended that the liberated territories should be handed over to the UN which in co-operation with the League of Arab States would subsequently hand over these regions to the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the representative of the Palestinian people.

The UN resolutions adopted in 1974-1976 form a sound international legal basis for finding a just solution to the question of Palestine. Without encroaching upon the rights of the state of Israel to independent existence and free development, they confirm the underlying principles contained in resolution 181 (II) of the UN General Assembly, namely, the need to set up an independent Arab Palestinian state in Palestine as well.

In this respect, it is quite clear that the agreements reached at Camp David, especially with regard to the Palestine problem, are a blatant violation of the relevant UN resolutions. As is known, the Camp David deal between Egypt and Israel, with the mediation of the USA, envisaged the granting of "complete autonomy" to the inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip on the expiry of a five-year transition period. It is quite obvious that the scheme for "autonomy" worked out at Camp David, the basis of which was formed by the plan for "administrative autonomy" proposed earlier by Menachem Begin, had nothing in common with the exercising of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and was aimed at consolidating and perpetuating Israel's occupation of Palestinian territories.

Israel's leaders did not and do not conceal the fact that as they see it the Camp David agreements do not in any way oblige Tel Aviv to reject Israel's sovereignty over the West Bank of the river Jordan on the expiry of the five-year transition period. The main aim of the participants in the Camp David deal was to smother any possibility of establishing an independent Palestinian state, and to keep the Arab people of Palestine in the shape of its lawful representative, the PLO, from having a say in deciding its own fate.

A few days before the Egypt-Israeli agreement was signed, the then prime minister of Israel, Menachem Begin, announced to the members of Israel's Knesset that Israel would never withdraw to the frontiers that existed prior to 5 June 1967, that the

"one and indivisible" Jerusalem would forever remain the capital of Israel, and that Israel would never permit a Palestinian state to be established. It follows from this statement that the Camp David "peace process" only caused the annexationist appetites of Israeli's ruling circles to be further whetted.

After concluding the agreement, Tel Aviv's rulers stepped up the building of Israeli settlements on the occupied Arab, primarily Palestinian, lands on an ever growing scale. These settlements were to be strong points in perpetuating Israel's occupation. The policy of colonisation of the occupied territories, which was aptly referred to as "creeping annexation", is equally characteristic of the line taken by the various political groupings in Israel's establishment with regard to the Palestinian lands, although they differ on certain points regarding the rate at which this policy is to be implemented. As far as the coalition of "hawks" headed by the Likud bloc at present in power in Israel is concerned, one cannot help but verify their energetic policy of "appropriating" Palestinian lands. Thus, the Israeli leaders deliberately refer in particular to the West Bank of the river Jordan by its biblical names of Judaea and Samaria, in order to create the impression that Israel has certain "historical rights" to this territory. At the present time, there are already 135 Israeli settlements on the West Bank where 24 thousand Israelis live, and 15 settlements in the Gaza Strip with four thousand Israeli inhabitants.

In accordance with the "Drobless plan" (named after the head of the Settlement Department of the WZO, Matitiahu Drobless) adopted by Begin's government in January 1981, by the end of the eighties the number of Israeli settlers on the West Bank is to reach 120-150 thousand, and by the year 2010, 1.4 million people.¹

The Israeli ruling circles have displayed particular concern about Jerusalem, the western part of which was illegally proclaimed the capital of Israel back in 1950. This unlawful step on the part of the Israeli authorities was resolutely opposed by the international community. The eastern part of the city as well was annexed after the June 1967 aggression. Later on, after the separate agreement had been concluded with Egypt, the Israeli Knesset with the full support of the USA, passed a law declaring

¹ *Time*, January 17, 1983, p. 6.

the city of Jerusalem, in which there are Holy Places of the three religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, the "eternal and indivisible" capital of Israel. This law was just another flagrant violation by Israel of the UN decisions.

Israel's annexationist actions regarding the Palestinian territories are being reinforced by acts of aggression against the Arab people of Palestine, the majority of whom (of 4.5 million Palestinian Arabs only some two million live on the territory of what is historically Palestine) have been forced to wander about in foreign lands. The Zionists' punitive operations against the Palestinians culminated in the aggression perpetrated in Lebanon in the summer of 1982 with Washington's blessing. In spite of the attempt to disguise this aggression by giving it the code name "Peace for Galilee", it was aimed at the physical annihilation of the Palestine Resistance Movement, the destroying of the PLO's military and political structure, and the inspiring of fear in the Palestinian people. Mankind will long recall the monstrous slaughter in the Sabra and Shatila camps of Palestinian refugees near Beirut. This was terrorism raised to the level of state policy, flagrant genocide causing anger and indignation throughout the civilised world.

However, history shows that no deprivations, persecution or violence can put an end to the struggle of a people fighting for a just cause. The Palestinian people is waging a struggle for the right to exist, for the right to life.

The Camp David deal and the ensuing Israeli aggression in Lebanon met with decisive opposition on the part of the world public. American imperialism, the main accomplice in Tel Aviv's expansionist and annexationist acts, is forced to manoeuvre, to disguise itself as a "peace-maker" so as to conceal the anti-Arab, anti-Palestinian nature of the USA's Middle East policy. But no amount of manoeuvring can cover up the obvious fact that the process of a comprehensive, just Middle East settlement is being deliberately slowed down by the USA, that promoting the tension and conflict situation in the Middle East is regarded by Washington's politicians as a decisive factor in attaining the hegemonistic aims of American imperialism in that region. The refusal to recognise the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to establish their own independent state, the refusal to recognise the PLO as the representative of this people form the cornerstone of the

American stand on the Palestine problem. It is precisely this approach that lies at the basis of the "Reagan plan" for a Middle East settlement. The core of this plan is the ensuring of Israel's "security" and the introduction of "autonomy" for the inhabitants of the West Bank of the river Jordan and the Gaza Strip with the subsequent establishment (upon the expiry of the five-year transition period) of Palestinian "self-administration" in these territories within the framework of the "association" with Jordan. According to the "Reagan plan", the ultimate agreements should be worked out in the course of negotiations between Israel, Jordan and some Palestinians, but not the PLO. When expounding his "peace" proposals, the American president pointed out directly that the United States would not give its support to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. The true goal of the "Reagan plan" is to cause a split in the Arab front of struggle against American-Israeli hegemonistic designs and undermine the positions of the PLO as the sole representative of the Arab people of Palestine. It is not surprising that the Palestine National Council and the PLO resolutely oppose this plan, evaluating it as an attempt to take the Palestine question off the agenda and make its solution just a matter of capitulation of the Palestinian Arabs in the face of Israel's military diktat. "His (i.e. Reagan's—R.D.) plan for the Middle East is nothing but a political form of the war which, with his blessings, was conducted by the aggressive Israeli army, equipped with the most sophisticated US weapons of destruction. The 'shuttle diplomacy' of Reagan's emissaries—Habib, Draper and their like—has only one purpose: to aggravate the crisis and create conditions for breaking the will of the Palestinian people and their revolution, and to place the whole region under the influence of US imperialism." This is how Yasser Abd Rabbo, member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and head of the PLO Information Department, evaluated the actions of the US administration in the Middle East in his speech at one of the meetings in Moscow on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the USSR.¹

Offering his plan, Reagan and his administration hoped to exert pressure on the participants in the Arab Summit Conference,

¹ *60th Anniversary of the USSR. Greetings from Abroad*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1983, p. 403.

held in the Moroccan town of Fez in mid-September 1982. But, in spite of the pressure exerted by the USA, the Arab countries not only refused to accept the "Reagan plan", but also put forward their own programme for solving the Palestine problem and for a Middle East settlement as a whole. The Fez programme subsequently gained the support of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference and the United Nations as a realistic basis for achieving an Arab-Israeli settlement. In putting its signature to the Fez resolutions, the PLO quite definitely displayed its readiness to join in the quest for a political solution to the conflict in the Middle East. The PLO's stand was also reflected in the resolutions of the Sixteenth Session of the Palestine National Council which was held in Algeria at the beginning of 1983.

The Fez programme for peace in the Middle East essentially coincides with the principled line adhered to by the Soviet Union with regard to questions of a Middle East settlement, including the Palestine problem; the USSR firmly and consistently upholds the just struggle of the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable national rights, to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly advanced constructive proposals for eliminating the dangerous hotbed of tension in that region and achieving a comprehensive Middle East settlement. Thus, at the 26th Congress of the CPSU the proposal was put forth that a special international conference of the Middle East should be convened in order to put an end to the standstill in the Middle East settlement ensuing from the American policy of making separate deals, and to take up the joint search for a settlement based on just and realistic principles once again. This proposal still holds good today too.

On 15 September 1982, the Soviet Union put forward proposals on the principal aspects of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict.

It is the profound conviction of the Soviet Union that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East can only be founded on the following principles corresponding to both the general norms of international law as well as to the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the UN General Assembly with regard to the given problem.

Firstly, the principle of the inadmissibility of seizing foreign

lands by aggression should be strictly observed. This means that all the territories occupied by Israel since 1967—the Golan Heights, the West Bank of the river Jordan and the Gaza Strip, and the lands in Lebanon—should be returned to the Arabs. The frontiers between Israel and its Arab neighbours should be proclaimed inviolable.

Secondly, the inalienable right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination should be ensured in practice, as well as their right to establish their own independent state on the Palestinian lands liberated from Israeli occupation—on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip. The Palestinian refugees should be granted the opportunity envisaged in the UN resolutions to return to their homes or receive the relevant compensation for the property they had left.

Thirdly, the eastern part of Jerusalem, occupied by Israel since 1967 and containing one of the major Moslem shrines, should be returned to the Arabs and become an inalienable part of the Palestinian state. Throughout the whole of Jerusalem believers of the three religions should have free access to Holy Places.

Fourthly, the right of all the states in the region to security and an independent existence and development should be ensured on a completely reciprocal basis, for it is impossible to ensure the security of some countries, while defying the security of others.

Fifthly, the state of war should cease, and peace be established between the Arab states and Israel. This means that all the sides involved in the conflict, including Israel and the state of Palestine, should honour the obligations to respect each other's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, and resolve the disputes arising between them by peaceful means, by negotiation.

Sixthly, international guarantees of the settlement should be worked out and accepted; the permanent members of the UN Security Council, or the Security Council as a whole could take upon themselves the role of guarantor.

The Soviet programme for a Middle East settlement evoked a wide response throughout the world. The Arab countries, first and foremost those directly involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the PLO, highly appraised it.

The Palestinian Arabs are a people whose fate others have always tried to decide after their own fashion and to gratify themselves. The time for giving the Palestinian Arabs the opportunity to decide for themselves how they want to live is long overdue. It is precisely for this opportunity, for this natural right of each and every nation that the Palestinians have been waging a courageous and selfless struggle for more than 35 years now. The extensive international support for the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine, for their inalienable national rights, primarily the right to establish their own independent state—and it is just this that the data cited in the given collection of documents from the United Nations and other international organisations testify to—serves as a true pledge that the struggle of this long-suffering people, some of whom have been forced to live under the oppression of Israeli occupation, and others in exile, will most certainly culminate in victory.

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**RESOLUTIONS
OF THE UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
(1947-1982)**

**RESOLUTION 181 (II)
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 29 NOVEMBER 1947**

FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE

A

The General Assembly,

Having met in special session at the request of the mandatory Power to constitute and instruct a special committee to prepare for the consideration of the question of the future government of Palestine at the second regular session;

Having constituted a Special Committee¹ and instructed it to investigate all questions and issues relevant to the problem of Palestine, and to prepare proposals for the solution of the problem, and

Having received and examined the report of the Special Committee (document A/364) including a number of unanimous recommendations and a plan of partition with economic union approved by the majority of the Special Committee,

Considers that the present situation in Palestine is one which is likely to impair the general welfare and friendly relations among nations;

Takes note of the declaration by the mandatory Power that it plans to complete its evacuation of Palestine by 1 August 1948;

¹ The UN General Assembly, in its resolution 106 (S-1) of 15 May 1947, constituted a Special Committee consisting of Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, India, Iran, the Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay and Yugoslavia. The Committee ceased to exist with the adoption of UN General Assembly resolution 191(II).—*Ed.*

Recommends to the United Kingdom, as the mandatory Power for Palestine, and to all other Members of the United Nations the adoption and implementation, with regard to the future government of Palestine, of the Plan of Partition with Economic Union set out below;

Requests that

(a) The Security Council take the necessary measures as provided for in the plan for its implementation;

(b) The Security Council consider, if circumstances during the transitional period require such consideration, whether the situation in Palestine constitutes a threat to the peace. If it decides that such a threat exists, and in order to maintain international peace and security, the Security Council should supplement the authorization of the General Assembly by taking measures, under Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter, to empower the United Nations Commission,¹ as provided in this resolution, to exercise in Palestine the functions which are assigned to it by this resolution;

(c) The Security Council determine as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, in accordance with Article 39 of the Charter, any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by this resolution;

(d) The Trusteeship Council be informed of the responsibilities envisaged for it in this plan;

Calls upon the inhabitants of Palestine to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put this plan into effect;

Appeals to all Governments and all peoples to refrain from taking any action which might hamper or delay the carrying out of these recommendations, and

¹ The following countries were elected to the United Nations Commission on Palestine: Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Panama and the Philippines. The Commission was dissolved with the establishment of the mission of the UN Mediator in Palestine.—Ed.

Authorizes the Secretary-General to reimburse travel and subsistence expenses of the members of the Commission referred to in Part I, Section B, paragraph 1 below, on such basis and in such form as he may determine most appropriate in the circumstances, and to provide the Commission with the necessary staff to assist in carrying out the functions assigned to the Commission by the General Assembly.

B

The General Assembly,

Authorizes the Secretary-General to draw from the Working Capital Fund a sum not to exceed \$2,000,000 for the purposes set forth in the last paragraph of the resolution on the future government of Palestine.

PLAN OF PARTITION WITH ECONOMIC UNION

Part I

Future constitution and government of Palestine

A. TERMINATION OF MANDATE, PARTITION AND INDEPENDENCE

1. The Mandate for Palestine shall terminate as soon as possible but in any case not later than 1 August 1948.

2. The armed forces of the mandatory Power shall be progressively withdrawn from Palestine, the withdrawal to be completed as soon as possible but in any case not later than 1 August 1948.

The mandatory Power shall advise the Commission, as far in advance as possible, of its intention to terminate the Mandate and to evacuate each area.

The mandatory Power shall use its best endeavours to ensure that an area situated in the territory of the Jewish State,

including a seaport and hinterland adequate to provide facilities for a substantial immigration, shall be evacuated at the earliest possible date and in any event not later than 1 February 1948.

3. Independent Arab and Jewish States and the Special International Regime for the City of Jerusalem, set forth in part III of this plan, shall come into existence in Palestine two months after the evacuation of the armed forces of the mandatory Power has been completed but in any case not later than 1 October 1948. The boundaries of the Arab States, the Jewish State, and the City of Jerusalem shall be as described in parts II and III below.

4. The period between the adoption by the General Assembly of its recommendation on the question of Palestine and the establishment of the independence of the Arab and Jewish States shall be a transitional period.

B. STEPS PREPARATORY TO INDEPENDENCE

1. A Commission shall be set up consisting of one representative of each of five Member States. The Members represented on the Commission shall be elected by the General Assembly on as broad a basis, geographically and otherwise, as possible.

2. The administration of Palestine shall, as the mandatory Power withdraws its armed forces, be progressively turned over to the Commission; which shall act in conformity with the recommendations of the General Assembly, under the guidance of the Security Council. The mandatory Power shall to the fullest possible extent co-ordinate its plans for withdrawal with the plans of the Commission to take over and administer areas which have been evacuated.

In the discharge of this administrative responsibility the Commission shall have authority to issue necessary regulations and take other measures as required.

The mandatory Power shall not take any action to prevent, obstruct or delay the implementation by the Commission of the measures recommended by the General Assembly.

3. On its arrival in Palestine the Commission shall proceed

to carry out measures for the establishment of the frontiers of the Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem in accordance with the general lines of the recommendations of the General Assembly on the partition of Palestine. Nevertheless, the boundaries as described in part II of this plan are to be modified in such a way that village areas as a rule will not be divided by state boundaries unless pressing reasons make that necessary.

4. The Commission, after consultation with the democratic parties and other public organizations of the Arab and Jewish States, shall select and establish in each State as rapidly as possible a Provisional Council of Government. The activities of both the Arab and Jewish Provisional Councils of Government shall be carried out under the general direction of the Commission.

If by 1 April 1948 a Provisional Council of Government cannot be selected for either of the States, or, if selected, cannot carry out its functions, the Commission shall communicate that fact to the Security Council for such action with respect to that State as the Security Council may deem proper, and to the Secretary-General for communication to the Members of the United Nations.

5. Subject to the provisions of these recommendations, during the transitional period the Provisional Councils of Government, acting under the Commission, shall have full authority in the areas under their control, including authority over matters of immigration and land regulation.

6. The Provisional Council of Government of each State, acting under the Commission, shall progressively receive from the Commission full responsibility for the administration of that State in the period between the termination of the Mandate and the establishment of the State's independence.

7. The Commission shall instruct the Provisional Councils of Government of both the Arab and Jewish States, after their formation, to proceed to the establishment of administrative organs of government, central and local.

8. The Provisional Council of Government of each State shall,

within the shortest time possible, recruit an armed militia from the residents of that State, sufficient in number to maintain internal order and to prevent frontier clashes.

This armed militia in each State shall, for operational purposes, be under the command of Jewish or Arab officers resident in that State, but general political and military control, including the choice of the militia's High Command, shall be exercised by the Commission.

9. The Provisional Council of Government of each State shall, not later than two months after the withdrawal of the armed forces of the mandatory Power, hold elections to the Constituent Assembly which shall be conducted on democratic lines.

The election regulations in each State shall be drawn up by the Provisional Council of Government and approved by the Commission. Qualified voters for each State for this election shall be persons over eighteen years of age who are: (a) Palestinian citizens residing in that State and (b) Arabs and Jews residing in the State, although not Palestinian citizens, who, before voting, have signed a notice of intention to become citizens of such State.

Arabs and Jews residing in the City of Jerusalem who have signed a notice of intention to become citizens, the Arabs of the Arab State and the Jews of the Jewish State, shall be entitled to vote in the Arab and Jewish States respectively.

Women may vote and be elected to the Constituent Assemblies.

During the transitional period no Jew shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the proposed Arab State, and no Arab shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the proposed Jewish State, except by special leave of the Commission.

10. The Constituent Assembly of each State shall draft a democratic constitution for its State and choose a provisional government to succeed the Provisional Council of Government appointed by the Commission. The constitutions of the States shall embody chapters 1 and 2 of the Declaration provided for in section C below and include *inter alia* provisions for:

(a) Establishing in each State a legislative body elected by universal suffrage and by secret ballot on the basis of proportional representation, and an executive body responsible to the legislature;

(b) Settling all international disputes in which the State may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered;

(c) Accepting the obligation of the State to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations;

(d) Guaranteeing to all persons equal and non-discriminatory rights in civil, political, economic and religious matters and the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of religion, language, speech and publication, education, assembly and association;

(e) Preserving freedom of transit and visit for all residents and citizens of the other State in Palestine and the City of Jerusalem, subject to considerations of national security, provided that each State shall control residence within its borders.

11. The Commission shall appoint a preparatory economic commission of three members to make whatever arrangements are possible for economic co-operation, with a view to establishing, as soon as practicable, the Economic Union and the Joint Economic Board, as provided in section D below.

12. During the period between the adoption of the recommendations on the question of Palestine by the General Assembly and the termination of the Mandate, the mandatory Power in Palestine shall maintain full responsibility for administration in areas from which it has not withdrawn its armed forces. The Commission shall assist the mandatory Power in the carrying out of these functions. Similarly the mandatory Power shall co-operate with the Commission in the execution of its functions.

13. With a view to ensuring that there shall be continuity in the functioning of administrative services and that, on the withdrawal of the armed forces of the mandatory Power, the whole administration shall be in the charge of the Provisional Councils and the Joint Economic Board, respectively, acting under the Commission, there shall be a progressive transfer, from the mandatory Power to the Commission, of responsibility for all the functions of government, including that of maintaining law and order in the areas from which the forces of the mandatory Power have been withdrawn.

14. The Commission shall be guided in its activities by the recommendations of the General Assembly and by such instructions as the Security Council may consider necessary to issue.

The measures taken by the Commission, within the recommendations of the General Assembly, shall become immediately effective unless the Commission has previously received contrary instructions from the Security Council.

The Commission shall render periodic monthly progress reports, or more frequently if desirable, to the Security Council.

15. The Commission shall make its final report to the next regular session of the General Assembly and to the Security Council simultaneously.

C. DECLARATION

A declaration shall be made to the United Nations by the provisional government of each proposed State before independence. It shall contain *inter alia* the following clauses:

General provision

The stipulations contained in the declaration are recognized as fundamental laws of the State and no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

Chapter I

Holy Places, religious buildings and sites

1. Existing rights in respect of Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall not be denied or impaired.

2. In so far as Holy Places are concerned, the liberty of access, visit and transit shall be guaranteed, in conformity with existing rights, to all residents and citizens of the other State and of the City of Jerusalem, as well as to aliens, without distinction as to nationality, subject to requirements of national security, public order and decorum.

Similarly, freedom of worship shall be guaranteed in conformity with existing rights, subject to the maintenance of public order and decorum.

3. Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall be preserved. No act shall be permitted which may in any way impair their sacred character. If at any time it appears to the Government that any particular Holy Place, religious building or site is in need of urgent repair, the Government may call upon the community or communities concerned to carry out such repair. The Government may carry it out itself at the expense of the community or communities concerned if no action is taken within a reasonable time.

4. No taxation shall be levied in respect of any Holy Place, religious building or site which was exempt from taxation on the date of the creation of the State.

No change in the incidence of such taxation shall be made which would either discriminate between the owners or occupiers of Holy Places, religious buildings or sites, or would place such owners or occupiers in a position less favourable in relation to the general incidence of taxation than existed at the time of the adoption of the Assembly's recommendations.

5. The Governor of the City of Jerusalem shall have the right to determine whether the provisions of the Constitution of the State in relation to Holy Places, religious buildings and

sites within the borders of the State and the religious rights appertaining thereto, are being properly applied and respected, and to make decisions on the basis of existing rights in cases of disputes which may arise between the different religious communities or the rites of a religious community with respect to such places, buildings and sites. He shall receive full co-operation and such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the exercise of his functions in the State.

Chapter 2

Religious and minority rights

1. Freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, shall be ensured to all.

2. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants on the ground of race, religion, language or sex.

3. All persons within the jurisdiction of the State shall be entitled to equal protection of the laws.

4. The family law and personal status of the various minorities and their religious interests, including endowments, shall be respected.

5. Except as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government, no measure shall be taken to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of religious or charitable bodies of all faiths or to discriminate against any representative or member of these bodies on the ground of his religion or nationality.

6. The State shall ensure adequate primary and secondary education for the Arab and Jewish minority, respectively, in its own language and its cultural traditions.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general na-

ture as the State may impose, shall not be denied or impaired. Foreign educational establishments shall continue their activity on the basis of their existing rights.

7. No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any citizen of the State of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the Press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.¹

8. No expropriation of land owned by an Arab in the Jewish State (by a Jew in the Arab State)² shall be allowed except for public purposes. In all cases of expropriation full compensation as fixed by the Supreme Court shall be paid previous to dispossession.

Chapter 3

Citizenship, international conventions and financial obligations

1. *Citizenship.* Palestinian citizens residing in Palestine outside the City of Jerusalem, as well as Arabs and Jews who, not holding Palestinian citizenship, reside in Palestine outside the City of Jerusalem shall, upon the recognition of independence, become citizens of the State in which they are resident and enjoy full civil and political rights. Persons over the age of eighteen years may opt, within one year from the date of recognition of independence of the State in which they reside, for citizenship of the other State, providing that no Arab residing in the area of the proposed Arab State shall have the right to opt for citizenship in the proposed Jewish State and no Jew residing in the proposed Jewish State shall have the right to opt for citizenship in the proposed Arab State. The exercise of this right of option will be taken to include the wives and children under eighteen years of age of persons so opting.

¹ The following stipulation shall be added to the declaration concerning the Jewish State: "In the Jewish State adequate facilities shall be given to Arabic-speaking citizens for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, in the legislature, before the Courts and in the administration."

² In the declaration concerning the Arab State, the words "by an Arab in the Jewish State" should be replaced by the words "by a Jew in the Arab State".

Arabs residing in the area of the proposed Jewish State and Jews residing in the area of the proposed Arab State who have signed a notice of intention to opt for citizenship of the other State shall be eligible to vote in the elections to the Constituent Assembly of that State, but not in the elections to the Constituent Assembly of the State in which they reside.

2. *International conventions.* (a) The State shall be bound by all the international agreements and conventions, both general and special, to which Palestine has become a party. Subject to any right of denunciation provided for therein, such agreements and conventions shall be respected by the State throughout the period for which they were concluded.

(b) Any dispute about the applicability and continued validity of international conventions or treaties signed or adhered to by the mandatory Power on behalf of Palestine shall be referred to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

3. *Financial obligations.* (a) The State shall respect and fulfil all financial obligations of whatever nature assumed on behalf of Palestine by the mandatory Power during the exercise of the Mandate and recognized by the State. This provision includes the right of public servants to pensions, compensation or gratuities.

(b) These obligations shall be fulfilled through participation in the Joint Economic Board in respect of those obligations applicable to Palestine as a whole, and individually in respect of those applicable to, and fairly apportionable between, the States.

(c) A Court of Claims, affiliated with the Joint Economic Board, and composed of one member appointed by the United Nations, one representative of the United Kingdom and one representative of the State concerned, should be established. Any dispute between the United Kingdom and the State respecting claims not recognized by the latter should be referred to that Court.

(d) Commercial concessions granted in respect of any part of Palestine prior to the adoption of the resolution by the Gen-

eral Assembly shall continue to be valid according to their terms, unless modified by agreement between the concession-holder and the State.

Chapter 4

Miscellaneous provisions

1. The provisions of chapters 1 and 2 of the declaration shall be under the guarantee of the United Nations, and no modifications shall be made in them without the assent of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Any Member of the United Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the General Assembly any infraction or danger of infraction of any of these stipulations, and the General Assembly may thereupon make such recommendations as it may deem proper in the circumstances.

2. Any dispute relating to the application or the interpretation of this declaration shall be referred, at the request of either party, to the International Court of Justice, unless the parties agree to another mode of settlement.

D. ECONOMIC UNION AND TRANSIT

1. The Provisional Council of Government of each State shall enter into an undertaking with respect to Economic Union and Transit. This undertaking shall be drafted by the Commission provided for in section B, paragraph 1, utilizing to the greatest possible extent the advice and co-operation of representative organizations and bodies from each of the proposed States. It shall contain provisions to establish the Economic Union of Palestine and provide for other matters of common interest. If by 1 April 1948 the Provisional Councils of Government have not entered into the undertaking, the undertaking shall be put into force by the Commission.

The Economic Union of Palestine

2. The objectives of the Economic Union of Palestine shall be:

- (a) A customs union;
- (b) A joint currency system providing for a single foreign exchange rate;
- (c) Operation in the common interest on a non-discriminatory basis of railways; inter-State highways; postal, telephone and telegraphic services, and ports and airports involved in international trade and commerce;
- (d) Joint economic development, especially in respect of irrigation, land reclamation and soil conservation;
- (e) Access for both States and for the City of Jerusalem on a non-discriminatory basis to water and power facilities.

3. There shall be established a Joint Economic Board, which shall consist of three representatives of each of the two States and three foreign members appointed by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The foreign members shall be appointed in the first instance for a term of three years; they shall serve as individuals and not as representatives of States.

4. The functions of the Joint Economic Board shall be to implement either directly or by delegation the measures necessary to realize the objectives of the Economic Union. It shall have all powers of organization and administration necessary to fulfil its functions.

5. The States shall bind themselves to put into effect the decisions of the Joint Economic Board. The Board's decisions shall be taken by a majority vote.

6. In the event of failure of a State to take the necessary action the Board may, by a vote of six members, decide to withhold an appropriate portion of that part of the customs revenue to which the State in question is entitled under the Economic Union. Should the State persist in its failure to co-operate, the Board may decide by a simple majority vote upon such further

sanctions, including disposition of funds which it has withheld, as it may deem appropriate.

7. In relation to economic development, the functions of the Board shall be the planning, investigation and encouragement of joint development projects, but it shall not undertake such projects except with the assent of both States and the City of Jerusalem, in the event that Jerusalem is directly involved in the development project.

8. In regard to the joint currency system the currencies circulating in the two States and the City of Jerusalem shall be issued under the authority of the Joint Economic Board, which shall be the sole issuing authority and which shall determine the reserves to be held against such currencies.

9. So far as is consistent with paragraph 2 (b) above, each State may operate its own central bank, control its own fiscal and credit policy, its foreign exchange receipts and expenditures, the grant of import licenses, and may conduct international financial operations on its own faith and credit. During the first two years after the termination of the Mandate, the Joint Economic Board shall have the authority to take such measures as may be necessary to ensure that—to the extent that the total foreign exchange revenues of the two States from the export of goods and services permit, and provided that each State takes appropriate measures to conserve its own foreign exchange resources—each State shall have available, in any twelve months' period, foreign exchange sufficient to assure the supply of quantities of imported goods and services for consumption in its territory equivalent to the quantities of such goods and services consumed in that territory in the twelve months' period ending 31 December 1947.

10. All economic authority not specifically vested in the Joint Economic Board is reserved to each State.

11. There shall be a common customs tariff with complete freedom of trade between the States, and between the States and the City of Jerusalem.

12. The tariff schedules shall be drawn up by a Tariff Commission, consisting of representatives of each of the States in equal numbers, and shall be submitted to the Joint Economic Board for approval by a majority vote. In case of disagreement in the Tariff Commission, the Joint Economic Board shall arbitrate the points of difference. In the event that the Tariff Commission fails to draw up any schedule by a date to be fixed, the Joint Economic Board shall determine the tariff schedule.

13. The following items shall be a first charge on the customs and other common revenue of the Joint Economic Board:

(a) The expenses of the customs service and of the operation of the joint services;

(b) The administrative expenses of the Joint Economic Board;

(c) The financial obligations of the Administration of Palestine consisting of:

(i) The service of the outstanding public debt;

(ii) The cost of superannuation benefits, now being paid or falling due in the future, in accordance with the rules and to the extent established by paragraph 3 of chapter 3 above.

14. After these obligations have been met in full, the surplus revenue from the customs and other common services shall be divided in the following manner: not less than 5 per cent and not more than 10 per cent to the City of Jerusalem; the residue shall be allocated to each State by the Joint Economic Board equitably, with the objective of maintaining a sufficient and suitable level of government and social services in each State, except that the share of either State shall not exceed the amount of that State's contribution to the revenues of the Economic Union by more than approximately four million pounds in any year. The amount granted may be adjusted by the Board according to the price level in relation to the prices prevailing at the time of the establishment of the Union. After five years, the principles of the distribution of the joint revenues may be revised by the Joint Economic Board on a basis of equity.

15. All international conventions and treaties affecting customs tariff rates, and those communications services under the jurisdiction of the Joint Economic Board, shall be entered into by both States. In these matters, the two States shall be bound to act in accordance with the majority vote of the Joint Economic Board.

16. The Joint Economic Board shall endeavour to secure for Palestine's exports fair and equal access to world markets.

17. All enterprises operated by the Joint Economic Board shall pay fair wages on a uniform basis.

Freedom of transit and visit

18. The undertaking shall contain provisions preserving freedom of transit and visit for all residents or citizens of both States and of the City of Jerusalem, subject to security considerations; provided that each State and the City shall control residence within its borders.

Termination, modification and interpretation of the undertaking

19. The undertaking and any treaty issuing therefrom shall remain in force for a period of ten years. It shall continue in force until notice of termination, to take effect two years thereafter, is given by either of the parties.

20. During the initial ten-year period, the undertaking and any treaty issuing therefrom may not be modified except by consent of both parties and with the approval of the General Assembly.

21. Any dispute relating to the application or the interpretation of the undertaking and any treaty issuing therefrom shall be referred, at the request of either party, to the International Court of Justice, unless the parties agree to another mode of settlement.

E. ASSETS

1. The movable assets of the Administration of Palestine shall be allocated to the Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem on an equitable basis. Allocations should be made by the United Nations Commission referred to in section B, paragraph 1, above. Immovable assets shall become the property of the government of the territory in which they are situated.

2. During the period between the appointment of the United Nations Commission and the termination of the Mandate, the mandatory Power shall, except in respect of ordinary operations, consult with the Commission on any measure which it may contemplate involving the liquidation, disposal or encumbering of the assets of the Palestine Government, such as the accumulated treasury surplus, the proceeds of Government bond issues, State lands or any other asset.

F. ADMISSION TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS

When the independence of either the Arab or the Jewish State as envisaged in this plan has become effective and the declaration and undertaking, as envisaged in this plan, have been signed by either of them, sympathetic consideration should be given to its application for admission to membership in the United Nations in accordance with Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations...

C. THE CITY OF JERUSALEM

The boundaries of the City of Jerusalem are as defined in the recommendations on the City of Jerusalem. (See Part III, Section B, below).

Part III

City of Jerusalem

A. SPECIAL REGIME

The City of Jerusalem shall be established as a *corpus separatum* under a special international regime and shall be administered by the United Nations. The Trusteeship Council shall be designated to discharge the responsibilities of the Administering Authority on behalf of the United Nations.

B. BOUNDARIES OF THE CITY

The City of Jerusalem shall include the present municipality of Jerusalem plus the surrounding villages and towns, the most eastern of which shall be Abu Dis; the most southern, Bethlehem; the most western, Ein Karim (including also the built-up area of Motsa); and the most northern Shu'fat, as indicated on the attached sketch-map (annex B).

C. STATUTE OF THE CITY

The Trusteeship Council shall, within five months of the approval of the present plan, elaborate and approve a detailed Statute of the City which shall contain *inter alia* the substance of the following provisions:

1. *Government machinery; special objectives.* The Administering Authority in discharging its administrative obligations shall pursue the following special objectives:

(a) To protect and to preserve the unique spiritual and religious interests located in the city of the three great monotheistic faiths throughout the world, Christian, Jewish and Moslem; to this end to ensure that order and peace, and especially religious peace, reign in Jerusalem;

(b) To foster co-operation among all the inhabitants of the city in their own interests as well as in order to encourage and support the peaceful development of the mutual relations be-

tween the two Palestinian peoples throughout the Holy Land; to promote the security, well-being and any constructive measures of development of the residents, having regard to the special circumstances and customs of the various peoples and communities.

2. *Governor and administrative staff.* A Governor of the City of Jerusalem shall be appointed by the Trusteeship Council and shall be responsible to it. He shall be selected on the basis of special qualifications and without regard to nationality. He shall not, however, be a citizen of either State in Palestine.

The Governor shall represent the United Nations in the City and shall exercise on their behalf all powers of administration, including the conduct of external affairs. He shall be assisted by an administrative staff classed as international officers in the meaning of Article 100 of the Charter and chosen whenever practicable from the residents of the city and of the rest of Palestine on a non-discriminatory basis. A detailed plan for the organization of the administration of the city shall be submitted by the Governor to the Trusteeship Council and duly approved by it.

3. *Local autonomy.* (a) The existing local autonomous units in the territory of the city (villages, townships and municipalities) shall enjoy wide powers of local government and administration.

(b) The Governor shall study and submit for the consideration and decision of the Trusteeship Council a plan for the establishment of special town units consisting, respectively, of the Jewish and Arab sections of new Jerusalem. The new town units shall continue to form part of the present municipality of Jerusalem.

4. *Security measures.* (a) The City of Jerusalem shall be demilitarized; its neutrality shall be declared and preserved, and no para-military formations, exercises or activities shall be permitted within its borders.

(b) Should the administration of the City of Jerusalem be seriously obstructed or prevented by the non-co-operation or interference of one or more sections of the population, the Governor shall have authority to take such measures as may be necessary to restore the effective functioning of the administration.

(c) To assist in the maintenance of internal law and order and especially for the protection of the Holy Places and religious buildings and sites in the city, the Governor shall organize a special police force of adequate strength, the members of which shall be recruited outside of Palestine. The Governor shall be empowered to direct such budgetary provision as may be necessary for the maintenance of this force.

5. *Legislative organization.* A Legislative Council, elected by adult residents of the city irrespective of nationality on the basis of universal and secret suffrage and proportional representation, shall have powers of legislation and taxation. No legislative measures shall, however, conflict or interfere with the provisions which will be set forth in the Statute of the City, nor shall any law, regulation, or official action prevail over them. The Statute shall grant to the Governor a right of vetoing bills inconsistent with the provisions referred to in the preceding sentence. It shall also empower him to promulgate temporary ordinances in case the Council fails to adopt in time a bill deemed essential to the normal functioning of the administration.

6. *Administration of justice.* The Statute shall provide for the establishment of an independent judiciary system, including a court of appeal. All the inhabitants of the City shall be subject to it.

7. *Economic union and economic regime.* The City of Jerusalem shall be included in the Economic Union of Palestine and be bound by all stipulations of the undertaking and of any treaties issued therefrom, as well as by the decisions of the Joint Economic Board. The headquarters of the Economic Board shall be established in the territory of the City.

The Statute shall provide for the regulation of economic matters not falling within the regime of the Economic Union, on

the basis of equal treatment and non-discrimination for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals.

8. *Freedom of transit and visit; control of residents.* Subject to considerations of security, and of economic welfare as determined by the Governor under the directions of the Trusteeship Council, freedom of entry into, and residence within, the borders of the City shall be guaranteed for the residents or citizens of the Arab and Jewish States. Immigration into, and residence within, the borders of the city for nationals of other States shall be controlled by the Governor under the directions of the Trusteeship Council.

9. *Relations with the Arab and Jewish States.* Representatives of the Arab and Jewish States shall be accredited to the Governor of the City and charged with the protection of the interests of their States and nationals in connexion with the international administration of the City.

10. *Official languages.* Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of the city. This will not preclude the adoption of one or more additional working languages, as may be required.

11. *Citizenship.* All the residents shall become *ipso facto* citizens of the City of Jerusalem unless they opt for citizenship of the State of which they have been citizens or, if Arabs or Jews, have filed notice of intention to become citizens of the Arab or Jewish State respectively, according to part I, section B, paragraph 9, of this plan.

The Trusteeship Council shall make arrangements for consular protection of the citizens of the City outside its territory.

12. *Freedoms of citizens.* (a) Subject only to the requirements of public order and morals, the inhabitants of the City shall be ensured the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of conscience, religion and worship, language, education, speech and Press, assembly and association, and petition.

(b) No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants on the grounds of race, religion, language or sex.

(c) All persons within the City shall be entitled to equal protection of the laws.

(d) The family law and personal status of the various persons and communities and their religious interests, including endowments, shall be respected.

(e) Except as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government, no measure shall be taken to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of religious or charitable bodies of all faiths or to discriminate against any representative or member of these bodies on the ground of his religion or nationality.

(f) The City shall ensure adequate primary and secondary education for the Arab and Jewish communities respectively, in their own languages and in accordance with their cultural traditions.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the City may impose, shall not be denied or impaired. Foreign educational establishments shall continue their activity on the basis of their existing rights.

(g) No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any inhabitant of the City of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the Press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

13. *Holy Places.* (a) Existing rights in respect of Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall not be denied or impaired.

(b) Free access to the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites and the free exercise of worship shall be secured in conformity with existing rights and subject to the requirements of public order and decorum.

(c) Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall be preserved. No act shall be permitted which may in any way impair their sacred character. If at any time it appears to the Governor that any particular Holy Place, religious building or site is in need of urgent repair, the Governor may call upon the community or communities concerned to carry out such repair. The Governor may carry it out himself at the expense of the community or communities concerned if no action is taken within a reasonable time.

(d) No taxation shall be levied in respect of any Holy Place, religious building or site which was exempt from taxation on the date of the creation of the City. No change in the incidence of such taxation shall be made which would either discriminate between the owners or occupiers of Holy Places, religious buildings or sites, or would place such owners or occupiers in a position less favourable in relation to the general incidence of taxation than existed at the time of the adoption of the Assembly's recommendations.

14. *Special powers of the Governor in respect of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in the City and in any part of Palestine.* (a) The protection of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites located in the City of Jerusalem shall be a special concern of the Governor.

(b) With relation to such places, buildings and sites in Palestine outside the city, the Governor shall determine, on the ground of powers granted to him by the Constitutions of both States, whether the provisions of the Constitutions of the Arab and Jewish States in Palestine dealing therewith and the religious rights appertaining thereto are being properly applied and respected.

(c) The Governor shall also be empowered to make decisions on the basis of existing rights in cases of disputes which may arise between the different religious communities or the rites of a religious community in respect of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in any part of Palestine.

In this task he may be assisted by a consultative council of

representatives of different denominations acting in an advisory capacity.

D. DURATION OF THE SPECIAL REGIME

The Statute elaborated by the Trusteeship Council on the aforementioned principles shall come into force not later than 1 October 1948. It shall remain in force in the first instance for a period of ten years, unless the Trusteeship Council finds it necessary to undertake a re-examination of these provisions at an earlier date. After the expiration of this period the whole scheme shall be subject to re-examination by the Trusteeship Council in the light of the experience acquired with its functioning. The residents of the City shall be then free to express by means of a referendum their wishes as to possible modifications of the regime of the City.

Part IV

Capitulations

States whose nationals have in the past enjoyed in Palestine the privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection, as formerly enjoyed by capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, are invited to renounce any right pertaining to them to the re-establishment of such privileges and immunities in the proposed Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem.

**RESOLUTION 194 (III)
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 11 DECEMBER 1948**

**PALESTINE—PROGRESS REPORT
OF THE UNITED NATIONS MEDIATOR**

*The General Assembly,
Having considered further the situation in Palestine,*

1. *Expresses* its deep appreciation of the progress achieved through the good offices of the late United Nations Mediator¹ in promoting a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine, for which cause he sacrificed his life; and

Extends its thanks to Acting Mediator and his staff for their continued efforts and devotion to duty in Palestine;

2. *Establishes* a Conciliation Commission consisting of three States Members of the United Nations² which shall have the following functions:

(a) To assume, in so far as it considers necessary in existing

¹ In accordance with UN General Assembly resolution 186 (S-2) of 14 May 1948, United Nations Mediator in Palestine was Count Folke Bernadotte, a Swedish diplomat, who was killed in September 1948 by Israeli terrorists. Ralph Bunche, an American, was appointed Acting Mediator, and it was with his participation that later, on the island of Rhodes, Greece, the so-called General Armistice Agreements between Israel and Neighbouring Arab States were signed.—*Ed.*

² A Conciliation Commission was set up consisting of the United States, Turkey and France, by virtue of which fact its activities were to a large extent governed by the imperialist policies of the leading Western countries who sought to block the implementation of the UN General Assembly resolution on the partitioning of Palestine. The General Assembly repeatedly expressed regret over the Commission's failure to make any progress in implementing General Assembly resolution 194 (III).—*Ed.*

circumstances, the functions given to the United Nations Mediator on Palestine by resolution 186 (S-2) of the General Assembly of 14 May 1948;

(b) To carry out the specific functions and directives given to it by the present resolution and such additional functions and directives as may be given to it by the General Assembly or by the Security Council;

(c) To undertake, upon the request of the Security Council, any of the functions now assigned to the United Nations Mediator on Palestine or to the United Nations Truce Commission by resolutions of the Security Council; upon such request to the Conciliation Commission by the Security Council with respect to all the remaining functions of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine under Security Council resolutions, the office of the Mediator shall be terminated;

3. *Decides* that a Committee of the Assembly, consisting of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, shall present, before the end of the first part of the present session of the General Assembly, for the approval of the Assembly, a proposal concerning the names of the three States which will constitute the Conciliation Commission;

4. *Requests* the Commission to begin its functions at once, with a view to the establishment of contact between the parties themselves and the Commission at the earliest possible date;

5. *Calls upon* the Governments and authorities concerned to extend the scope of the negotiations provided for in the Security Council's resolution of 16 November 1948 and to seek agreement by negotiations conducted either with the Conciliation Commission or directly, with a view to the final settlement of all questions outstanding between them;

6. *Instructs* the Conciliation Commission to take steps to assist the Governments and authorities concerned to achieve a final settlement of all questions outstanding between them;

7. *Resolves* that the Holy Places—including Nazareth—religious buildings and sites in Palestine should be protected and free access to them assured, in accordance with existing rights and historical practice; that arrangements to this end should be under effective United Nations supervision; that the United Nations Conciliation Commission, in presenting to the fourth regular session of the General Assembly its detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the territory of Jerusalem, should include recommendations concerning the Holy Places in that territory; that with regard to the Holy Places in the rest of Palestine the Commission should call upon the political authorities of the areas concerned to give appropriate formal guarantees as to the protection of the Holy Places and access to them; and that these undertakings should be presented to the General Assembly for approval;

8. *Resolves* that, in view of its association with three world religions, the Jerusalem area, including the present municipality of Jerusalem *plus* the surrounding villages and towns, the most eastern of which shall be Abu Dis; the most southern, Bethlehem; the most western, Ein Karim (including also the built-up area of Motsa); and the most northern, Shu'fat, should be accorded special and separate treatment from the rest of Palestine and should be placed under effective United Nations control;

Requests the Security Council to take further steps to ensure the demilitarization of Jerusalem at the earliest possible date;

Instructs the Conciliation Commission to present to the fourth regular session of the General Assembly detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area which will provide for the maximum local autonomy for distinctive groups consistent with the special international status of the Jerusalem area;

The Conciliation Commission is authorized to appoint a United Nations representative, who shall co-operate with the local authorities with respect to the interim administration of the Jerusalem area;

9. *Resolves* that, pending agreement on more detailed arrangements among the Governments and authorities concerned, the freest possible access to Jerusalem by road, rail or air should be accorded to all inhabitants of Palestine;

Instructs the Conciliation Commission to report immediately to the Security Council, for appropriate action by that organ, any attempt by any party to impede such access;

10. *Instructs* the Conciliation Commission to seek arrangements among the Governments and authorities concerned which will facilitate the economic development of the area, including arrangements for access to ports and airfields and the use of transportation and communication facilities;

11. *Resolves* that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible;

Instructs the Conciliation Commission to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees and the payment of compensation, and to maintain close relations with the Director of the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees and, through him, with the appropriate organs and agencies of the United Nations;

12. *Authorizes* the Conciliation Commission to appoint such subsidiary bodies and to employ such technical experts, acting under its authority, as it may find necessary for the effective discharge of its functions and responsibilities under the present resolution;

The Conciliation Commission will have its official headquarters at Jerusalem. The authorities responsible for maintaining order in Jerusalem will be responsible for taking all measures necessary to ensure the security of the Commission. The Sec-

retary-General will provide a limited number of guards for the protection of the staff and premises of the Commission;

13. *Instructs* the Conciliation Commission to render progress reports periodically to the Secretary-General for transmission to the Security Council and to the Members of the United Nations;

14. *Calls upon* all Governments and authorities concerned to co-operate with the Conciliation Commission and to take all possible steps to assist in the implementation of the present resolution;

15. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide the necessary staff and facilities and to make appropriate arrangements to provide the necessary funds required in carrying out the terms of the present resolution.

RESOLUTION 273 (III)
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 11 MAY 1949

**ADMISSION OF ISRAEL TO MEMBERSHIP
IN THE UNITED NATIONS**

Having received the report of the Security Council on the application of Israel for membership in the United Nations,

Noting that, in the judgment of the Security Council, Israel is a peace-loving State and is able and willing to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter,

Noting that the Security Council has recommended to the General Assembly that it admit Israel to membership in the United Nations,

Noting furthermore the declaration by the State of Israel that it "unreservedly accepts the obligations of the United Nations Charter and undertakes to honour them from the day when it becomes a Member of the United Nations",

Recalling its resolutions of 29 November 1947 and 11 December 1948 and taking note of the declarations and explanations made by the representative of the Government of Israel before the *ad hoc* Political Committee in respect of the implementation of the said resolutions,

The General Assembly,

Acting in discharge of its functions under Article 4 of the Charter and rule 125 of its rules of procedure,

1. *Decides* that Israel is a peace-loving State which accepts the obligations contained in the Charter and is able and willing to carry out those obligations;

2. *Decides* to admit Israel to membership in the United Nations.

**RESOLUTION 303 (IV)
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 9 DECEMBER 1949**

**PALESTINE: QUESTION
OF AN INTERNATIONAL REGIME
FOR THE JERUSALEM AREA
AND THE PROTECTION
OF THE HOLY PLACES**

The General Assembly,

Having regard to its resolutions 181 (II) of 29 November 1947 and 194 (III) of 11 December 1948,

Having studied the reports of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine set up under the latter resolution,

I. *Decides*

In relation to Jerusalem,

Believing that the principles underlying its previous resolutions concerning this matter, and in particular its resolution of 29 November 1947, represent a just and equitable settlement of the question,

1. To restate, therefore, its intention that Jerusalem should be placed under a permanent international regime, which should envisage appropriate guarantees for the protection of the Holy Places, both within and outside Jerusalem, and to confirm specifically the following provisions of General Assembly resolution 181 (II): (1) the City of Jerusalem shall be established as a *corpus separatum* under a special international regime and shall be administered by the United Nations; (2) the Trusteeship Council shall be designated to discharge the responsibilities of the Administering Authority...; and (3) the City of Jerusalem shall include the present municipality of Jerusalem plus the surrounding villages and towns, the most eastern of which

shall be Abu Dis; the most southern, Bethlehem; the most western, Ein Karim (including also the built-up area of Motsa); and the most northern, Shu'fat, as indicated on the attached sketch-map;

2. To request for this purpose that the Trusteeship Council at its next session, whether special or regular, complete the preparation of the Statute of Jerusalem, omitting the now inapplicable provisions, such as articles 32 and 39, and, without prejudice to the fundamental principles of the international regime for Jerusalem set forth in General Assembly resolution 181 (II) introducing therein amendments in the direction of its greater democratization, approve the Statute, and proceed immediately with its implementation. The Trusteeship Council shall not allow any actions taken by any interested Government or Governments to divert it from adopting and implementing the Statute of Jerusalem;

II. *Calls upon* the States concerned to make formal undertakings, at an early date and in the light of their obligations as Members of the United Nations, that they will approach these matters with good will and be guided by the terms of the present resolution.

**RESOLUTION 2253 (ES-V)
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 4 JULY 1967**

**MEASURES TAKEN BY ISRAEL TO CHANGE
THE STATUS OF THE CITY OF JERUSALEM**

The General Assembly,

Deeply concerned at the situation prevailing in Jerusalem as a result of the measures taken by Israel to change the status of the City,¹

1. *Considers* that these measures are invalid;
2. *Calls upon* Israel to rescind all measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any action which would alter the status of Jerusalem;
3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council on the situation and on the implementation of the present resolution not later than one week from its adoption.

¹ On 27 June 1967, the Israeli Knesset passed a law amending the previously adopted Law and Administration Ordinance and the Municipal Corporation Ordinance. These amendments empowered the Israeli Government to extend state legislation, jurisdiction and administration to any area of Eretz Israel (the Zionist name for the entire territory of former mandated Palestine.—*Compiler's note*). On 28 June 1967, the Israeli Interior Minister, on the basis of this law, announced the inclusion of the eastern part of Jerusalem, occupied by Israel during its aggression of June 1967, within the sphere of action of the Israeli Municipal Council. It was granted the powers of the then dissolved Arab City Council of East Jerusalem. The measures taken by Israel in relation to the eastern part of Jerusalem meant its *de facto* annexation.—*Ed.*

**RESOLUTION 2254 (ES-V)
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 14 JULY 1967**

**MEASURES TAKEN BY ISRAEL TO CHANGE
THE STATUS OF THE CITY OF JERUSALEM**

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 2253 (ES-V) of 4 July 1967,

Having received the report submitted by the Secretary-General,

Taking note with the deepest regret and concern of the non-compliance by Israel with resolution 2253 (ES-V),

1. *Deplores* the failure of Israel to implement General Assembly resolution 2253 (ES-V);

2. *Reiterates* its call to Israel in that resolution to rescind all measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any action which would alter the status of Jerusalem;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council and the General Assembly on the situation and on the implementation of the present resolution.

**RESOLUTION 2443 (XXIII)
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 19 DECEMBER 1968**

**RESPECT FOR AND IMPLEMENTATION
OF HUMAN RIGHTS
IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES**

The General Assembly,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Bearing in mind the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949,

Mindful of the principle embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights regarding the right of everyone to return to his own country, and recalling Security Council resolution 237 (1967) of 14 June 1967, General Assembly resolutions 2252 (ES-V) of 4 July 1967 and 2341 B (XXII) of 19 December 1967, Commission on Human Rights resolution 6 (XXIV) of 27 February 1968 and Economic and Social Council resolution 1336 (XLIV) of 31 May 1968, in which those United Nations organs called upon the Government of Israel, *inter alia*, to facilitate the return of those inhabitants who have fled the area of military operations since the outbreak of hostilities,

Recalling the telegram dispatched by the Commission on Human Rights on 8 March 1968, calling upon the Government of Israel to desist forthwith from acts of destroying homes of the Arab civilian population in areas occupied by Israel,

Recalling also Security Council resolution 259 (1968) of 27 September 1968, in which the Council expressed its concern for

the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the Arab territories under military occupation by Israel, and deplored the delay in the implementation of Council resolution 237 (1967),

Noting resolution I on respect for and implementation of human rights in occupied territories, adopted by the International Conference on Human Rights on 7 May 1968, in which the Conference, *inter alia*:

(a) Expressed its grave concern at the violation of human rights in Arab territories occupied by Israel,

(b) Drew the attention of the Government of Israel to the grave consequences resulting from the disregard of fundamental freedoms and human rights in occupied territories,

(c) Called upon the Government of Israel to desist forthwith from acts of destroying homes of the Arab civilian population inhabiting areas occupied by Israel and to respect and implement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 in occupied territories,

(d) Affirmed the inalienable rights of all inhabitants who have left their homes as a result of the outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East to return home, resume their normal life, recover their property and homes, and rejoin their families according to the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

1. *Decides* to establish a Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, composed of three Member States;¹

2. *Requests* the President of the General Assembly to appoint the members of the Special Committee;

¹ Initially the Committee was composed of Somalia, Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia. In 1974, Somalia was succeeded by Senegal, whose representative now chairs the Committee.—*Ed.*

3. *Requests* the Government of Israel to receive the Special Committee, co-operate with it and facilitate its work;

4. *Requests* the Special Committee to report to the Secretary-General as soon as possible and whenever the need arises thereafter;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide the Special Committee with all the necessary facilities for the performance of its task.

**RESOLUTION 2628 (XXV)
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 4 NOVEMBER 1967**

THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The General Assembly,

Seriously concerned that the continuation of the present grave and deteriorating situation in the Middle East constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security,

Reaffirming that no territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized,

Deploring the continued occupation of the Arab territories since 5 June 1967,

Seriously concerned that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which was unanimously adopted and which provides for a peaceful settlement of the situation in the Middle East, has not yet been implemented,

Having considered the item entitled "The situation in the Middle East",

1. *Reaffirms* that the acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible and that, consequently, territories thus occupied must be restored;

2. *Reaffirms* that the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East should include the application of both the following principles:

(a) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;

(b) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and its right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

3. *Recognizes* that respect for the rights of the Palestinians is an indispensable element in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East;

4. *Urges* the speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which provides for the peaceful settlement of the situation in the Middle East, in all its parts;

5. *Calls upon* the parties directly concerned to instruct their representatives to resume contact with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to the Middle East¹ in order to enable him to carry out, at the earliest possible date, his mandate for the implementation of the Security Council resolution in all its parts;

6. *Recommends* to the parties that they extend the cease-fire for a period of three months in order that they may enter into talks under the auspices of the Special Representative with a view to giving effect to Security Council resolution 242 (1967);

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council within a period of two months, and to the General Assembly as appropriate, on the efforts of the Special Representative and on the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967);

8. *Requests* the Security Council to consider, if necessary, making arrangements, under the relevant Articles of the Charter of the United Nations, to ensure the implementation of its resolution.

¹ Gunnar Jarring, the then Swedish Ambassador to the USSR, was appointed Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General to the Middle East.—*Ed.*

**RESOLUTION 2851 (XXVI)
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 20 DECEMBER 1971**

**REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE ISRAELI PRACTICES
AFFECTING THE HUMAN RIGHTS
OF THE POPULATION
OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES**

The General Assembly,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Bearing in mind the provisions and principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,

Recalling Security Council resolutions 237 (1967) of 14 June 1967 and 259 (1968) of 27 September 1968, as well as other pertinent resolutions of the United Nations,

Having considered the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories,

Gravely concerned about the violations of the human rights of the inhabitants of the occupied territories,

Considering that the system of investigation and protection is essential for ensuring effective implementation of the international instruments, such as the aforementioned Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949, which provide for respect for human rights in armed conflicts,

Noting with regret that the relevant provisions of that Convention have not been implemented by the Israeli authorities,

Recalling that, in accordance with article 1 of that Convention, the States parties have undertaken not only to respect but also to ensure respect for the Convention in all circumstances,

Noting with satisfaction that the International Committee of the Red Cross, after giving careful consideration to the question of the reinforcement of the implementation of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, has arrived at the conclusion that all tasks falling to a protecting Power under those Conventions could be considered humanitarian functions and that the International Committee of the Red Cross has declared itself ready to assume all the functions envisaged for protecting Powers in the Conventions,

1. *Commends* the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories and its members for their efforts in performing the task assigned to them;

2. *Strongly calls upon* Israel to rescind forthwith all measures and to desist from all policies and practices such as:

(a) The annexation of any part of the occupied Arab territories;

(b) The establishment of Israeli settlements on those territories and the transfer of parts of its civilian population into the occupied territory;

(c) The destruction and demolition of villages, quarters and houses and the confiscation and expropriation of property;

(d) The evacuation, transfer, deportation and expulsion of the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories;

(e) The denial of the right of the refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes;

(f) The ill-treatment and torture of prisoners and detainees;

(g) Collective punishment;

3. *Calls upon* the Government of Israel to permit all persons who have fled the occupied territories or have been deported or expelled therefrom to return to their homes;

4. *Reaffirms* that all measures taken by Israel to settle the occupied territories, including occupied Jerusalem, are completely null and void;

5. *Calls upon* the Government of Israel to comply fully with its obligations under the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949;

6. *Requests* the Special Committee, pending the early termination of Israeli occupation of Arab territories, to continue its work and to consult as appropriate with the International Committee of the Red Cross in order to ensure the safeguarding of the welfare and human rights of the population of the occupied territories;

7. *Urges* the Government of Israel to co-operate with the Special Committee and to facilitate its entry into the occupied territories in order to enable it to perform the functions entrusted to it by the General Assembly;

8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide the Special Committee with all the necessary facilities for the continued performance of its tasks;

9. *Requests* all States parties to the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 to do their utmost to ensure that Israel respects and fulfils its obligations under that Convention;

10. *Requests* the Special Committee to report to the Secretary-General as soon as possible and whenever the need arises thereafter;

11. *Decides* to include in the provisional agenda of its twenty-seventh session an item entitled "Report (or reports) of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories".

**RESOLUTION 3092 (XXVIII)
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 7 DECEMBER 1973**

**REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE ISRAELI PRACTICES
AFFECTING THE HUMAN RIGHTS
OF THE POPULATION
OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES**

A

The General Assembly,

Recalling the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,

Recalling that Israel and the Arab States, some of whose territories have been occupied by Israel since 1967, are parties to that Convention,

Bearing in mind that the promotion of respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law is one of the basic objectives of the United Nations,

Bearing in mind, furthermore, that the States parties to that Convention undertake, in accordance with article 1 thereof, not only to respect but also to ensure respect for the Convention in all circumstances,

1. *Affirms* that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, applies to the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967;

2. *Calls upon* the Israeli occupation authorities to respect and comply with the provisions of that Convention in the occupied Arab territories;

3. *Urges* all States parties to that Convention to endeavour

to ensure respect for and compliance with the provisions thereof in the occupied Arab territories.

B

The General Assembly,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as well as the principles and provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Bearing in mind the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, as well as those of other relevant conventions and regulations,

Recalling its resolutions as well as those resolutions adopted by the Security Council, the Commission on Human Rights and other United Nations bodies and by specialized agencies on the question of Israeli policies and practices affecting the human rights of the population of the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967,

Considering that implementation of the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 cannot and should not be left open in a situation involving foreign military occupation and the rights of the civilian population of these territories under the provisions of that Convention and in accordance with the principles of international law,

Having considered the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories,

1. *Commends* the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories for its efforts in performing the tasks assigned to it by the General Assembly;

2. *Deplores* the continued refusal of the Government of Israel to allow the Special Committee access to the occupied territories;

3. *Expresses its grave concern* at the violation by Israel of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, as well as the other applicable international conventions and regulations, in particular the following violations:

(a) The annexation of certain parts of the occupied territories;

(b) The establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and the transfer of an alien population thereto;

(c) The destruction and demolition of Arab houses, quarters, villages and towns;

(d) The confiscation and expropriation of Arab property in the occupied territories and all other transactions for the acquisition of land between the Government of Israel, Israeli institutions and Israeli nationals on the one hand, and the inhabitants or institutions of the occupied territories on the other;

(e) The evacuation, deportation, expulsion, displacement and transfer of the Arab inhabitants of the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, and the denial of their right to return to their homes and property;

(f) Administrative detention and ill-treatment inflicted on the Arab inhabitants;

(g) The pillaging of archaeological and cultural property in the occupied territories;

(h) The interference with religious freedom, religious practices and family rights and customs;

(i) The illegal exploitation of the natural wealth resources and population of the occupied territories;

4. *Calls upon* Israel to desist immediately from the annexation and colonization of the Arab territories occupied by it since 1967, the establishment of settlements and the transfer of pop-

ulation to, from or within those territories, and from all the other practices referred to in paragraph 3 above;

5. *Declares* that Israel's policy of annexation, establishment of settlements and transfer of an alien population to the occupied territories is in contravention of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the principles and provisions of the applicable international law concerning occupation, the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the basic human rights and fundamental freedoms of the people, and is as well an impediment to the establishment of a just and lasting peace;

6. *Reaffirms* that Israel's policy of settling parts of its population and new immigrants in the occupied territories is a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, and of the relevant United Nations resolutions, and urges all States to refrain from any action which Israel will exploit in carrying out its policy of colonizing the occupied territories;

7. *Reaffirms* that all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure or the status of the occupied territories, or any part thereof, are null and void;

8. *Calls upon* all States, international organizations and specialized agencies not to recognize any changes carried out by Israel in the occupied territories and to avoid actions, including actions in the field of aid, which might be used by Israel in its pursuit of the policies and practices referred to in the present resolution;

9. *Requests* the Special Committee, pending the early termination of Israeli occupation, to continue to investigate Israeli policies and practices in the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, to consult, as appropriate, with the International Committee of the Red Cross in order to ensure the safeguarding of the welfare and human rights of the population of the occupied territories, and to report to the Secretary-General

as soon as possible and whenever the need arises thereafter;

10. *Requests* the Secretary-General:

(a) To render all necessary facilities to the Special Committee, including those required for its visits to the occupied territories with a view to investigating Israeli policies and practices affecting the human rights of the population of those territories;

(b) To ensure the widest circulation of the reports of the Special Committee and of information regarding its activities and findings, by all means available through the Office of Public Information of the Secretariat;

(c) To report to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session on the tasks entrusted to him;

11. *Decides* to include in the provisional agenda of its twenty-ninth session the item entitled "Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories".

**RESOLUTION 3210 (XXIX)
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 14 OCTOBER 1974**

**INVITATION TO THE PALESTINE
LIBERATION ORGANIZATION**

The General Assembly,

Considering that the Palestinian people is the principal party to the question of Palestine,

Invites the Palestine Liberation Organization,¹ the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate in the deliberations of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine in plenary meetings.

¹ The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), the political vanguard of the Arab people of Palestine, was set up at the Palestine National Council's I Session in 1964. The PLO's ultimate aim, as proclaimed in the Palestinian National Charter, is to establish a unified secular state on the entire territory of Palestine. However, during the later years the PLO's political orientation has undergone considerable change. For instance, at its XII Session in 1974, the Palestine National Council adopted a political programme which envisages the establishing of an independent Palestinian state in any part of Palestine that shall be liberated. In practical terms, this means consent to establish a state on the West Bank of the river Jordan and the Gaza Strip, occupied by Israel since June 1967. At the Rabat (1974) Conference of the heads of Arab states and governments, the PLO was recognised as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. This has also been recognised by the Non-Aligned Movement. The PLO is a full-fledged member of the League of Arab States and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference.—*Ed.*

**RESOLUTION 3236 (XXIX)
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 22 NOVEMBER 1974**

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Palestine,

Having heard the statement of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people,

Having also heard other statements made during the debate,

Deeply concerned that no just solution to the problem of Palestine has yet been achieved and recognizing that the problem of Palestine continues to endanger international peace and security,

Recognizing that the Palestinian people is entitled to self-determination in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,

Expressing its grave concern that the Palestinian people has been prevented from enjoying its inalienable rights, in particular its right to self-determination,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter,

Recalling its relevant resolutions which affirm the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination,

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

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

(b) The right to national independence and sovereignty;

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

3. *Emphasizes* that full respect for and the realization of these inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are indispensable for the solution of the question of Palestine;

4. *Recognizes* that the Palestinian people is a principal party in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East;

5. *Further recognizes* the right of the Palestinian people to regain its rights by all means in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

6. *Appeals* to all States and international organizations to extend their support to the Palestinian people in its struggle to restore its rights, in accordance with the Charter;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to establish contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization on all matters concerning the question of Palestine;

8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session of the implementation of the present resolution;

9. *Decides* to include the item entitled "Question of Palestine" in the provisional agenda of its thirtieth session.

**RESOLUTION 3237 (XXIX)
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 25 NOVEMBER 1974**

**OBSERVER STATUS
FOR THE PALESTINE
LIBERATION ORGANIZATION**

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Palestine,

Taking into consideration the universality of the United Nations prescribed in the Charter,

Recalling its resolution 3102 (XXVIII) of 12 December 1973,

Taking into account Economic and Social Council resolutions 1835 (LVI) of 14 May 1974 and 1840 (LVI) of 15 May 1974,

Noting that the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts, the World Population Conference and the World Food Conference have in effect invited the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in their respective deliberations,

Noting also that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has invited the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in its deliberations as an observer,

1. *Invites* the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer;

2. *Invites* the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of all international conferences

convened under the auspices of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer;

3. *Considers* that the Palestine Liberation Organization is entitled to participate as an observer in the sessions and the work of all international conferences convened under the auspices of other organs of the United Nations;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps for the implementation of the present resolution.

**RESOLUTION 3375 (XXX)
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 10 NOVEMBER 1975**

**INVITATION TO THE PALESTINE
LIBERATION ORGANIZATION
TO PARTICIPATE IN THE EFFORTS
FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST**

The General Assembly,

Having considered the item entitled "Question of Palestine",

Reaffirming its resolution 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974, in which it recognized the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people,

Recognizing the necessity of achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East at the earliest possible time,

Believing that the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations is a prerequisite to achieving a just and lasting peace in the area,

Convinced that the participation of the Palestinian people is essential in any efforts and deliberations aiming at the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East,

1. *Requests* the Security Council to consider and adopt the necessary resolutions and measures in order to enable the Palestinian people to exercise its inalienable national rights in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX);

2. *Calls* for the invitation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East which are held under the auspices of the United Nations,

on an equal footing with other parties, on the basis of resolution 3236 (XXIX);

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to inform the Co-Chairmen of the Peace Conference on the Middle East of the present resolution and to take all necessary steps to secure the invitation of the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the work of the Conference as well as in all other efforts for peace;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report on this matter to the General Assembly as soon as possible.

**RESOLUTION 3376 (XXX)
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 10 NOVEMBER 1975**

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of that resolution,

Deeply concerned that no just solution to the problem of Palestine has yet been achieved,

Recognizing that the problem of Palestine continues to endanger international peace and security,

1. *Reaffirms* its resolution 3236 (XXIX);

2. *Expresses its grave concern* that no progress has been achieved towards:

(a) The exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights in Palestine, including the right to self-determination without external interference and the right to national independence and sovereignty;

(b) The exercise by Palestinians of their inalienable right to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted;

3. *Decides* to establish a Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People composed of twenty

ty Member States¹ to be appointed by the General Assembly at the current session;

4. *Requests* the Committee to consider and recommend to the General Assembly a programme of implementation, designed to enable the Palestinian people to exercise the rights recognized in paragraphs 1 and 2 of Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX), and to take into account, in the formulation of its recommendations for the implementation of that programme, all the powers conferred by the Charter upon the principal organs of the United Nations;

5. *Authorizes* the Committee, in the fulfilment of its mandate, to establish contact with, and to receive and consider suggestions and proposals from, any State and intergovernmental regional organization and the Palestine Liberation Organization;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide the Committee with all the necessary facilities for the performance of its tasks;

7. *Requests* the Committee to submit its report and recommendations to the Secretary-General no later than 1 June 1976 and requests the Secretary-General to transmit the report to the Security Council;

8. *Requests* the Security Council to consider, as soon as possible after 1 June 1976, the question of the exercise by the Palestinian people of the inalienable rights recognized in paragraphs 1 and 2 of resolution 3236 (XXIX);

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General to inform the Committee of the action taken by the Security Council in accordance with paragraph 8 above;

¹ The Committee, as indicated in this General Assembly resolution, initially included twenty members, but later it was extended to include three more, and as of January 1984, the Committee was composed of Afghanistan, Cuba, Cyprus, the German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Laos, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Nigeria, Pakistan, Romania, Senegal (Chairman), Sierra Leone, Tunisia, Turkey, the Ukrainian SSR, and Yugoslavia.—*Ed.*

10. *Authorizes* the Committee, taking into consideration the action taken by the Security Council, to submit to the General Assembly, at its thirty-first session, a report containing its observations and recommendations;

11. *Decides* to include the item entitled "Question of Palestine" in the provisional agenda of its thirty-first session.

**RESOLUTION 3379 (XXX)
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 10 NOVEMBER 1975**

**ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS
OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION**

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 1904 (XVIII) of 20 November 1963, proclaiming the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and in particular its affirmation that "any doctrine of racial differentiation or superiority is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous" and its expression of alarm at "the manifestations of racial discrimination still in evidence in some areas in the world, some of which are imposed by certain Governments by means of legislative, administrative or other measures",

Recalling also that, in its resolution 3151 G (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, the General Assembly condemned, *inter alia*, the unholy alliance between South African racism and zionism,

Taking note of the Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and Their Contribution to Development and Peace, 1975, proclaimed by the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held at Mexico City from 19 June to 2 July 1975, which promulgated the principle that "international co-operation and peace require the achievement of national liberation and independence, the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, zionism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in all its forms, as well as the recognition of the dignity of peoples and their right to self-determination",

Taking note also of resolution 77 (XII) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization

of African Unity at its twelfth ordinary session, held at Kampala from 28 July to 1 August 1975, which considered "that the racist régime in occupied Palestine and the racist régimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa have a common imperialist origin, forming a whole and having the same racist structure and being organically linked in their policy aimed at repression of the dignity and integrity of the human being",

Taking note also of the Political Declaration and Strategy to Strengthen International Peace and Security and to Intensify Solidarity and Mutual Assistance among Non-Aligned Countries, adopted at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975, which most severely condemned zionism as a threat to world peace and security and called upon all countries to oppose this racist and imperialist ideology,

Determines that zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination.

RESOLUTION 31/20
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 24 NOVEMBER 1976

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 3376 (XXX) of 10 November 1975,

Having considered the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People,

Deeply concerned that no just solution to the problem of Palestine has been achieved and that this problem therefore continues to aggravate the Middle East conflict, of which it is the core, and to endanger international peace and security,

Reaffirming that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be established without the achievement, *inter alia*, of a just solution of the problem of Palestine on the basis of the attainment of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return and the right to national independence and sovereignty in Palestine, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for its efforts in performing the tasks assigned to it by the General Assembly;

2. *Takes note* of the report of the Committee and endorses the recommendations contained therein, as a basis for the solution of the question of Palestine;¹

¹ See the next document.—*Ed.*

3. *Decides* to circulate the report to all the competent bodies of the United Nations and urges them to take necessary action, as appropriate, in accordance with the Committee's programme of implementation;

4. *Urges* the Security Council to consider once again as soon as possible the recommendations contained in the report, taking fully into account the observations made thereon during the debate in the General Assembly at its thirty-first session, in order to take the necessary measures to implement the above-mentioned recommendations of the Committee so as to achieve early progress towards a solution of the problem of Palestine and the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East;

5. *Authorizes* the Committee to exert all efforts to promote the implementation of its recommendations and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-second session;

6. *Requests* the Committee to promote the greatest possible dissemination of information on its programme of implementation through non-governmental organizations and other appropriate means;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to give the widest possible publicity to the Committee's work and to provide the Committee with all the necessary facilities for the performance of its tasks, including summary records of its meetings;

8. *Decides* to include the item entitled "Question of Palestine" in the provisional agenda of its thirty-second session.

DOCUMENT S/12090
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 29 MAY 1976

Part Two
Recommendations of the Committee

I. BASIC CONSIDERATIONS AND GUIDELINES

59. 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.

60. 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.

61. 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.

62. The Committee recalls the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and stresses the consequent obligation for complete and speedy evacuation of any territory so occupied.

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

64. The Committee recommends an expanded and more influential role by the United Nations and its organs in promoting a just solution to the question of Palestine and in the implementation of such a solution. The Security Council, in particular, should take appropriate action to facilitate the exercise by the Palestinians of their right to return to their homes, lands and property. The Committee, furthermore, urges the Security Council to promote action towards a just solution, taking into account all the powers conferred on it by the Charter of the United Nations.

65. It is with this perspective in view and on the basis of the numerous resolutions of the United Nations, after due consideration of all the facts, proposals and suggestions advanced in the course of its deliberations, that the Committee submits its recommendations on the modalities for the implementation of the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

II. THE RIGHT OF RETURN

66. The natural and inalienable right of Palestinians to return to their homes is recognized by resolution 194 (III), which the General Assembly has reaffirmed almost every year since its adoption. This right was also unanimously recognized by the Security Council in its resolution 237 (1967); the time for the urgent implementation of these resolutions is long overdue.

67. Without prejudice to the right of all Palestinians to return to their homes, lands and property, the Committee considers that the programme of implementation of the exercise of this right may be carried out in two phases:

Phase one

68. The first phase involves the return to their homes of the Palestinians displaced as a result of the war of June 1967. The Committee recommends that:

- (i) The Security Council should request the immediate implementation of its resolution 237 (1967) and that such implementation should not be related to any other condition;

- (ii) The resources of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and/or of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, suitably financed and mandated, may be employed to assist in the solution of any logistical problems involved in the resettlement of those returning to their homes. These agencies could also assist, in co-operation with the host countries and the Palestine Liberation Organization, in the identification of the displaced Palestinians;

Phase two

69. The second phase deals with the return to their homes of the Palestinians displaced between 1948 and 1967. The Committee recommends that:

- (i) While the first phase is being implemented, the United Nations in co-operation with the States directly involved, and the Palestine Liberation Organization as the interim representative of the Palestinian entity, should proceed to make the necessary arrangements to enable Palestinians displaced between 1948 and 1967 to exercise their right to return to their homes and property, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, particularly General Assembly resolution 194 (III);
- (ii) Palestinians not choosing to return to their homes should be paid just and equitable compensation as provided for in resolution 194 (III).

III. THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY

70. The Palestinian people has the inherent right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty in Palestine. The Committee considers that the evacuation of the territories occupied by force and in violation of the principles of the Charter and relevant resolutions of the United Nations

is a *conditio sine qua non* for the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights in Palestine. The Committee considers, furthermore, that upon the return of the Palestinians to their homes and property and with the establishment of an independent Palestinian entity, the Palestinian people will be able to exercise its rights to self-determination and to decide its form of government without external interference.

71. The Committee also feels that the United Nations has an historical duty and responsibility to render all assistance necessary to promote the economic development and prosperity of the Palestinian entity.

72. To these ends, the Committee recommends that:

- (i) A time-table should be established by the Security Council for the complete withdrawal by Israeli occupation forces from those areas occupied in 1967. Such withdrawal should be completed no later than 1 June 1977;
- (ii) The Security Council may need to provide temporary peace-keeping forces in order to facilitate the process of withdrawal;
- (iii) Israel should be requested by the Security Council to desist from the establishment of new settlements and to withdraw during this period from settlements established since 1967 in the occupied territories. Arab property and all essential services in these areas should be maintained intact;
- (iv) Israel should also be requested to abide scrupulously by the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and to declare, pending its speedy withdrawal from these territories, its recognition of the applicability of that Convention;
- (v) The evacuated territories, with all property and services intact, should be taken over by the United Na-

tions, which, with the co-operation of the League of Arab States, will subsequently hand over these evacuated areas to the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinian people;

(vi) The United Nations should, if necessary, assist in establishing communications between Gaza and the West Bank;

(vii) As soon as the independent Palestinian entity has been established, the United Nations, in co-operation with the States directly involved and the Palestinian entity, should, taking into account General Assembly resolution 3375 (XXX), make further arrangements for the full implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the resolution of outstanding problems and the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the region, in accordance with all relevant United Nations resolutions;

(viii) The United Nations should provide the economic and technical assistance necessary for the consolidation of the Palestinian entity.

**RESOLUTION 36/120
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 10 DECEMBER 1981**

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

A

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 3376 (XXX) of 10 November 1975, 31/20 of 24 November 1976, 32/40 A and B of 2 December 1977, 33/28 A to C of 7 December 1978, 34/65 A and B of 29 November and 34/65 C and D of 12 December 1979, ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980, and 35/169 A to E of 15 December 1980,

Having considered the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People,

1. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for its efforts in performing the tasks assigned to it by the General Assembly;
2. *Requests* the Committee to keep the situation relating to the question of Palestine under review and to report and make suggestions to the General Assembly or the Security Council, as appropriate;
3. *Authorizes* the Committee to continue to exert all efforts to promote the implementation of its recommendations, to send delegations or representatives to international conferences where such representation would be considered by it to be appropriate, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session and thereafter;
4. *Requests* the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, established under General Assembly resolution 194

(III) of 11 December 1948, as well as other United Nations bodies associated with the question of Palestine, to co-operate fully with the Committee and to make available to it, at its request, the relevant information and documentation which they have at their disposal;

5. *Decides* to circulate the report of the Committee to all the competent bodies of the United Nations and urges them to take the necessary action, as appropriate, in accordance with the Committee's programme of implementation;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue to provide the Committee with all the necessary facilities for the performance of its tasks.

B

The General Assembly,

Having considered the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People,

Noting, in particular, the information contained in paragraphs 39 to 48 of that report,

Recalling its resolutions 32/40 B of 2 December 1977, 33/28 C of 7 December 1978, 34/65 D of 12 December 1979 and 35/169 D of 15 December 1980,

1. *Notes with appreciation* the action taken by the Secretary-General in compliance with General Assembly resolution 35/169 D;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights continues to discharge the tasks detailed in paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 32/40 B and paragraph 2 (b) of resolution 34/65 D, in consultation with the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and under its guidance;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights with the necessary additional resources to accomplish its tasks and to expand its work programme, *inter alia* through:

(a) The organization, annually, of a seminar in North America in addition to the regional seminars;

(b) More widespread dissemination of its publications in all the official languages;

(c) The translation of those publications into languages other than the official languages of the United Nations;

4. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to take necessary action on the redesignation of the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights, as requested in paragraph 1 of resolution 34/65 D, in keeping with the political importance of its work and its expanded work programme;

5. *Further requests* the Secretary-General to ensure the continued co-operation of the Department of Public Information and other units of the Secretariat in enabling the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights to perform its tasks, *inter alia* through the production, in consultation with the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, of a film on Palestinian rights and through the provision of copies of the photographic exhibit on Palestinian rights installed at United Nations Headquarters and of other visual material for use by the Special Unit and United Nations information centres;

6. *Invites* all Governments and organizations to lend their co-operation to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights in the performance of their tasks;

7. *Notes with appreciation* the action taken by Member States to observe annually on 29 November the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People and the issuance by them of special postage stamps for the occasion.

C

The General Assembly,

Having considered the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People,

Recalling its relevant resolutions, particularly resolutions 31/20 of 24 November 1976 and ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980,

Gravely concerned that no just solution to the problem of Palestine has been achieved and that this problem therefore continues to aggravate the Middle East conflict of which it is the core, and to endanger international peace and security,

Convinced that wider international recognition of the facts underlying the question of Palestine will lead to a just solution of the problem,

Recognizing that a lasting peace in the Middle East requires a just solution of the problem of Palestine through the attainment and exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights,

Emphasizing the need for a comprehensive effort to seek effective ways and means to enable the Palestinian people to attain and to exercise these rights,

1. *Decides* to convene, under the auspices of the United Nations, an International Conference on the Question of Palestine not later than 1984, on the basis of General Assembly resolution ES-7/2;

2. *Authorizes* the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to act as the Preparatory Committee for the Conference and to take all the necessary steps for its organization, to hold sessions particularly for this purpose and to make recommendations regarding, *inter alia*, the site, scheduling of and participation in the Conference, and the provisional agenda of the Conference;

3. *Invites* all appropriate United Nations bodies, specialized agencies and other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to co-operate with the Committee in the implementation of the present resolution;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to appoint a Secretary-General of the Conference and to provide all the necessary assistance to the Committee in the organization of the Conference.

D

The General Assembly,

Having considered the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and the recommendations contained therein,

Having heard the statement of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people,

Expressing its extreme concern that no just solution to the problem of Palestine has been achieved and that this problem therefore continues to aggravate the Middle East conflict, of which it is the core, and to endanger international peace and security,

Reaffirming that a just and comprehensive lasting peace in the Middle East requires a just solution to the problem of Palestine through the attainment by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights,

Resolutely emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force,

Recognizing the need to work for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East,

Recalling and reaffirming its previous relevant resolutions, particularly resolutions 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, 194 (III) of 11 December 1948, 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 and ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980,

1. *Reaffirms* the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property in Palestine, from which they have been displaced and uprooted, and calls for their early return;

2. *Reaffirms also* the inalienable rights in Palestine of the Palestinian people, including:

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

(b) The right to establish its own independent sovereign State;

3. *Reaffirms*, in particular, that a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be established without the withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and without the achievement of a just solution of the problem of Palestine on the basis of the attainment by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights in Palestine in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations;

4. *Expresses its opposition* to all policies and plans aimed at the resettlement of the Palestinians outside their homeland;

5. *Demands* that Israel should withdraw completely and unconditionally from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem, with all property and services intact;

6. *Further demands* that Israel should fully comply with all the resolutions of the United Nations relevant to the historic character of the Holy City of Jerusalem, in particular Security Council resolutions 476 (1980) of 30 June 1980 and 478 (1980) of 20 August 1980, and rejects the enactment of a "basic law" by the Israel Knesset proclaiming Jerusalem as the capital of Israel;

7. *Demands* that Israel should fully comply with the provisions, in particular, of Security Council resolution 465 (1980) adopted unanimously on 1 March 1980;

8. *Reaffirms* the basic principle that the future of the Palestinian people can only be considered with its participation and calls for the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the question of Palestine and on the situation in the Middle East to be held under the auspices of the United Nations, on an equal footing and on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations;

9. *Endorses* the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People contained in paragraphs 49 to 53 of its report and draws the attention of the Security Council to the fact that action on the Committee's recommendations, as endorsed by General Assembly resolution 31/20, is long overdue;

10. *Requests* the Security Council to convene in order to consider the situation and the adoption of effective measures to implement the recommendations of the Committee as endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 31/20 of 24 November 1976;

11. *Decides* to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-seventh session the item entitled "Question of Palestine".

E

The General Assembly,

Recalling and reaffirming its resolution 2253 (ES-V) of 4 July 1967, 2254 (ES-V) of 14 July 1967, 35/169 of 15 December 1980 and 36/15 of 28 October 1981,

Recalling the resolutions of the Security Council relevant to the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, in particular resolutions 252 (1968) of 21 May 1968, 267 (1969) of

3 July 1969, 271 (1969) of 15 September 1969, 298 (1971) of 25 September 1971, 465 (1980) of 1 March 1980, 476 (1980) of 30 June 1980 and 478 (1980) of 20 August 1980,

Reaffirming that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible,

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

Recalling the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,

Deploing the persistence of Israel in changing the physical character, the demographic composition, the institutional structure and the status of the Holy City of Jerusalem,

1. *Determines once again* that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, the occupying Power, which have altered or purport to alter the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, and, in particular, the so-called "Basic Law" on Jerusalem and the proclamation of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, are null and void and must be rescinded forthwith;

2. *Affirms* that such actions constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East and a threat to international peace and security;

3. *Reaffirms* its resolution not to recognize that "Basic Law" and such other actions by Israel that, as a result of this law, seek to alter the character and status of Jerusalem and calls upon all States, specialized agencies and other international organizations to comply with the present resolution and other relevant resolutions and urges them not to conduct any business which is not in conformity with the provisions of the present resolution and the other relevant resolutions;

4. *Demands* that Israel should fully comply with all resolutions of the United Nations relevant to the historic character of

the Holy City of Jerusalem, in particular Security Council resolutions 476 (1980) and 478;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report on the implementation of those resolutions within six months.

F

The General Assembly,

Recalling and reaffirming its resolutions 34/65 A and B of 29 November and 34/65 C and D of 12 December 1979 and 35/169 B of 15 December 1980,

Taking note of paragraphs 26, 27 and 52 of the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People,

1. *Strongly reaffirms* its rejection of those provisions of the accords which ignore, infringe, violate or deny the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return, the right of self-determination and the right to national independence and sovereignty in Palestine, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law, and which envisage and condone continued Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem;

2. *Expresses its strong opposition* to all partial agreements and separate treaties which constitute a flagrant violation of the rights of the Palestinian people, the principles of the Charter and the resolutions adopted in the various international forums on the Palestinian issue, as well as the principles of international law, and declares that all agreements and separate treaties have no validity in so far as they purport to determine the future of the Palestinian people and of the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem;

3. *Declares* that no State has the right to undertake any actions, measures or negotiations that could affect the future of the Palestinian people, its inalienable rights and the occupied

Palestinian territories without the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization on an equal footing, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, rejects all such actions, measures and negotiations, and considers all such actions, measures and negotiations as a flagrant violation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people;

4. *Decides* that all actions, measures and negotiations to implement or execute such accords and agreements, or any part thereof, are null and void in so far as they purport to determine the future of the Palestinian people and of the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem.

**RESOLUTION 36/147
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 16 DECEMBER 1981**

**REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE ISRAELI PRACTICES
AFFECTING THE HUMAN RIGHTS
OF THE POPULATION
OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES**

C

The General Assembly,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and by the principles and provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Bearing in mind the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, as well as of other relevant conventions and regulations,

Recalling all its resolutions on the subject, in particular resolutions 32/91 B and C of 12 December 1977, 33/113 C of 18 December 1978, 34/90 A of 12 December 1979 and 35/122 C of 11 December 1980, and also those adopted by the Security Council, the Commission on Human Rights and other United Nations organs concerned and by the specialized agencies,

Having considered the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, which contains, *inter alia*, public statements made by the leaders of the Government of Israel,

1. *Commends* the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories for its efforts in performing the tasks as-

signed to it by the General Assembly and for its thoroughness and impartiality;

2. *Deplores* the continued refusal by Israel to allow the Special Committee access to the occupied territories;

3. *Demands* that Israel allow the Special Committee access to the occupied territories;

4. *Reaffirms* the fact that occupation itself constitutes a grave violation of the human rights of the civilian population of the occupied Arab territories;

5. *Condemns* the continued and persistent violation by Israel of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and other applicable international instruments, and condemns in particular those violations which that Convention designates as "grave breaches" thereof;

6. *Declares* that Israel's grave breaches of the Geneva Convention are war crimes and an affront to humanity;

7. *Strongly condemns* the following Israeli policies and practices:

(a) Annexation of parts of the occupied territories, including Jerusalem;

(b) Establishment of new Israeli settlements and expansion of the existing settlements on private and public Arab lands, and transfer of an alien population thereto;

(c) Evacuation, deportation, expulsion, displacement and transfer of Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories and denial of their right to return;

(d) Confiscation and expropriation of private and public Arab property in the occupied territories and all other transactions

for the acquisition of land involving the Israeli authorities, institutions or nationals on the one hand and the inhabitants or institutions of the occupied territories on the other;

(e) Excavations and transformations of the landscape and the historical, cultural and religious sites, especially in Jerusalem;

(f) Destruction and demolition of Arab houses;

(g) Mass arrests, administrative detention and ill-treatment of the Arab population;

(h) Ill-treatment and torture of persons under detention;

(i) Pillaging of archaeological and cultural property;

(j) Interference with religious freedoms and practices as well as family rights and customs;

(k) Interference with the system of education and with the social and economic development of the population in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories;

(l) Interference with the freedom of movement of individuals within the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories;

(m) Illegal exploitation of the natural wealth, resources and population of the occupied territories;

8. *Reaffirms* that all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure or status of the occupied territories, or any part thereof, including Jerusalem, are null and void, and that Israel's policy of settling parts of its population and new immigrants in the occupied territories constitutes a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention and of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations;

9. *Demands* that Israel desist forthwith from the policies and practices referred to in paragraphs 7 and 8 above;

10. *Urges* the international organizations and the specialized agencies, in particular the International Labour Organisation, to examine the conditions of the Arab workers in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem;

11. *Reiterates* its call upon all States, in particular those States parties to the Geneva Convention, in accordance with article 1 of the Convention, and upon international organizations and the specialized agencies not to recognize any changes carried out by Israel in the occupied territories and to avoid actions, including those in the field of aid, which might be used by Israel in its pursuit of the policies of annexation and colonization or any of the other policies and practices referred to in the present resolution;

12. *Requests* the Special Committee, pending the early termination of the Israeli occupation, to continue to investigate Israeli policies and practices in the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, to consult, as appropriate, with the International Committee of the Red Cross in order to ensure the safeguarding of the welfare and human rights of the population of the occupied territories and to report to the Secretary-General as soon as possible and whenever the need arises thereafter;

13. *Requests* the Special Committee to continue to investigate the treatment of civilians in detention in the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967;

14. *Requests* the Secretary-General:

(a) To provide all necessary facilities to the Special Committee, including those required for its visits to the occupied territories, with a view to investigating the Israeli policies and practices referred to in the present resolution;

(b) To continue to make available additional staff as may be necessary to assist the Special Committee in the performance of its tasks;

(c) To ensure the widest circulation of the reports of the Spe-

cial Committee, and of information regarding its activities and findings, by all means available through the Department of Public Information of the Secretariat and, where necessary, to reprint those reports of the Special Committee which are no longer available;

(d) To report to the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session on the tasks entrusted to him in the present paragraph;

15. *Requests* the Security Council to ensure Israel's respect for and compliance with all the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, in Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and to initiate measures to halt Israeli policies and practices in those territories;

16. *Decides* to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-seventh session the item entitled "Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories".

F

The General Assembly,

Bearing in mind the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,

Deeply shocked by the most recent atrocities committed by Israel, the occupying Power, against educational institutions in the occupied Palestinian territories,

1. *Reaffirms* the applicability of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, to the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem;

2. *Condemns* Israeli policies and practices against Palestinian students and faculty in schools, universities and other edu-

cational institutions in the occupied Palestinian territories, especially the policy of opening fire on defenceless students, causing many casualties;

3. *Condemns* the systematic Israeli campaign of repression against and closing of universities in the occupied Palestinian territories, restricting and impeding academic activities of Palestinian universities by subjecting the selection of courses, textbooks and educational programmes, the admission of students and the appointment of faculty members to the control and supervision of the military occupation authorities, in clear contravention of the Geneva Convention;

4. *Demands* that Israel, the occupying Power, comply with the provisions of the Geneva Convention and rescind all actions and measures against all educational institutions and ensure the freedom of these institutions, and that it rescind immediately orders for the closure of the universities of Bir Zeit, Bethlehem and Al-Najah and facilitate the resumption of education in the above-mentioned institutions;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report on the implementation of the present resolution before the end of 1981.

G

The General Assembly,

Recalling Security Council resolution 471 (1980) of 5 June 1980, in which the Council condemned the assassination attempts against the Mayors of Nablus, Ramallah and Al Bireh and called for the immediate apprehension and prosecution of the perpetrators of these crimes,

Recalling once again the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, in particular article 27, which states, *inter alia*:

"Protected persons are entitled, in all circumstances, to respect for their persons ... They shall at all times be

humanely treated, and shall be protected especially against all acts of violence or threats thereof . . .”,

Reaffirming the applicability of the Geneva Convention to the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem,

1. *Expresses deep concern* that Israel, the occupying Power, has failed so far to apprehend and prosecute the perpetrators of the assassination attempts;

2. *Demands* that Israel, the occupying Power, inform the Secretary-General of the results of the investigations relevant to the assassination attempts;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report no later than 31 December 1981 on the implementation of the present resolution.

RESOLUTION 36/226
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 17 DECEMBER 1981

THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

A

The General Assembly,

Having discussed the item entitled "The situation in the Middle East",

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General dated 11 November 1981,

Welcoming the world-wide support extended to the just cause of the Palestinian people and the other Arab countries in their struggle against Israeli aggression and occupation in order to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East and the full exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights, as affirmed by previous resolutions of the General Assembly relating to the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East,

Gravely concerned that the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, still remain under Israeli occupation, that the relevant resolutions of the United Nations have not been implemented and that the Palestinian people is still denied the restoration of its land and the exercise of its inalienable national rights in conformity with international law, as reaffirmed by resolutions of the United Nations,

Reaffirming the applicability of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, to all the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem,

Reiterating all relevant United Nations resolutions which emphasize that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible under the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law and that Israel must withdraw unconditionally from all the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem,

Reaffirming further the imperative necessity of establishing a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region, based on full respect for the Charter and the principles of international law,

Gravely concerned also at recent Israeli actions involving the escalation and expansion of the conflict in the region, which further violate the principles of international law and endanger international peace and security,

1. *Condemns* Israel's continued occupation of the Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of international law and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and demands the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Israel from all these occupied territories;

2. *Reaffirms* its conviction that the question of Palestine is the core of the conflict in the Middle East and that no comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region will be achieved without the full exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights;

3. *Reaffirms further* that a just and comprehensive settlement of the situation in the Middle East cannot be achieved without the participation on an equal footing of all the parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinian people;

4. *Declares 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 uncondi-

tional 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;

5. *Rejects* all partial agreements and separate treaties in so far as they violate the recognized rights of the Palestinian people and contradict the principles of just and comprehensive solutions to the Middle East problem to ensure the establishment of a just peace in the area;

6. *Deplores* Israel's failure to comply with Security Council resolutions 476 (1980) of 30 June 1980 and 478 (1980) of 20 August 1980 and General Assembly resolution 35/207 of 16 December 1980, determines that Israel's decision to annex Jerusalem and to declare it its "capital", as well as the measures to alter its physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure and status, are null and void and demands that they be rescinded immediately, and calls upon all Member States, the specialized agencies and all other international organizations to abide by the present resolution and all other relevant resolutions, including Assembly resolution 36/120 E;

7. *Condemns* Israel's aggression and practices against the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territories and outside these territories, particularly in the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, including the expropriation and annexation of territory, the establishment of settlements, assassination attempts and other terrorist, aggressive and repressive measures, which are in violation of the Charter and the principles of international law and the pertinent international conventions;

8. *Strongly condemns* Israeli annexationist policies and practices in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights, the establishment

of settlements, the confiscation of lands, the diversion of water resources, the intensification of repressive measures against the Syrian citizens therein and the forcible imposition of Israeli citizenship on Syrian nationals, and declares all these measures as null and void as they constitute violations of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949;

9. *Strongly condemns* the Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the continuous bombardment and destruction of its cities and villages, and all acts that constitute a violation of its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and the security of its people and prevent the full implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978) of 19 March 1978, including the full deployment of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon up to the internationally recognized borders;

10. *Calls* for strict respect of the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon and supports the efforts of the Government of Lebanon, with regional and international endorsement, to restore the exclusive authority of the Lebanese State over all of its territory up to the internationally recognized boundaries;

11. *Deplores* Israeli violations of the airspace of various Arab countries and demands their immediate cessation;

12. *Considers* that the agreements on strategic co-operation between the United States of America and Israel signed on 30 November 1981 would encourage Israel to pursue its aggressive and expansionist policies and practices in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and would have adverse effects on efforts for the establishment of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East and would threaten the security of the region;

13. *Calls upon* all States to put an end to the flow to Israel of any military, economic and financial resources which would encourage it to pursue its aggressive policies against the Arab countries and the Palestinian people;

14. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council periodically on the development of the situation and to submit to the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session a comprehensive report covering the developments in the Middle East in all their aspects.

B

The General Assembly,

Gravely alarmed by Israel's decision of 14 December 1981 to apply Israeli law to the occupied Syrian Arab Golan Heights,

Reaffirming that acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible under the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of international law and relevant United Nations resolutions,

Reaffirming once more the applicability of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, to the occupied Syrian territory,

Recalling its resolutions 35/122 A to F of 11 December 1980,

1. *Declares* that Israel's decision to apply Israeli law to the occupied Syrian Arab Golan Heights is null and void and has no legal validity whatsoever;

2. *Determines* that the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, continue to apply to the Syrian territory occupied by Israel since 1967;

3. *Strongly deplores* the persistence of the Israeli policy of annexation, which escalates tension in the region;

4. *Demands* that Israel, the occupying Power, rescind forthwith its decision and all administrative and other measures relating to it, which constitute a flagrant violation of all relevant principles of international law;

5. *Calls upon* all States, specialized agencies and other international institutions not to recognize that decision;

6. *Requests* the Security Council, in the event of Israel's failure to implement the present resolution, to invoke Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council on the implementation of the present resolution not later than 21 December 1981.

**RESOLUTION 37/86
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 20 DECEMBER 1982**

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

A

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 3376 (XXX) of 10 November 1975, 31/20 of 24 November 1976, 32/40 of 2 December 1977, 33/28 of 7 December 1978, 34/65 of 29 November and 12 December 1979, ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980, 35/169 of 15 December 1980, 36/120 of 10 December 1981, ES-7/4 of 28 April 1982, ES-7/5 of 26 June 1982 and ES-7/9 of 24 September 1982,

Having considered the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People,

1. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for its efforts in performing the tasks assigned to it by the General Assembly;

2. *Endorses* the recommendations of the Committee contained in paragraphs 114 to 119 of its report and draws the attention of the Security Council to the fact that action on the Committee's recommendations, as endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 31/20, is long overdue;

3. *Requests* the Committee to keep the situation relating to the question of Palestine under review and to report and make suggestions to the General Assembly or the Security Council, as appropriate;

4. *Authorizes* the Committee to continue to exert all efforts to promote the implementation of its recommendations, to send delegations or representatives to international conferences where such representation would be considered by it to be appropriate, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session and thereafter;

5. *Requests* the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, established under General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948, as well as other United Nations bodies associated with the question of Palestine, to co-operate fully with the Committee and to make available to it, at its request, the relevant information and documentation which they have at their disposal;

6. *Decides* to circulate the report of the Committee to all the competent bodies of the United Nations and urges them to take the necessary action, as appropriate, in accordance with the Committee's programme of implementation;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue to provide the Committee with all the necessary facilities for the performance of its tasks.

B

The General Assembly,

Having considered the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People,

Noting, in particular, the information contained in paragraphs 103 to 111 of that report,

Recalling its resolutions 32/40 B of 2 December 1977, 33/28 C of 7 December 1978, 34/65 D of 12 December 1979, 35/169 D of 15 December 1980 and 36/120 B of 10 December 1981,

1. *Notes with appreciation* the action taken by Secretary-General in compliance with General Assembly resolution 36/120 B;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that the Division for Palestinian Rights of the Secretariat continues to discharge the tasks detailed in paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 32/40 B, paragraph 2 (b) of Assembly resolution 34/65 D and paragraph 3 of resolution 36/120 B, in consultation with the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and under its guidance;

3. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to provide the Division for Palestinian Rights with the necessary resources to carry out its tasks, as urged in paragraph 109 of the Committee's report;

4. *Further requests* the Secretary-General to ensure the continued co-operation of the Department of Public Information and other units of the Secretariat in enabling the Division for Palestinian Rights to perform its tasks and in covering adequately the various aspects of the question of Palestine;

5. *Invites* all Governments and organizations to lend their co-operation to the Committee and the Division for Palestinian Rights in the performance of their tasks;

6. *Notes with appreciation* the action taken by Member States to observe annually on 29 November the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People and the issuance by them of special postage stamps for the occasion.

C

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 and all other United Nations resolutions, including resolution ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980, pertinent to the question of Palestine,

Recalling also its resolutions 36/120 C of 10 December 1981, in which it decided to convene an International Conference on the Question of Palestine for a comprehensive effort to seek ef-

fective ways and means to enable the Palestinian people to attain and to exercise their rights, and ES-7/7 of 19 August 1982, in which it decided to convene the Conference at the headquarters of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, in Paris, from 16 to 27 August 1983,

Convinced that a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be established, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant resolutions of the Organization, through a just solution to the problem of Palestine on the basis of the attainment of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people,

Convinced that the Conference will provide a unique opportunity to heighten awareness of the underlying causes of the question of Palestine and to contribute actively and constructively to a solution of the question on the basis of relevant United Nations resolutions,

Stressing the need to assure the participation of all Member States in the Conference and their support for its preparations,

Taking note with appreciation of the report of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine,

1. *Reiterates* the responsibility of the United Nations to strive for a lasting peace in the Middle East through a just solution of the problem of Palestine;

2. *Endorses* the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine contained in paragraph 32 of its report concerning the preparatory activities for the Conference, the objectives of the Conference, the documentation, the draft provisional agenda, the draft provisional rules of procedure, participation in the Conference and the organization of work;

3. *Calls upon* all organizations of the United Nations system to continue to extend their fullest support to the Conference and to its preparation;

4. *Urges* all Member States to promote heightened awareness of the importance of the Conference and to intensify preparations at the national, subregional and regional levels in order to ensure its success;

5. *Calls upon* all Member States to contribute to the achievement of Palestinian rights and to support modalities for their implementation, and to participate in the Conference and the regional preparatory meetings preceding it;

6. *Decides* to consider the results of the Conference at its thirty-eighth session.

D

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions relevant to the question of Palestine, in particular resolutions 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, 194 (III) of 11 December 1948, 3210 (XXIX) of 14 October 1974, 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 and ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980;

Recalling resolutions of the Security Council relevant to Palestine,

Having heard the statement of the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization,

1. *Takes note* of the declaration of the Palestine Liberation Organization of 19 April 1981 of its intention to pursue its role in the solution of the question of Palestine on the basis of the attainment in Palestine of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations;

2. *Reaffirms* the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force;

3. *Reaffirms once again* that a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be established without the

unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian and the other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and without the exercise and attainment by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights in Palestine in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations;

4. *Requests* the Security Council to discharge its responsibilities under the Charter and recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including the right to self-determination and the right to establish its independent Arab State in Palestine;

5. *Reiterates* its request that the Security Council take the necessary measures, in execution of the relevant United Nations resolutions, to implement the plan which, *inter alia*, recommends that an independent Arab State shall come into existence in Palestine;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report on the progress made in implementing the present resolution as soon as possible.

E

The General Assembly,

Having considered the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People,

Expressing its extreme concern that no just solution to the problem of Palestine has been achieved and that this problem therefore continues to aggravate the Middle East conflict, of which it is the core, and to endanger international peace and security,

Recalling its previous relevant resolutions, particularly resolutions 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, 194 (III) of 11 December 1948, 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974, ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980, 36/120 D of 10 December 1981 and ES-7/9 of 24 September 1982,

Recalling, in particular, the principles relevant to the question of Palestine that have been accepted by the international community, including the right of all States in the region to existence within internationally recognized boundaries, and justice and security for all the peoples, which requires recognition and attainment of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people,

Recognizing the necessity of participation by all parties concerned in any efforts aimed at the attainment of a just and lasting solution,

1. *Reaffirms* the inalienable legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination and the right to establish, once it so wishes, its independent State in Palestine;

2. *Declares* all Israeli policies and practices of, or aimed at, annexation of the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, to be in violation of international law and of the relevant United Nations resolutions;

3. *Demands*, in conformity with the fundamental principles of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, that Israel should withdraw completely and unconditionally from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem, with all property and services intact;

4. *Urges* the Security Council to facilitate the process of Israeli withdrawal;

5. *Recommends* that, following the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Palestinian territories, those territories should be subjected to a short transitional period under the supervision of the United Nations, during which period the Palestinian people would exercise its right to self-determination;

6. *Urgently calls* for the achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace, based on the resolutions of the United Nations

and under its auspices, in which all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, participate on an equal footing;

7. *Recommends* that the Security Council should take early action to promote a just and comprehensive solution to the question of Palestine;

8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its thirty-eight session on the progress made in implementing the present resolution.

REPORT 37/88
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 10 DECEMBER 1982

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE ISRAELI
PRACTICES AFFECTING THE HUMAN RIGHTS
OF THE POPULATION
OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

A

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 3092 A (XXVIII) of 7 December 1973, 3240 B (XXIX) of 29 November 1974, 3525 B (XXX) of 15 December 1975, 31/106 B of 16 December 1976, 32/91 A of 13 December 1977, 33/113 A of 18 December 1978, 34/90 B of 12 December 1979, 35/122 A of 11 December 1980 and 36/147 A of 16 December 1981,

Recalling also Security Council resolution 465 (1980) of 1 March 1980 in which, *inter alia*, the Council affirmed that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem,

Considering that the promotion of respect for the obligations arising from the Charter of the United Nations and other instruments and rules of international law is among the basic purposes and principles of the United Nations,

Bearing in mind the provisions of the Geneva Convention,

Noting that Israel and those Arab States whose territories have been occupied by Israel since June 1967 are parties to that Convention,

Taking into account that States parties to that Convention undertake, in accordance with article 1 thereof, not only to respect

but also to ensure respect for the Convention in all circumstances,

1. *Reaffirms* that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem;

2. *Condemns once again* the failure of Israel as the occupying Power to acknowledge the applicability of that Convention to the territories it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem;

3. *Strongly demands* that Israel acknowledge and comply with the provisions of that Convention in Palestinian and other Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem;

4. *Urgently calls upon* all States parties to that Convention to exert all efforts in order to ensure respect for and compliance with its provisions in Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem.

B

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 32/5 of 28 October 1977, 33/113 B of 18 December 1978, 34/90 C of 12 December 1979, 35/122 B of 11 December 1980 and 36/147 B of 16 December 1981,

Recalling also Security Council resolution 465 (1980) of 1 March 1980,

Expressing grave anxiety and concern at the present serious situation in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, as a result of the continued Israeli occupation and the measures and actions taken by the Government of Israel, the occupying Power, designed to change the legal status, geographical nature and demographic composition of those territories,

Considering that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to all Arab territories occupied since 5 June 1967, including Jerusalem,

1. *Determines* that all such measures and actions taken by Israel in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, are in violation of the relevant provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and constitute a serious obstruction of efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and therefore have no legal validity;

2. *Strongly deplores* the persistence of Israel in carrying out such measures, in particular the establishment of settlements in the Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem;

3. *Demands* that Israel comply strictly with its international obligations in accordance with the principles of international law and the provisions of the Geneva Convention;

4. *Demands once more* that the Government of Israel, the occupying Power, desist forthwith from taking any action which would result in changing the legal status, geographical nature or demographic composition of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem;

5. *Urgently calls upon* all States parties to the Geneva Convention to respect and to exert all efforts in order to ensure respect for and compliance with its provisions in all Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem.

C

The General Assembly,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and by the principles and provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Bearing in mind the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, as well as of other relevant conventions and regulations,

Recalling all its resolutions on the subject, in particular resolutions 32/91 B and C of 13 December 1977, 33/113 C of 18 December 1978, 34/90 A of 12 December 1979, 35/122 C of 11 December 1980 and 31/147 C of 16 December 1981, and also those adopted by the Security Council, the Commission on Human Rights and other United Nations organs concerned and by the specialized agencies,

Having considered the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, which contains, *inter alia*, public statements made by the leaders of the Government of Israel,

1. *Commends* the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories for its efforts in performing the tasks assigned to it by the General Assembly and for its thoroughness and impartiality;

2. *Deplores* the continued refusal by Israel to allow the Special Committee access to the occupied territories;

3. *Demands* that Israel allow the Special Committee access to the occupied territories;

4. *Reaffirms* the fact that occupation itself constitutes a grave violation of the human rights of the civilian population of the occupied Arab territories;

5. *Condemns* the continued and persistent violation by Israel of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and other applicable international instruments, and condemns in particular those violations which that Convention designates as "grave breaches" thereof;

6. *Declares once more* that Israel's grave breaches of that Convention are war crimes and an affront to humanity;

7. *Strongly condemns* the following Israeli policies and practices:

(a) Annexation of parts of the occupied territories, including Jerusalem;

(b) Imposition of Israeli laws, jurisdiction and administration on the Syrian Golan Heights, which has resulted in the effective annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights;

(c) Establishment of new Israeli settlements and expansion of the existing settlements on private and public Arab lands, and transfer of an alien population thereto;

(d) Evacuation, deportation, expulsion, displacement and transfer of Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories and denial of their right to return;

(e) Confiscation and expropriation of private and public Arab property in the occupied territories and all other transactions for the acquisition of land involving the Israeli authorities, institutions or nationals on the one hand and the inhabitants or institutions of the occupied territories on the other;

(f) Excavations and transformations of the landscape and the historical, cultural and religious sites, especially at Jerusalem;

(g) Destruction and demolition of Arab houses;

(h) Collective punishment, mass arrests, administrative detention and ill-treatment of the Arab population;

(i) Ill-treatment and torture of persons under detention;

(j) Pillaging of archaeological and cultural property;

(k) Interference with religious freedoms and practices as well as family rights and customs;

(l) Interference with the system of education and with the social and economic development of the population in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories;

(m) Interference with the freedom of movement of individuals within the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories;

(n) Illegal exploitation of the natural wealth, resources and population of the occupied territories;

8. *Reaffirms* that all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure or status of the occupied territories, or any part thereof, including Jerusalem, are null and void, and that Israel's policy of settling parts of its population and new immigrants in the occupied territories constitutes a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention and of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations;

9. *Demands* that Israel desist forthwith from the policies and practices referred to in paragraphs 7 and 8 above;

10. *Urges* the international organizations and the specialized agencies, in particular the International Labour Organisation, to examine the conditions of Arab workers in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem;

11. *Reiterates its call* upon all States, in particular those States parties to the Geneva Convention, in accordance with article 1 of that Convention, and upon international organizations and the specialized agencies not to recognize any changes carried out by Israel in the occupied territories and to avoid actions, including those in the field of aid, which might be used by Israel in its pursuit of the policies of annexation and colonization or any of the other policies and practices referred to in the present resolution;

12. *Requests* the Special Committee, pending the early termination of Israeli occupation, to continue to investigate Israeli

policies and practices in the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, to consult, as appropriate, with the International Committee of the Red Cross in order to ensure the safeguarding of the welfare and human rights of the population of the occupied territories and to report to the Secretary-General as soon as possible and whenever the need arises thereafter;

13. *Requests* the Special Committee to continue to investigate the treatment of civilians in detention in the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967;

14. *Condemns* Israel's refusal to permit persons from the occupied territories to appear as witnesses before the Special Committee;

15. *Requests* the Secretary-General;

(a) To provide all necessary facilities to the Special Committee, including those required for its visits to the occupied territories, with a view to investigating the Israeli policies and practices referred to in the present resolution;

(b) To continue to make available additional staff as may be necessary to assist the Special Committee in the performance of its tasks;

(c) To ensure the widest circulation of the reports of the Special Committee, and of information regarding its activities and findings, by all means available through the Department of Public Information of the Secretariat and, where necessary, to reprint those reports of the Special Committee that are no longer available;

(d) To report to the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session on the tasks entrusted to him in the present paragraph;

16. *Requests* the Security Council to ensure Israel's respect for and compliance with all the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, in Palestinian and other Arab ter-

ritories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and to initiate measures to halt Israeli policies and practices in those territories;

17. *Decides* to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-eighth session the item entitled "Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories".

D

The General Assembly,

Recalling Security Council resolutions 468 (1980) of 8 May 1980, 469 (1980) of 20 May 1980, 484 (1980) of 19 December 1980 and General Assembly resolution 36/147 D of 16 December 1981,

Deeply concerned at the expulsion by the Israeli military occupation authorities of the Mayors of Hebron and Halhul and of the Sharia Judge of Hebron,

Recalling the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and in particular article 1 and the first paragraph of article 49, which read as follows:

"Article 1"

"The High Contracting Parties undertake to respect and to ensure respect for the present Convention in all circumstances."

"Article 49"

"Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the occupying Power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motive...",

Reaffirming the applicability of the Geneva Convention to the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem,

1. *Demands once more* that the Government of Israel, the occupying Power, rescind the illegal measures taken by the Israeli military occupation authorities in expelling and imprisoning the Mayors of Hebron and Halhul and in expelling the Sharia Judge of Hebron and that it facilitate the immediate return of the expelled Palestinian leaders so that they can resume the functions for which they were elected and appointed;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly as soon as possible on the implementation of the present resolution.

E

The General Assembly,

Deeply concerned that the Arab territories occupied since 1967 have been under continued Israeli military occupation,

Recalling Security Council resolution 497 (1981) of 17 December 1981 and General Assembly resolutions 36/226 B of 17 December 1981 and ES-9/1 of 5 February 1982,

Recalling its previous resolutions, in particular resolutions 3414 (XXX) of 5 December 1975, 31/61 of 9 December 1976, 32/20 of 25 November 1977, 33/28 and 33/29 of 7 December 1978, 34/70 of 6 December 1979 and 35/122 E of 11 December 1980, in which it, *inter alia*, called upon Israel to put an end to its occupation of the Arab territories and to withdraw from all those territories,

Reaffirming once more the illegality of Israel's decision of 14 December 1981 to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the occupied Syrian Golan Heights, which has resulted in the effective annexation of that territory,

Reaffirming that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible under the Charter of the United Nations and that all territories thus occupied by Israel must be returned,

Recalling the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,

1. *Strongly condemns* Israel, the occupying Power, for its refusal to comply with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, particularly Council resolution 497 (1981), in which the Council, *inter alia*, decided that the Israeli decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights was null and void and without international legal effect and demanded that Israel, the occupying Power, should rescind forthwith its decision;

2. *Condemns* the persistence of Israel in changing the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure and legal status of the occupied Syrian Arab Golan Heights;

3. *Determines* that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken or to be taken by Israel, the occupying Power, that purport to alter the character and legal status of the Syrian Arab Golan Heights are null and void and constitute a flagrant violation of international law and of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and have no legal effect;

4. *Strongly condemns* Israel for its attempts and measures to impose forcibly Israeli citizenship and Israeli identity cards on the Syrian citizens in the occupied Syrian Arab Golan Heights and calls upon it to desist from its repressive measures against the population of the Syrian Arab Golan Heights;

5. *Calls upon* Member States not to recognize any of the legislative or administrative measures and actions referred to above;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session a report on the implementation of the present resolution.

The General Assembly,

Bearing in mind the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,

Deeply shocked by the most recent atrocities committed by Israel, the occupying Power, against educational institutions in the occupied Palestinian territories,

1. *Reaffirms* the applicability of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, to the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem;

2. *Condemns* Israeli policies and practices against Palestinian students and faculty in schools, universities and other educational institutions in the occupied Palestinian territories, especially the policy of opening fire on defenceless students, causing many casualties;

3. *Condemns* the systematic Israeli campaign of repression against and closing of universities in the occupied Palestinian territories, restricting and impeding academic activities of Palestinian universities by subjecting the selection of courses, textbooks and educational programmes, the admission of students and the appointment of faculty members to the control and supervision of the military occupation authorities, in clear contravention of the Geneva Convention;

4. *Demands* that Israel, the occupying Power, comply with the provisions of that Convention, rescind all actions and measures against all educational institutions, ensure the freedom of these institutions and refrain forthwith from hindering the effective operation of the universities and other educational institutions;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report on the

implementation of the present resolution before the end of 1983.

G

The General Assembly,

Recalling Security Council resolution 471 (1980) of 5 June 1980, in which the Council condemned the assassination attempts against the Mayors of Nablus, Ramallah and Al Bireh and called for the immediate apprehension and prosecution of the perpetrators of those crimes,

Recalling also General Assembly resolution 36/147 G of 16 December 1981,

Recalling once again the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, in particular article 27, which states, *inter alia*:

“Protected persons are entitled, in all circumstances, to respect for their persons . . . They shall at all times be humanely treated, and shall be protected especially against all acts of violence or threats thereof . . .”,

Reaffirming the applicability of that Convention to the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem,

1. *Expresses deep concern* that Israel, the occupying Power, has failed for two years to apprehend and prosecute the perpetrators of the assassination attempts;

2. *Demands once more* that Israel, the occupying Power, inform the Secretary-General of the results of the investigations relevant to the assassination attempts;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session a report on the implementation of the present resolution.

**RESOLUTION 37/123
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 20 DECEMBER 1982**

THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

A

The General Assembly,

Having discussed the item entitled "The situation in the Middle East",

Taking note of the reports of the Secretary-General,

Recalling Security Council resolution 497 (1981) of 17 December 1981,

Reaffirming its resolutions 36/226 B of 17 December 1981 and ES-9/1 of 5 February 1982,

Recalling its resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974, in which it defined an act of aggression, *inter alia*, as "the invasion or attack by the armed forces of a State of the territory of another State, or any military occupation, however temporary, resulting from such invasion or attack, or any annexation by the use of force of the territory of another State or part thereof" and provided that "no consideration of whatever nature, whether political, economic, military or otherwise, may serve as a justification for aggression",

Reaffirming the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force,

Reaffirming once more the applicability of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, to the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem,

Noting that Israel's record and actions establish conclusively that it is not a peace-loving Member State and that it has not carried out its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations,

Noting further that Israel has refused, in violation of Article 25 of the Charter, to accept and carry out the numerous relevant decisions of the Security Council, the latest of which was resolution 497 (1981), thus failing to carry out its obligations under the Charter,

1. *Strongly condemns* Israel for its failure to comply with Security Council resolution 497 (1981) and General Assembly resolutions 36/226 B and ES-9/1;

2. *Declares once more* that Israel's decision of 14 December 1981 to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the occupied Syrian Golan Heights constitutes an act of aggression under the provisions of Article 39 of the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX);

3. *Declares once more* that Israel's decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the occupied Syrian Golan Heights is null and void and has no legal validity and/or effect whatsoever;

4. *Declares* all Israeli policies and practices of, or aimed at, annexation of the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, to be in violation of international law and of the relevant United Nations resolutions;

5. *Determines once more* that all actions taken by Israel to give effect to its decision relating to the occupied Syrian Golan Heights are illegal and invalid and shall not be recognized;

6. *Reaffirms its determination* that all the provisions of the Hague Convention of 1907 and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, continue to apply to the Syrian territory occupied by Israel since 1967, and calls upon the parties thereto to respect and ensure respect of their obligations under these instruments in all circumstances;

7. *Determines once more* that the continued occupation of the Syrian Golan Heights since 1967 and their effective annexation by Israel on 14 December 1981, following Israel's decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on that territory, constitute a continuing threat to international peace and security;

8. *Strongly deplores* the negative vote by a permanent member of the Security Council which prevented the Council from adopting against Israel, under Charter VII of the Charter, the "appropriate measures" referred to in resolution 497 (1981) unanimously adopted by the Council;

9. *Further deplores* any political, economic, financial, military and technological support to Israel that encourages Israel to commit acts of aggression and to consolidate and perpetuate its occupation and annexation of occupied Arab territories;

10. *Firmly emphasizes once more* its demands that Israel, the occupying Power, rescind forthwith its decision of 14 December 1981 to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the Syrian Golan Heights, which has resulted in the effective annexation of that territory;

11. *Reaffirms once more* the overriding necessity of the total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, which is an essential prerequisite for the establishment of a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East;

12. *Determines once more* that Israel's record and actions confirm that it is not a peace-loving Member State, that it has persistently violated the principles contained in the Charter 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;

13. *Calls once more upon* all Member States to apply the following measures:

(a) To refrain from supplying Israel with any weapons and related equipment and to suspend any military assistance that Israel receives from them;

(b) To refrain from acquiring any weapons or military equipment from Israel;

(c) To suspend economic, financial and technological assistance to and co-operation with Israel;

(d) To sever diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with Israel;

14. *Reiterates its call* to all Member States to cease forthwith, individually and collectively, all dealings with Israel in order totally to isolate it in all fields;

15. *Urges* non-member States to act in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution;

16. *Calls upon* the specialized agencies and other international organizations to conform their relations with Israel to the terms of the present resolution.

B

The General Assembly,

Recalling the relevant provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Recalling also the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and all other relevant international instruments concerning the right to cultural identity in all its forms,

Having learned that the Israeli army, during its occupation of Beirut, seized and took away the archives and documents of every kind concerning Palestinian history and culture, including cultural articles belonging to Palestinian institutions—in particular the Palestine Research Centre—archives, documents, ma-

nuscripts and materials such as film documents, literary works by major authors, paintings, *objets d'art* and works of folklore, research works and so forth, serving as a foundation for the history, culture, national awareness, unity and solidarity of the Palestinian people,

1. *Condemns* those acts of plundering the Palestinian cultural heritage;

2. *Calls upon* the Government of Israel to make full restitution through the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, of all the cultural property belonging to Palestinian institutions, including the archives and documents removed from the Palestine Research Centre and arbitrarily seized by the Israeli forces.

C

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 36/120 E of 10 December 1981, in which it determined that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, the occupying Power, which had altered or purported to alter the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, in particular the so-called "Basic Law" on Jerusalem and the proclamation of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, were null and void and must be rescinded forthwith,

Recalling Security Council resolution 478 (1980) of 20 August 1980, in which the Council, *inter alia*, decided not to recognize the "Basic Law" and called upon those States that had established diplomatic missions at Jerusalem to withdraw such missions from the Holy City,

1. *Deplores* the transfer by some States of their diplomatic missions to Jerusalem in violation of Security Council resolution 478 (1980);

2. *Calls upon* those States to abide by the provisions of the relevant United Nations resolutions, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

D

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 95 (I) of 11 December 1946,

Recalling also its resolution 96 (I) of 11 December 1946, in which it, *inter alia*, affirmed that genocide is a crime under international law which the civilized world condemns, and for the commission of which principals and accomplices—whether private individuals, public officials or statesmen, and whether the crime is committed on religious, racial, political or any other grounds—are punishable,

Referring to the provisions of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted by the General Assembly on 9 December 1948,

Recalling the relevant provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,

Appalled at the large-scale massacre of Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps situated at Beirut,

Recognizing the universal outrage and condemnation of that massacre,

Recalling its resolution ES-7/9 of 24 September 1982,

1. *Condemns* in the strongest terms the large-scale massacre of Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps;

2. *Resolves* that the massacre was an act of genocide.

E

The General Assembly,

Having heard the address by the President of the Lebanese Republic on 18 October 1982,

Taking note of the decision of the Government of Lebanon calling for the withdrawal from Lebanon of all non-Lebanese troops and forces which are not authorized by the Government to deploy therein,

Bearing in mind Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) of 5 June 1982 and 509 (1982) of 6 June 1982,

1. *Calls* for strict respect of the territorial integrity, sovereignty, unity and political independence of Lebanon and supports the efforts of the Government of Lebanon, with regional and international endorsement, to restore the exclusive authority of the Lebanese State throughout its territory up to the internationally recognized boundaries;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly on the implementation of the present resolution.

F

The General Assembly,

Having discussed the item entitled "The situation in the Middle East",

Reaffirming its resolutions 36/226 A and B of 17 December 1981 and ES-9/1 of 5 February 1982,

Recalling Security Council resolutions 425 (1978) of 19 March 1978, 497 (1981) of 17 December 1981, 508 (1982) of 5 June 1982, 509 (1982) of 6 June 1982, 511 (1982) of 18 June 1982, 512 (1982) of 19 June 1982, 513 (1982) of 4 July 1982, 515 (1982) of 29 July 1982, 516 (1982) of 1 August 1982, 517 (1982) of 4 August 1982, 518 (1982) of 12 August 1982, 519 (1982) of 17 August 1982, 520 (1982) of 17 September 1982 and 521 (1982) of 19 September 1982,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General of 12 October 1982,

Welcoming the world-wide support extended to the just cause of the Palestinian people and the other Arab countries in their struggle against Israeli aggression and occupation in order to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East and the full exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights, as affirmed by previous resolutions of the General Assembly relating to the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East,

Gravely concerned that the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, still remain under Israeli occupation, that the relevant resolutions of the United Nations have not been implemented and that the Palestinian people is still denied the restoration of its land and the exercise of its inalienable national rights in conformity with international law, as reaffirmed by resolutions of the United Nations,

Reaffirming the applicability of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, to all the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem,

Reiterating all relevant United Nations resolutions which emphasize that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible under the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law and that Israel must withdraw unconditionally from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem,

Reaffirming further the imperative necessity of establishing a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region, based on full respect for the Charter and the principles of international law,

Gravely concerned also at recent Israeli actions involving the escalation and expansion of the conflict in the region, which further violate the principles of international law and endanger international peace and security,

Welcoming the Arab peace plan adopted unanimously at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez, Morocco, on 25 November 1981 and 9 September 1982,¹

Bearing in mind the address made, on 26 October 1982, by His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco, in his capacity as President of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference,

1. *Condemns* Israel's continued occupation of the Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of international law and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and demands the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Israel from all these occupied territories;

2. *Reaffirms its conviction* that the question of Palestine is the core of the conflict in the Middle East and that no comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region will be achieved

¹ XII conference of the heads of Arab states and governments, held in Fez, Morocco, adopted the following principles for solving the Palestine problem and bringing about a settlement in the Middle East as a whole:

1. Israel is to withdraw from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, including the Arab part of Jerusalem.

2. The Israeli settlements on these territories are to be dismantled.

3. Free exercise of all forms of worship in the Holy Places shall be ensured to all.

4. The right of the Palestinian people to self-determination is confirmed. Palestinian rights are to be realised under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the only legitimate spokesman of the Palestinian people. Compensation is to be paid to all the Palestinian refugees who would not wish to return.

5. The West Bank of the river Jordan and the Gaza Strip are to be placed under UN control for a transition period of no more than a few months.

6. An independent Palestinian state with the Arab part of Jerusalem as its capital is to be established.

7. The Security Council is to guarantee peace among all the states of the region, including the independent Palestinian state.

8. The Security Council is to guarantee the observance of the above principles.

The pan-Arab platform adopted at Fez basically coincides with the Soviet Union's approach to the issue of a just and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East.—*Ed.*

without the full exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights and the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Israel from all the Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories;

3. *Reaffirms further* that a just and comprehensive settlement of the situation in the Middle East cannot be achieved without the participation on an equal footing of all the parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people;

4. *Declares 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, 36/120 A to F of 10 December 1981, 37/86 A to D of 10 December 1982 and 37/86 E of 20 December 1982;

5. *Rejects* all agreements and arrangements in so far as they violate the recognized rights of the Palestinian people and contradict the principles of just and comprehensive solutions to the Middle East problem to ensure the establishment of a just peace in the area;

6. *Deplores* Israel's failure to comply with Security Council resolutions 476 (1980) of 30 June 1980 and 478 (1980) of 20 August 1980 and General Assembly resolutions 35/207 of 16 December 1980 and 36/226 A and B of 17 December 1981, determines that Israel's decision to annex Jerusalem and to declare it as its "capital", as well as the measures to alter its physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure

and status, are null and void and demands that they be rescinded immediately, and calls upon all Member States, the specialized agencies and all other international organizations, to abide by the present resolution and all other relevant resolutions, including Assembly resolutions 37/86 A to E;

7. *Condemns* Israel's aggression and practices against the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territories and outside these territories, particularly Palestinians in Lebanon, including the expropriation and annexation of territory, the establishment of settlements, assassination attempts and other terrorist, aggressive and repressive measures, which are in violation of the Charter and the principles of international law and the relevant international conventions;

8. *Strongly condemns* the imposition by Israel of its laws, jurisdiction and administration of the occupied Syrian Golan Heights, its annexationist policies and practices, the establishment of settlements, the confiscation of lands, the diversion of water resources and the imposition of Israeli citizenship on Syrian nationals, and declares that all these measures are null and void and constitute a violation of the rules and principles of international law relevant to belligerent occupation, in particular the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949;

9. *Considers* that the agreements on strategic co-operation between the United States of America and Israel signed on 30 November 1981 would encourage Israel to pursue its aggressive and expansionist policies and practices in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, would have adverse effects on efforts for the establishment of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East and would threaten the security of the region;

10. *Calls upon* all States to put an end to the flow to Israel of any military, economic and financial aid, as well as of human resources, aimed at encouraging it to pursue its aggressive policies against the Arab countries and the Palestinian people;

11. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council periodically on the development of the situation and to submit to the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session a comprehensive report covering the developments in the Middle East in all their aspects.

RESOLUTION 38/58
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 13 DECEMBER 1983

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

A

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 3376 (XXX) of 10 November 1975, 31/20 of 24 November 1976, 32/40 of 2 December 1977, 33/28 of 7 December 1978, 34/65 A and B of 29 November 1979 and 34/65 C and D of 12 December 1979, ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980, 35/169 of 15 December 1980, 36/120 of 10 December 1981, ES-7/4 of 28 April 1982, ES-7/5 of 26 June 1982, ES-7/9 of 24 September 1982 and 37/86 A of 10 December 1982,

Having considered the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People,

1. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for its efforts in performing the tasks assigned to it by the General Assembly;

2. *Endorses* the recommendations of the Committee contained in paragraphs 94 to 98 of its report and draws the attention of the Security Council to the fact that action on the Committee's recommendations, as repeatedly endorsed by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session and subsequently, is long overdue;

3. *Requests* the Committee to keep under review the situation relating to the question of Palestine as well as the implementation of the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights adopted by the International Conference on

the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983, and to report and make suggestions to the General Assembly or the Security Council, as appropriate;

4. *Requests* the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, established under General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948, as well as other United Nations bodies associated with the question of Palestine, to co-operate fully with the Committee and to make available to it, at its request, the relevant information and documentation which they have at their disposal;

5. *Authorizes* the Committee to continue to exert all efforts to promote the implementation of its recommendations, to send delegations or representatives to international conferences where such representation would be considered by it to be appropriate, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session and thereafter;

6. *Decides* to circulate the report of the Committee to all the competent bodies of the United Nations and urges them to take the necessary action, as appropriate, in accordance with the Committee's programme of implementation;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue to provide the Committee with all the necessary facilities for the performance of its tasks.

B

The General Assembly,

Having considered the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People,

Noting, in particular, the information contained in paragraphs 86 to 91 of that report,

Recalling its resolutions 32/40 B of 2 December 1977, 33/28 C of 7 December 1978, 34/65 D of 12 December 1979, 35/169

D of 15 December 1980, 36/120 B of 10 December 1981 and 37/86 B of 10 December 1982,

1. *Notes with appreciation* the action taken by the Secretary-General in compliance with General Assembly resolution 37/86 B;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that the Division for Palestinian Rights of the Secretariat continues to discharge the tasks detailed in paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 32/40 B, paragraph 2 (b) of resolution 34/65 D and paragraph 3 of resolution 36/120 B, in consultation with the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and under its guidance;

3. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to provide the Division for Palestinian Rights with the necessary resources to accomplish its tasks and to expand its work programme, *inter alia*, through:

(a) Closer contacts with the media and wider dissemination of the Division's information material, particularly where information on the question of Palestine is inadequate;

(b) Increased contacts with non-governmental organizations and the convening of symposia and meetings for non-governmental organizations in different regions in order to heighten awareness of the facts relating to the question of Palestine;

4. *Further requests* the Secretary-General to ensure the continued co-operation of the Department of Public Information and other units of the Secretariat in enabling the Division for Palestinian Rights to perform its tasks and in covering adequately the various aspects of the question of Palestine;

5. *Invites* all Governments and organizations to lend their co-operation to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and the Division for Palestinian Rights in the performance of their tasks;

6. *Notes with appreciation* the action taken by Member States to observe annually on 29 November the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people and the issuance by them of special postage stamps for the occasion.

C

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 36/120 C of 10 December 1981, in which it decided to convene under the auspices of the United Nations, an International Conference on the Question of Palestine on the basis of its resolution ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980,

Recalling also its resolution 37/86 C of 10 December 1982 in which it, *inter alia*, reiterated the responsibility of the United Nations to strive for a lasting peace in the Middle East through a just solution of the problem of Palestine,

Having considered the report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983,

Convinced that the Conference, in having adopted by acclamation the Geneva Declaration on Palestine and the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights, made an important and positive contribution to the attainment of a comprehensive, just and durable peace in the Middle East through a just solution to the problem of Palestine, the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict,

Conscious of the importance of the time factor in achieving a just solution to the problem of Palestine,

1. *Takes note with satisfaction* of the report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine;

2. *Endorses* the Geneva Declaration on Palestine, adopted by acclamation on 7 September 1983;

3. *Welcomes and endorses* the call for convening an International Peace Conference on the Middle East in conformity with the following guidelines:

(a) The attainment by the Palestinian people of its legitimate inalienable rights, including the right to return, the right to self-determination and the right to establish its own independent State in Palestine;

(b) The right of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate on an equal footing with other parties in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East;

(c) The need to put an end to Israel's occupation of the Arab territories, in accordance with the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, and, consequently, the need to secure Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem;

(d) The need to oppose and reject such Israeli policies and practices in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and any *de facto* situation created by Israel as are contrary to international law and relevant United Nations resolutions, particularly the establishment of settlements, as these policies and practices constitute major obstacles to the achievement of peace in the Middle East;

(e) The need to reaffirm as null and void all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, the occupying Power, which have altered or purported to alter the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, including the expropriation of land and property situated thereon, and in particular the so-called "Basic Law" on Jerusalem and the proclamation of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel;

(f) The right of all States in the region to existence within secure and internationally recognized boundaries, with justice and security for all the people, the *sine qua non* of which is the recognition and attainment of the legitimate, inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as stated in subparagraph (a) above;

4. *Invites* all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, as well as the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and other concerned States, to participate in the International Peace Conference on the Middle East on an equal footing and with equal rights;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Security Council, urgently to undertake preparatory measures to convene the Conference;

6. *Invites* the Security Council to facilitate the organization of the Conference;

7. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to report on his efforts no later than 15 March 1984;

8. *Decides* to consider at its thirty-ninth session the report of the Secretary-General on the Conference.

D

The General Assembly,

Having considered the report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983,

Taking note of the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights,

Bearing in mind its resolution 38/145 of 19 December 1983 on assistance to the Palestinian people,

Urges the meeting of specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system to be convened in 1984, referred to in General Assembly resolution 38/145, to take into account the recommendations of the five regional preparatory meetings of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine and the United Nations resolutions concerning eco-

conomic and social assistance to the Palestinian people in developing a co-ordinated programme of economic and social assistance to the Palestinian people, and to ensure the implementation of that programme.

E

The General Assembly,

Having considered the report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983,

Convinced that the world-wide dissemination of accurate and comprehensive information and the role of non-governmental organizations and institutions remain of vital importance in heightening awareness of and support for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people of self-determination and to the establishment of an independent sovereign Palestinian State,

Requests that the Department of Public Information of the Secretariat, in full co-operation and co-ordination with the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, should:

- (a) Disseminate all information on the activities of the United Nations system relating to Palestine;
- (b) Expand publications and audio-visual coverage of the facts and developments pertaining to the question of Palestine;
- (c) Publish newsletters and articles in its respective publications on Israeli violations of the human rights of the Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories, and organize fact-finding missions to the area for journalists;
- (d) Organize regional encounters for journalists;
- (e) Disseminate appropriate information on the results of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine.

**RESOLUTION 38/180
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 19 DECEMBER 1983**

THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

A

The General Assembly,

Having discussed the item entitled "The situation in the Middle East",

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General of 30 September 1983,

Recalling Security Council resolution 497 (1981) of 17 December 1981,

Reaffirming its resolutions 36/226 B of 17 December 1981, ES-9/1 of 5 February 1982 and 37/123 A of 16 December 1982,

Recalling its resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974, in which it defined an act of aggression, *inter alia*, as "the invasion or attack by the armed forces of a State of the territory of another State, or any military occupation, however temporary, resulting from such invasion or attack, or any annexation by the use of force of the territory of another State or part thereof" and provided that "no consideration of whatever nature, whether political, economic, military or otherwise, may serve as a justification for aggression",

Reaffirming the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force,

Reaffirming once more the applicability of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time

of War, of 12 August 1949, to the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem,

Noting that Israel's record, policies and actions establish conclusively that it is not a peace-loving Member State and that it has not carried out its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations,

Noting further that Israel has refused, in violation of Article 25 of the Charter, to accept and carry out the numerous relevant decisions of the Security Council, in particular resolution 497 (1981), thus failing to carry out its obligations under the Charter,

1. *Strongly condemns* Israel for its failure to comply with Security Council resolution 497 (1981) and General Assembly resolutions 36/226 B, ES-9/1 and 37/123 A;

2. *Declares once more* that Israel's continued occupation of the Golan Heights and its decision of 14 December 1981 to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the occupied Syrian Golan Heights constitute an act of aggression under the provisions of Article 39 of the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX);

3. *Declares once more* that Israel's decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the occupied Syrian Golan Heights is illegal and therefore null and void and has no validity whatsoever;

4. *Declares* all Israeli policies and practices of, or aimed at, annexation of the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, to be illegal and in violation of international law and of the relevant United Nations resolutions;

5. *Determines once more* that all actions taken by Israel to give effect to its decision relating to the occupied Syrian Golan Heights are illegal and invalid and shall not be recognized;

6. *Reaffirms its determination* that all relevant provisions annexed to the Hague Convention No. IV of 1907, and the Gene-

va Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, continue to apply to the Syrian territory occupied by Israel since 1967, and calls upon the parties thereto to respect and ensure respect of their obligations under these instrument in all circumstances;

7. *Determines once more* that the continued occupation of the Syrian Golan Heights since 1967 and their annexation by Israel on 14 December 1981, following Israel's decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on that territory, constitute a continuing threat to international peace and security;

8. *Strongly deplores* the negative vote by a permanent member of the Security Council which prevented the Council from adopting against Israel, under Chapter VII of the Charter, the "appropriate measures" referred to in resolution 497 (1981) unanimously adopted by the Council;

9. *Further deplores* any political, economic, financial, military and technological support to Israel that encourages Israel to commit acts of aggression and to consolidate and perpetuate its occupation and annexation of occupied Arab territories;

10. *Firmly emphasizes once more* its demand that Israel, the occupying Power, rescind forthwith its illegal decision of 14 December 1981 to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the Syrian Golan Heights, which resulted in the effective annexation of that territory;

11. *Reaffirms once more* the overriding necessity of the total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, which is an essential prerequisite for the establishment of a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East;

12. *Determines once more* that Israel's record, policies and actions confirm that it is not a peace-loving Member State, that it has persistently violated the principles contained in the Charter 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;

13. *Calls once more upon* all Member States to apply the following measures:

(a) To refrain from supplying Israel with any weapons and related equipment and to suspend any military assistance that Israel receives from them;

(b) To refrain from acquiring any weapons or military equipment from Israel;

(c) To suspend economic, financial and technological assistance to and co-operation with Israel;

(d) To sever diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with Israel;

14. *Reiterates its call* to all Member States to cease forthwith, individually and collectively, all dealings with Israel in order totally to isolate it in all fields;

15. *Urges* non-member States to act in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution;

16. *Calls upon* the specialized agencies and other international institutions to conform their relations with Israel to the terms of the present resolution;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session on the implementation of the present resolution.

B

The General Assembly,

Recalling the relevant provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Recalling also the Constitution of the United Nations Edu-

cational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and all other relevant international instruments concerning the right to cultural identity in all its forms,

Having learned that the Israeli army, during its occupation of Beirut, seized and took away archives and documents of every kind concerning Palestinian history and culture, including cultural articles belonging to Palestinian institutions—in particular the Palestine Research Centre—archives, documents, manuscripts and materials such as film documents, literary works by major authors, paintings, *objets d'art* and works of folklore, research works and so forth, serving as a foundation for the history, culture, national awareness, unity and solidarity of the Palestinian people,

1. *Condemns* those acts of plundering of the Palestinian cultural heritage;

2. *Calls upon* the Government of Israel to make full restitution, through the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, of all cultural property belonging to Palestinian Institutions, including the archives and documents removed from the Palestine Research Centre and arbitrarily seized by the Israeli forces;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session on the implementation of the present resolution.

C

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 36/120 E of 10 December 1981 and 37/123 C of 16 December 1982, in which it determined that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, the occupying Power, which had altered or purported to alter the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, in particular the so-called "Basic Law" on Jerusalem and the proclamation of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, were null and void and must be rescinded forthwith,

Recalling Security Council resolution 478 (1980) of 20 August 1980, in which the Council, *inter alia*, decided not to recognize the "Basic Law" and called upon those states that had established diplomatic missions at Jerusalem to withdraw such missions from the Holy City,

1. *Declares once more* that Israel's decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the Holy City of Jerusalem is illegal and therefore null and void and has no validity whatsoever;

2. *Deplores* the transfer by some States of their diplomatic missions to Jerusalem in violation of Security Council resolution 478 (1980);

3. *Calls once again upon* those States to abide by the provisions of the relevant United Nations resolutions, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session on the implementation of the present resolution.

D

The General Assembly,

Having discussed the item entitled "The situation in the Middle East",

Reaffirming its resolutions 36/226 A and B of 17 December 1981, ES-9/1 of 5 February 1982 and 37/123 F of 16 December 1982.

Recalling Security Council resolutions 425 (1978) of 19 March 1978, 497 (1981) of 17 December 1981, 508 (1982) of 5 June 1982, 509 (1982) of 6 June 1982, 511 (1982) of 18 June 1982, 512 (1982) of 19 June 1982, 513 (1982) of 4 July 1982, 515 (1982) of 29 July 1982, 516 (1982) of 1 August 1982, 517 (1982)

of 4 August 1982, 518 (1982) of 12 August 1982, 519 (1982) of 17 August 1982, 520 (1982) of 17 September 1982 and 521 (1982) of 19 September 1982,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General of 12 October 1982,

Welcoming the world-wide support extended to the just cause of the Palestinian people and the other Arab countries in their struggle against Israeli aggression and occupation in order to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East and the full exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights, as affirmed by previous resolutions of the General Assembly relating to the question of Palestine and to the situation in the Middle East,

Gravely concerned that the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, still remain under Israeli occupation, that the relevant resolutions of the United Nations have not been implemented and that the Palestinian people is still denied the restoration of its land and the exercise of its inalienable national rights in conformity with international law, as reaffirmed by resolutions of the United Nations,

Reaffirming the applicability of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, to all the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem,

Reiterating all relevant United Nations resolutions which emphasize that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible under the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law and that Israel must withdraw unconditionally from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem,

Reaffirming further the imperative necessity of establishing a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region, based on full respect for the Charter and the principles of international law,

Gravely concerned also at recent Israeli actions involving the escalation and expansion of the conflict in the region, which further violate the principles of international law and endanger international peace and security,

Recognizing the great importance of the time factor in the endeavours to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East,

1. *Reaffirms its conviction* that the question of Palestine is the core of the conflict in the Middle East and that no comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region will be achieved without the full exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights and the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Israel from all the Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories;

2. *Reaffirms further* that a just and comprehensive settlement of the situation in the Middle East cannot be achieved without the participation on an equal footing of all the parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people;

3. *Declares 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 and on the basis of relevant resolutions 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, 36/12C A to F of 10 December 1981, 37/86 A to D of 10 December 1982 and 37/86 E of 20 December 1982;

4. *Welcomes* the Arab Peace Plan adopted unanimously at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez, Morocco, on 25 November 1981 and from 6 to 9 September 1982;

5. *Condemns* Israel's continued occupation of the Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of international law and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and demands the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Israel from all the territories occupied since June 1967;

6. *Rejects* all agreements and arrangements which violate the recognized rights of the Palestinian people and contradict the principles of just and comprehensive solutions to the Middle East problem to ensure the establishment of a just peace in the area;

7. *Deplores* Israel's failure to comply with Security Council resolutions 476 (1980) of 30 June 1980 and 478 (1980) of 20 August 1980 and General Assembly resolutions 35/207 of 16 December 1980 and 36/226 A and B of 17 December 1981, determines that Israel's decision to annex Jerusalem and to declare it as its "capital" as well as the measures to alter its physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure and status are null and void and demands that they be rescinded immediately, and calls upon all Member States, the specialized agencies and all other international organizations to abide by the present resolution and all other relevant resolutions, including Assembly resolutions 37/86 A to E;

8. *Condemns* Israel's aggression, policies and practices against the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territories and outside these territories, particularly Palestinians in Lebanon, including the expropriation and annexation of territory, the establishment of settlements, assassination attempts and other terrorist, aggressive and repressive measures, which are in violation of the Charter and the principles of international law and the relevant international conventions;

9. *Strongly condemns* the imposition by Israel of its laws,

jurisdiction and administration on the occupied Syrian Golan Heights, its annexationist policies and practices, the establishment of settlements, the confiscation of lands, the diversion of water resources and the imposition of Israeli citizenship on Syrian nationals, and declares that all these measures are null and void and constitute a violation of the rules and principles of international law relevant to belligerent occupation, in particular the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949;

10. *Considers* that the agreements on strategic co-operation between the United States of America and Israel signed on 30 November 1981, together with the recent accords concluded in this context, would encourage Israel to pursue its aggressive and expansionist policies and practices in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, would have adverse effects on efforts for the establishment of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East and would threaten the security of the region;

11. *Calls upon* all States to put an end to the flow to Israel of any military, economic and financial aid, as well as of human resources, aimed at encouraging it to pursue its aggressive policies against the Arab countries and the Palestinian people;

12. *Strongly condemns* the continuing and increasing collaboration between Israel and the racist régime of South Africa, especially in the economic, military and nuclear fields, which constitutes a hostile act against the African and Arab States and enables Israel to enhance its nuclear capabilities, thus subjecting the States of the region to nuclear blackmail;

13. *Reaffirms* the call for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East—as specified in paragraph 5 of the Geneva Declaration on Palestine, adopted on 7 September 1983 by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine—under the auspices of the United Nations and on the basis of relevant resolutions of the United Nations;

14. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security

Council periodically on the development of the situation and to submit to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session a comprehensive report covering the developments in the Middle East in all their aspects.

E

The General Assembly,

Having considered the item entitled "The situation in the Middle East",

Recalling its resolutions 36/226 A of 17 December 1981 and 37/123 F of 20 December 1982, in which it stated, *inter alia*, its concern over certain factors which exacerbate the situation in the Middle East,

Deeply concerned at recent developments in the Middle East and the critical situation confronting the region resulting from the continued escalation of Israel's policy of aggression, expansion and annexation in the region,

Expressing grave concern over the continued supply of modern arms and war materials to Israel, augmented by substantial economic aid, without which Israel's policy of aggression and of flouting United Nations resolutions could not be maintained,

Deeply aware that the recent reported agreements following the memorandum of understanding between the United States of America and Israel will increase Israel's intransigence and its war potential and escalate its expansionist and annexationist policies in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, at a time when it is defying United Nations resolutions,

1. *Declares*, accordingly, the international responsibility of any party or parties that supply Israel with arms or economic aid that augment its war potential;

2. *Expresses deep concern at* and condemns all steps which result in augmenting the capability of Israel and contributing to its policy of aggression against countries in the region;

3. *Demands* that all States, particularly the United States of America, in the light of the said agreements, refrain from taking any step that would support Israel's war capabilities and consequently its aggressive acts, whether in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967 or against countries in the region;

4. *Calls upon* all States to review, in the light of the present resolution, any agreement, whether military, economic or otherwise, concluded with Israel.

**RESOLUTIONS
OF THE SEVENTH EMERGENCY
SPECIAL SESSION
OF THE UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
ON THE QUESTION
OF PALESTINE
(1980-1982)**

RESOLUTION ES-7/2¹
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 29 JULY 1980

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Palestine at an emergency special session,

Convinced that the failure to solve this Question poses a grave threat to international peace and security,

Noting with regret and concern that the Security Council, at its 2220th meeting on 30 April 1980, failed to take a decision, as a result of the negative vote of the United States of America, on the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolutions 31/20 of 24 November 1976, 32/40 of 2 December 1977, 33/28 A of 7 December 1978 and 34/65 A of 29 November 1979,

Having considered the letter dated 1 July 1980 from the Permanent Representative of Senegal to the United Nations, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People,

¹ The Seventh Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly began on 22 July and was temporarily adjourned on 29 July 1980. In its resolutions of 29 July the General Assembly authorised the President of the latest regular session to resume its meetings upon request from Member States. The Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine resumed its work four times (in April, July, August and September 1982).—*Ed.*

Having heard the statement by the Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people,

1. *Recalls and reaffirms* its resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 and all other relevant United Nations resolutions pertinent to the question of Palestine;

2. *Reaffirms*, in particular, that a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be established, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant United Nations resolutions, without the withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and without the achievement of a just solution of the problems of Palestine on the basis of the attainment of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine;

3. *Reaffirms* the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property in Palestine, from which they have been displaced and uprooted, and calls for their return;

4. *Reaffirms also* the inalienable rights in Palestine of the Palestinian people, including:

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

(b) The right to establish its own independent sovereign State;

5. *Reaffirms* the right of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate on an equal footing in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East within the framework of the United Nations;

6. *Reaffirms* the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force;

7. *Calls upon* Israel to withdraw completely and unconditionally from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem, with all property and services intact, and urges that such withdrawal from all the occupied territories should start before 15 November 1980;

8. *Demands* that Israel should fully comply with provisions of resolution 465 (1980) adopted unanimously by the Security Council on 1 March 1980;

9. *Further demands* that Israel should fully comply with all United Nations resolutions relevant to the historic character of the Holy City of Jerusalem, in particular Security Council resolution 476 (1980) of 30 June 1980;

10. *Expresses its opposition* to all policies and plans aimed at the resettlement of the Palestinians outside their homeland;

11. *Requests* and authorizes the Secretary-General, in consultation, as appropriate, with the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, to take the necessary measures towards the implementation of the recommendations contained in paragraphs 59 to 72 of the report of the Committee to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session as a basis for the solution of the question of Palestine;

12. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session on the implementation of the present resolution;

13. *Requests* the Security Council, in the event of non-compliance by Israel with the present resolution, to convene in order to consider the situation and the adoption of effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter;

14. *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.

RESOLUTION ES-7/4
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 28 APRIL 1982

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,

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, 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 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);

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),¹ 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;

¹ With the resolution of 22 March 1979, the Security Council established a Commission "to examine the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem". The Council Chairman, after consultations with the Council members, appointed representatives of Portugal, Bolivia and Zambia members of the Commission.—*Ed.*

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 conflicts 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.

**RESOLUTION ES-7/5
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 26 JUNE 1982**

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

The General Assembly,

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

Having heard the statement of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people,

Alarmed by the worsening situation in the Middle East resulting from Israel's acts of aggression against the sovereignty of Lebanon and the Palestinian People in Lebanon,

Recalling Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) of 5 June 1982, 509 (1982) of 6 June 1982 and 512 (1982) of 19 June 1982,

Taking note of the reports of the Secretary-General relevant to this situation, particularly his report of 7 June 1982,

Taking note of the two positive replies to the Secretary-General by the Government of Lebanon and the Palestine Liberation Organization,

Noting with regret that the Security Council has, so far, failed to take effective and practical measures, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to ensure implementation of its resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982),

Referring to the humanitarian principles of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time

of War, of 12 August 1949, and to the obligations arising from the regulations annexed to the Hague Conventions of 1907,

Deeply concerned at the sufferings of the Palestinian and Lebanese civilian populations,

Reaffirming once again its conviction that the question of Palestine is the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict and that no comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region will be achieved without the full exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable national rights,

Reaffirming further that a just and comprehensive settlement of the situation in the Middle East cannot be achieved without the participation on an equal footing of all the parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinian people,

1. *Reaffirms* the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force;

2. *Demands* that all Member States and other parties observe strict respect for Lebanon's sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence within its internationally recognized boundaries;

3. *Decides* to support fully the provisions of Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) in which the Council, *inter alia*, demanded that:

(a) Israel withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon;

(b) All parties to the conflict cease immediately and simultaneously all military activities within Lebanon and across the Lebanese-Israeli border;

4. *Condemns* Israel for its non-compliance with resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982);

5. *Demands* that Israel comply with all the above provisions no later than 0600 hours (Beirut time), on Sunday, 27 June 1982;

6. *Calls upon* the Security Council to authorize the Secretary-General to undertake necessary endeavours and practical steps to implement the provisions of resolutions 508 (1982), 509 (1982) and 512 (1982);

7. *Urges* the Security Council, in the event of continued failure by Israel to comply with the demands contained in resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), to meet in order to consider practical ways and means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

8. *Calls upon* all States and international agencies and organizations to continue to provide the most extensive humanitarian aid possible to the victims of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon;

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General to delegate a high-level commission to investigate and assess the extent of loss of human life and material damage and to report, as soon as possible, on the result of this investigation to the General Assembly and the Security Council;

10. *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.

**RESOLUTION ES-7/6
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 19 AUGUST 1982**

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

The General Assembly,

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

Having heard the statement of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the United Nations, in particular the respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples,

Aware of the functions of the Security Council during its meetings relevant to the situation in the Middle East, in particular since 4 June 1982,

Expressing its deep regret that the Security Council has, so far, failed to take effective and practical measures in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations to ensure implementation of its resolutions 508 (1982) of 5 June 1982 and 509 (1982) of 6 June 1982,

Alarmed that the situation in the Middle East has further worsened as a result of Israel's acts of aggression against the sovereignty of Lebanon and the Palestinian people in Lebanon,

Guided further by the purposes and principles of the United Nations, in particular to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression,

Mindful of the humanitarian principles and provisions of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and Additional Protocol I thereto and the obligations arising from the regulations annexed to the Hague Conventions of 1907,

Reaffirming its conviction that the question of Palestine is the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict and that no comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region will be achieved without the full exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights in Palestine,

Reaffirming once again that a just and comprehensive settlement of the situation in the Middle East cannot be achieved without the participation on an equal footing of all the parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinian people,

Expressing its indignation at the continuation and intensification of military activities by Israel within Lebanon, particularly in and around Beirut,

Recalling all its resolutions relevant to the question of Palestine,

Recalling Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) of 5 June 1982, 509 (1982) of 6 June 1982, 511 (1982) of 18 June 1982, 512 (1982) of 19 June 1982, 513 (1982) of 4 July 1982, 515 (1982) of 29 July 1982, 516 (1982) of 1 August 1982, 517 (1982) of 4 August 1982 and 518 (1982) of 12 August 1982,

1. *Reiterates* its affirmation of the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force;

2. *Calls* for the free exercise in Palestine of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination without external interference and to national independence;

3. *Reaffirms* its rejection of all policies and plans aiming at the resettlement of the Palestinians outside their homeland;

4. *Demands* that Israel respect and carry out the provisions of the previous resolutions of the General Assembly relating to the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, as well as the provisions of Security Council resolution 465 (1980) of 1 March 1980, in which the Council, *inter alia*:

(a) Determined that all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure or status of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, or any part thereof had no legal validity and that Israel's policy and practices of settling parts of its population and new immigrants in those territories constituted a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and also constituted a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East;

(b) Strongly deplored the continuation and persistence of Israel in pursuing those policies and practices and called upon the Government and people of Israel to rescind those measures, to dismantle the existing settlements and in particular to cease, on an urgent basis, the establishment, construction and planning of settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem;

5. *Demands also* that Israel carry out the provisions of Security Council resolutions 509 (1982), 511 (1982), 512 (1982), 513 (1982), 515 (1982), 516 (1982), 517 (1982) and 518 (1982);

6. *Urges* the Secretary-General, with the concurrence of the Security Council and the Government of Lebanon and pending the withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon, to undertake effective measures to guarantee the safety and security of the Palestinian and Lebanese civilian population in South Lebanon;

7. *Condemns* Israel for its non-compliance with resolutions of the Security Council, in defiance of Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations;

8. *Urges once again* the Security Council, in the event of continued failure by Israel to comply with the demands contained in its resolutions 465 (1980), 508 (1982), 509 (1982), 515 (1982) and 518 (1982), to meet in order to consider practical ways and means in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter;

9. *Requests once again* the Secretary-General to delegate a high-level commission to investigate and make an up-to-date assessment of the extent of loss of human life and material damage and to report, as soon as possible, on the result of this investigation to the General Assembly and the Security Council;

10. *Requests* the Secretary-General and organizations of the United Nations system, in co-operation with the International Committee of the Red Cross and other non-governmental organizations, to investigate the strict application by Israel of the provisions of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and other instruments in the case of those detained;

11. *Calls once again upon* the Secretary-General to initiate contacts with all the 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 convening an international conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, to find concrete ways and means of achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting solution, conducive to peace in conformity with the principles of the Charter and relevant resolutions;

12. *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.

**RESOLUTION ES-7/7
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 19 AUGUST 1982**

**INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE**

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 36/120 C of 10 December 1981, by which it decided to convene an International Conference on the Question of Palestine, not later than 1984, for a comprehensive effort to seek effective ways and means to enable the Palestinian people to attain and exercise its rights,

Deeply alarmed at the explosive situation in the Middle East resulting from the Israeli aggression against the sovereign State of Lebanon and the Palestinian people, which poses a threat to international peace and security,

Deeply aware of the responsibility of the United Nations under its Charter for the maintenance of international peace,

Gravely concerned that no just solution to the problem of Palestine has been achieved and that this problem therefore continues to aggravate the Middle East conflict, of which it is the core, and to endanger international peace and security,

Taking note of the final communiqué of the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries on the Question of Palestine, held at Nicosia from 15 to 17 July 1982,

Recognizing the need to intensify all efforts by the international community to enable the Palestinian people to attain and exercise its inalienable rights as defined and reaffirmed in United Nations resolutions,

Stressing the importance of the work of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine and the need for securing the broadest possible involvement of Member States in the preparatory processes leading up to the Conference, and in the Conference itself,

1. *Decides* to convene the International Conference on the Question of Palestine at the headquarters of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, in Paris, from 16 to 27 August 1983;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that adequate resources from the regular budget of the United Nations are provided urgently in order to enable the successful holding of the Conference and to carry out the necessary preparations for and follow-up activities to the Conference;

3. *Calls upon* all States to co-operate with the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine in the implementation of the present resolution and invites them to establish national focal points for effective co-ordination of preparations at the national level.

RESOLUTION ES-7/9
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF 24 SEPTEMBER 1982

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

The General Assembly,

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

Having heard the statement of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people,

Recalling and reaffirming, in particular, its resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948,

Appalled at the massacre of Palestinian civilians in Beirut,

Recalling Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) of 5 June 1982, 509 (1982) of 6 June 1982, 513 (1982) of 4 July 1982, 520 (1982) of 17 September 1982 and 521 (1982) of 19 September 1982,

Taking note of the reports of the Secretary-General relevant to the situation, particularly his report of 18 September 1982,

Noting with regret that the Security Council has so far not taken effective and practical measures, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to ensure implementation of its resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982),

Referring to the humanitarian principles of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and to the obligations arising from the regulations annexed to the Hague Conventions of 1907,

Deeply concerned at the sufferings of the Palestinian and Lebanese civilian populations,

Noting the homelessness of the Palestinian people,

Reaffirming the imperative need to permit the Palestinian people to exercise their legitimate rights,

1. *Condemns* the criminal massacre of Palestinian and other civilians in Beirut on 17 September 1982;

2. *Urges* the Security Council to investigate, through the means available to it, the circumstances and extent of the massacre of Palestinian and other civilians in Beirut on 17 September 1982, and to make public the report on its findings as soon as possible;

3. *Decides* to support fully the provisions of Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), in which the Council, *inter alia*, demanded that:

(a) Israel withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon;

(b) All parties to the conflict cease immediately and simultaneously all military activities within Lebanon and across the Lebanese-Israeli border;

4. *Demands* that all Member States and other parties observe strict respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries;

5. *Reaffirms* the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force;

6. *Resolves* that, in conformity with its resolution 194 (III) and subsequent relevant resolutions, the Palestinian refugees should be enabled to return to their homes and property from which they have been uprooted and displaced, and demands that Israel comply unconditionally and immediately with the present resolution;

7. *Urges* the Security Council, in the event of continued failure by Israel to comply with the demands contained in resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) and the present resolution, to meet in order to consider practical ways and means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

8. *Calls upon* all States and international agencies and organizations to continue to provide the most extensive humanitarian aid possible to the victims of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon;

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General to prepare a photographic exhibit of the massacre of 17 September 1982 and to display it in the United Nations visitors' hall;

10. *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.

**RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED
BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL
(1967-1980)**

RESOLUTION 242
OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL
OF 22 NOVEMBER 1967

The Security Council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,

Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security,

Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,

1. *Affirms* that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

- (i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict.
- (ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

2. *Affirms further* the necessity

(a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;

(b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;

(c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.

RESOLUTION 338
OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL
OF 22 OCTOBER 1973¹

The Security Council,

1. *Calls upon* all parties to the present fighting to cease all firing and terminate all military activity immediately, no later than 12 hours after the moment of the adoption of this decision, in the positions they now occupy;

2. *Calls upon* the parties concerned to start immediately after cease-fire the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in all of its parts;

3. *Decides* that, immediately and concurrently with the cease-fire, negotiations shall start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

¹ The draft of this resolution was submitted jointly by the Soviet Union and the United States after the Soviet-American talks held during the visit to Moscow of Henry Kissinger, the then US Secretary of State.—*Ed.*

RESOLUTION 344
OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL
OF 15 DECEMBER 1973

The Security Council,

Considering that it has decided by its resolution 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973 that talks among the parties to the Middle East conflict for the implementation of resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 should be held under "appropriate auspices",

Noting that a peace conference on the Middle East situation is to begin shortly at Geneva under the auspices of the United Nations,¹

1. *Expresses the hope* that the Peace Conference will make speedy progress towards the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East;

2. *Expresses its confidence* that the Secretary-General will play a full and effective role at the Conference, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and that he will preside over its proceedings, if the parties so desire;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council suitably informed of the developments in negotiations at the Con-

¹ The Peace Conference on the Middle East opened in Geneva on 21 December 1973, with delegations from Egypt, Jordan and Israel taking part, and with the USSR and the USA as co-chairmen. The conference was opened by the UN Secretary-General. But progress at the conference was blocked by the United States, Israel and Egypt, who took the path of partial and interim agreements behind the backs of the other parties concerned.—*Ed.*

ference, in order to enable it to review the problems on a continuing basis;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide all necessary assistance and facilities for the work of the Conference.

RESOLUTION 446
OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL
OF 22 MARCH 1979

The Security Council,

Having heard the statement of the Permanent Representative of Jordan and other statements made before the Council,

Stressing the urgent need to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East,

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 the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem,

1. *Determines* that 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;

2. *Strongly deplores* the failure of Israel to abide by Security Council resolutions 237 (1967) of 14 June 1967, 252 (1968) of 21 May 1968 and 298 (1971) of 25 September 1971, by the consensus statement made by the President of the Council on 11 November 1976 and by General Assembly resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V) of 4 and 14 July 1967, 32/5 of 28 October 1977 and 33/113 of 18 December 1978;

3. *Calls once more upon* Israel, as the occupying Power, to abide scrupulously by the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August

1949, to rescind its previous measures and to desist from taking any action which would result in changing the legal status and geographical nature and materially affecting the demographic composition of the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and, in particular, not to transfer parts of its own civilian population into the occupied Arab territories;

4. *Establishes* a commission consisting of three members of the Security Council, to be appointed by the President of the Council after consultation with the members of the Council, to examine the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem;¹

5. *Requests* the Commission to submit its report to the Security Council by 1 July 1979;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide the Commission with the necessary facilities to enable it to carry out its mission;

7. *Decides* to keep the situation in the occupied territories under constant and close scrutiny and to reconvene in July 1979 to review the situation in the light of the findings of the Commission.

¹ See footnote to General Assembly resolution ES-7/4 "Question of Palestine" of 28 April 1982.—*Ed.*

DOCUMENT S/13450
OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL
OF 12 JULY 1979

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Conclusions

213. When it set out to accomplish the task entrusted to it by the Security Council, i.e., "to examine the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem", the Commission sought as a matter of priority to secure the co-operation of all the parties concerned, in order to carry out its mandate objectively and comprehensively.

214. The Commission felt in that connexion that a visit to the area would be most useful to its work.

215. The Commission, although aware of the views already expressed by the Israeli Government in that matter, made persistent efforts at various levels to secure the co-operation of that Government. As related in chapter I of this report, the Commission was much disappointed by Israel's negative response to its approach. It noted in that regard that Israel's attitude deprived the Commission not only of the possibility of examining *in situ* the situation relating to settlements in the occupied territories but also of any opportunity to receive from the Government of Israel the explanations and comments which would have been useful to the Commission in its efforts to assess the situation.

217. Having spared no effort to obtain information from a variety of sources, the Commission believes that the present report contains a fairly accurate assessment of the prevailing situation it was entrusted to **examine**.

218. In its endeavour to fulfil its mandate, the Commission

felt that it could assist the Council *inter alia* by: (a) bringing up to date the basic information already at the disposal of the Council; (b) determining the consequences of the settlement policy on the local Arab population; and (c) assessing the impact of that policy and its consequences with regard to "the urgent need to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East" stressed by the Security Council in the preambular part of resolution 446 (1979), under which the Commission was created.

219. In drawing its conclusions the Commission did not attribute the same value to every piece of information it had obtained, but evaluated its significance freely and critically, in accordance with: its relevance to the accomplishment of the mandate of the Commission and its accuracy as determined by its coherence and by the documentary evidence rendered by the witnesses as supplement to their statements.

(a) *Recent information on the settlements*

220. According to the figures obtained, there are altogether in the occupied territories 133 settlements, including 17 in and around Jerusalem, 62 in the West Bank, 29 in the Golan Heights and 25 in the Gaza Strip and the Sinai.

221. The population of those settlements varies in number, probably depending on the policy purposes predetermined for each settlement. In the area of Jerusalem and the West Bank where the establishment of settlements has been the most intensive, the number of settlers has reached approximately 90,000, while in the Sinai their number would be under 5,000.

222. The land seized by the Israeli authorities as a whole, either specifically for the establishment of those settlements or for other stated reasons, covers 27 per cent of the occupied West Bank and the quasi-totality of the Golan Heights.

223. On the basis of the information received, the Commission is convinced that a number of settlements were established on privately-owned land and not only on public land.

224. Many of those settlements are of a military nature, either officially placed under the control of the Israeli army or *de facto* with a settler population of military age. Moreover, those settlers are said to have at their disposal military weapons in the midst of an unarmed Arab population.

225. According to several witnesses, the location of the settlements is determined in accordance with agricultural designs, and also with what Israel considers to be "security" purposes. This may explain for instance the existence of three successive belts of settlements reported to have been established between Jerusalem and the Jordan River and which would be aimed at "compartmenting" the local population.

226. Supported by the strong influence of various private groupings, the settlement policy is an official government programme which is implemented by a number of organizations and committees representing both the Government and the private sector inside and outside Israel.

227. In addition to private contributions coming mostly from outside Israel, the financing of the settlement policy is essentially a governmental matter. In that connexion, the Commission was told that the Israeli Government has set aside the equivalent of \$US 200 million for expanding and establishing settlements during the fiscal year 1979/80.

228. The Commission found evidence that the Israeli Government is engaged in a wilful, systematic and large-scale process of establishing settlements in the occupied territories for which it should bear full responsibility.

(b) *Consequences of the settlement policy
on the local population*

229. The Commission is of the view that a correlation exists between the establishment of Israeli settlements and the displacement of the Arab population. Thus it was reported that since 1967, when that policy started, the Arab population has been reduced by 32 per cent in Jerusalem and the West Bank.

As to the Golan Heights, the Syrian authorities stated that 134,000 inhabitants had been expelled leaving only 8,000, i.e., 6 per cent of the local population in the occupied Golan Heights.

230. The Commission is convinced that in the implementation of its policy of settlements, Israel has resorted to methods—often coercive and sometimes more subtle—which included the control of water resources, the seizure of private properties, the destruction of houses and the banishment of persons, and has shown disregard for basic human rights, including in particular the right of the refugees to return to their homeland.

231. For the Arab inhabitants still living in those territories, particularly in Jerusalem and the West Bank, they are subjected to continuous pressure to emigrate in order to make room for new settlers who, by contrast, are encouraged to come to the area. The Commission was told also that in the Golan Heights Israeli authorities imposed Israeli citizenship on all newborn children in an effort to assimilate the remaining population.

232. The settlement policy has brought drastic and adverse changes to the economic and social pattern on the daily life of the remaining Arab population. As a mere example of that evolution, the Commission was informed that a number of Arab landowners were now compelled to earn their living and that of their family by working on their own land as the hired employees of the Israeli settlers.

233. The Commission considers that the pattern of that settlement policy, as a consequence, is causing profound and irreversible changes of a geographical and demographic nature in those territories, including Jerusalem.

234. The Commission has no doubt that those changes are of such a profound nature that they constitute a violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949 and of the relevant decisions adopted by the United Nations in the matter,

more specifically: Security Council resolutions 237 (1967) of 14 June 1967, 252 (1968) of 21 May 1968, and 298 (1971) of 25 September 1971; the consensus statement by the President of the Security Council on 11 November 1976; as well as General Assembly resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V) of 4 and 14 July 1967, 32/5 of 28 October 1977, and 33/113 of 18 December 1978.

*(c) Impact of the settlement policy
and its consequences on the search for peace*

235. While fully aware of the extreme complexities inherent in the Middle East problem and at the same time recognizing the limitations in the scope of its mandate, the Commission none the less had the opportunity to note a genuine desire for peace in the capitals it visited as well as among the leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization whom it met.

236. Unfortunately, the Commission has also perceived a deep sense of despair and helplessness, primarily among Palestinian refugees. This stems from the realization that Israel's policy with regard to the occupied Arab territories and more particularly its policy of continuing to establish more settlements is unabated and undaunted either by United Nations decisions or any other external factor. The Commission would like to state clearly in that regard that in the course of its various meetings it felt that this settlement policy was widely regarded as a most negative factor in the achievement of peace in the area both by the refugees themselves and all those who support their cause, including the neighbouring Governments for which that policy generates at national levels economic and social problems of grave consequences.

237. Consequently, after examining the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, the Commission wishes to reaffirm the determination made by the Security Council in resolution 446 (1979), according to which "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".

B. Recommendations

238. On the basis of the conclusions reached, the Commission would like, therefore, to recommend that the Security Council, bearing in mind the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland, launch a pressing appeal to the Government and people of Israel, drawing again their attention to the disastrous consequences which the settlement policy is bound to have on any attempt to reach a peaceful solution in the Middle East.

239. In the view of the Commission, as a first step, Israel should be called upon to cease on an urgent basis the establishment, construction and planning of settlements in the occupied territories. The question of the existing settlements would then have to be resolved.

240. The Council might further wish to consider measures to safeguard the impartial protection of property arbitrarily seized.

241. As to Jerusalem, the Council should also call upon the Government of Israel to implement faithfully Security Council resolutions adopted on that question as from 1967. Moreover, recalling that Jerusalem is a most sacred place for the three great monotheistic faiths throughout the world, i.e., Christian, Jewish and Moslem, the Security Council might wish to consider steps to protect and preserve the unique spiritual and religious dimension of the Holy Places in that city, taking into account the views of high-ranking representatives of the three religions.

242. In view of the magnitude of the problem of settlement and its implications for peace in the region, the Security Council should keep the situation under constant survey.

RESOLUTION 452
OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL
OF 20 JULY 1979

The Security Council,

Taking note of the report and recommendations of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979) of 22 March 1979 to examine the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, contained in document S/13450 and Corr. 1 and Add. 1,

Strongly deploring the lack of co-operation of Israel with the Commission,

Considering that the policy of Israel in establishing settlements in the occupied Arab territories has no legal validity and constitutes a violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,

Deeply concerned by the practices of the Israeli authorities in implementing that settlements policy in the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and its consequences for the local Arab and Palestinian population,

Emphasizing the need for confronting the issue of the existing settlements and the need to consider measures to safeguard the impartial protection of property seized,

Bearing in mind the specific status of Jerusalem and reconfirming pertinent Security Council resolutions concerning Jerusa-

lem, and in particular the need to protect and preserve the unique spiritual and religious dimension of the Holy Places in that city,

Drawing attention to the grave consequences which the settlements policy is bound to have on any attempt to reach a peaceful solution in the Middle East,

1. *Commends* the work done by the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979) in preparing the report on the establishment of Israeli settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem;

2. *Accepts* the recommendations contained in the report of the Commission;

3. *Calls upon* the Government and people of Israel to cease, on an urgent basis, the establishment, construction and planning of settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem;

4. *Requests* the Commission, in view of the magnitude of the problem of settlements, to keep under close survey the implementation of the present resolution and to report back to the Security Council before 1 November 1979.

**RESOLUTION 465
OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL
OF 1 MARCH 1980**

The Security Council,

Taking note of the reports of the Commission of the Security Council established under resolution 446 (1979) to examine the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, contained in documents S/13450 and Corr. 1 and S/13679,

Taking note also of letters from the Permanent Representative of Jordan (S/13801) and the Permanent Representative of Morocco, Chairman of the Islamic Group (S/13802),

Strongly deploring the refusal by Israel to co-operate with the Commission and regretting its formal rejection of resolutions 446 (1979) and 452 (1979),

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

Deploring the decision of the Government of Israel to officially support Israeli settlement in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967,

Deeply concerned over the practices of the Israeli authorities in implementing that settlement policy in the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and its consequences for the local Arab and Palestinian population,

Taking into account the need to consider measures for the impartial protection of private and public land and property, and water resources,

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

Drawing attention to the grave consequences which the settlement policy is bound to have on any attempt to reach a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East,

Recalling pertinent, Security Council resolutions, specifically resolutions 237 (1967) of 14 June 1967, 252 (1968) of 21 May 1968, 267 (1969) of 3 July 1969, 271 (1969) of 15 September 1969 and 298 (1971) of 25 September 1971, as well as the consensus statement made by the President of the Security Council on 11 November 1976,

Having invited Mr. Fahd Qawasmeh, Mayor of Al-Khalil (Hebron), in the occupied territory, to supply it with information pursuant to rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure,

1. *Commends* the work done by the Commission in preparing the report contained in document S/13679;

2. *Accepts* the conclusions and recommendations contained in the above-mentioned report of the Commission;

3. *Calls upon* all parties, particularly the Government of Israel, to co-operate with the Commission;

4. *Strongly deplores* the decision of Israel to prohibit the free travel of Mayor Fahd Qawasmeh in order to appear before the Security Council, and requests Israel to permit his free travel to the United Nations Headquarters for that purpose;

5. *Determines* that all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional struc-

ture or status of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, or any part thereof, have no legal validity and that Israel's policy and practices of settling parts of its population and new immigrants in those territories constitute a flagrant violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and also constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East;

6. *Strongly deplores* the continuation and persistence of Israel in pursuing those policies and practices and calls upon the Government and people of Israel to rescind those measures, to dismantle the existing settlements and in particular to cease, on an urgent basis, the establishment, construction and planning of settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem;

7. *Calls upon* all States not to provide Israel with any assistance to be specifically in connexion with settlements in the occupied territories;

8. *Requests* the Commission to continue to examine the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, to investigate the reported serious depletion of natural resources, particularly the water resources, with a view to ensuring the protection of those important natural resources of the territories under occupation, and to keep under close scrutiny the implementation of the present resolution;

9. *Requests* the Commission to report to the Security Council before 1 September 1980, and decides to convene at the earliest possible date thereafter in order to consider the report and the full implementation of the present resolution.

RESOLUTION 476
OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL
OF 30 JUNE 1980

The Security Council,

Having considered the letter of 28 May 1980 from the representative of Pakistan, the current Chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, as contained in document S/13966 of 28 May 1980,

Reaffirming that acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible,

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

Reaffirming its resolutions relevant to the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, in particular resolutions 252 (1968) of 21 May 1968, 267 (1969) of 3 July 1969, 271 (1969) of 15 September 1969, 298 (1971) of 25 September 1971 and 465 (1980) of 1 March 1980,

Recalling the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War,

Deploring the persistence of Israel, in changing the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure and the status of the Holy City of Jerusalem,

Gravely concerned over the legislative steps initiated in the Israeli Knesset with the aim of changing the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem,

1. *Reaffirms* the overriding necessity to end the prolonged occupation of Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem;

2. *Strongly deplores* the continued refusal of Israel, the occupying Power, to comply with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly;

3. *Reconfirms* that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, the occupying Power, which purport to alter the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem have no legal validity and constitute a flagrant violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and also constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East;

4. *Reiterates* that all such measures which have altered the geographic, demographic and historical character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem are null and void and must be rescinded in compliance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council;

5. *Urgently calls* on Israel, the occupying Power, to abide by this and previous Security Council resolutions and to desist forthwith from persisting in the policy and measures affecting the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem;

6. *Reaffirms* its determination in the event of non-compliance by Israel with this resolution, to examine practical ways and means in accordance with relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations to secure the full implementation of this resolution.

RESOLUTION 478
OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL
OF 20 AUGUST 1980

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 476 (1980),

Reaffirming again that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible,

Deeply concerned over the enactment of a "basic law" in the Israeli Knesset¹ proclaiming a change in the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, with its implications for peace and security,

Noting that Israel has not complied with resolution 476 (1980),

Reaffirming its determination to examine practical ways and means, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, to secure the full implementation of its resolution 476 (1980), in the event of non-compliance by Israel,

1. *Censures* in the strongest terms the enactment by Israel of the "basic law" on Jerusalem and the refusal to comply with relevant Security Council resolutions;

¹ On 30 July 1980, the Israeli Knesset passed a law confirming the annexation by Israel of East Jerusalem, it had occupied in 1967, and proclaiming that "Jerusalem is the eternal and indivisible capital of Israel". West Jerusalem had been proclaimed capital of Israel back in 1950, and the Knesset was moved there. However, this decision is not recognised by the majority of states, including the permanent members of the UN Security Council. -*Ed.*

2. *Affirms* that the enactment of the "basic law" by Israel constitutes a violation of international law and does not affect the continued application of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem;

3. *Determines* that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, the occupying Power, which have altered or purport to alter the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, and in particular the recent "basic law" on Jerusalem, are null and void and must be rescinded forthwith;

4. *Affirms also* that this action constitutes a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East;

5. *Decides* not to recognize the "basic law" and such other actions by Israel that, as a result of this law, seek to alter the character and status of Jerusalem and calls upon:

(a) All Member States to accept this decision;

(b) Those States that have established diplomatic missions at Jerusalem to withdraw such missions from the Holy City;¹

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the implementation of the present resolution before 15 November 1980;

7. *Decides* to remain seized of this serious situation.

¹ At the time the present resolution was adopted, the following states still had their diplomatic missions in Jerusalem: Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Netherlands, Panama, and Uruguay. Somewhat earlier, but after Israel had passed its unlawful decision on Jerusalem, Chile, Ecuador and Venezuela announced the withdrawal of their diplomatic missions from Jerusalem.—*Ed.*

**THE SEVENTH CONFERENCE
OF HEADS OF STATE
OR GOVERNMENT
OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES
NEW DELHI,
7-12 MARCH 1983**

**FROM POLITICAL DECLARATION
OF THE SEVENTH CONFERENCE
OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT
OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, NEW DELHI,
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X. QUESTION OF PALESTINE

82. The Heads of State or Government reaffirmed that the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries as a whole has undertaken to give its support to the Palestinian people for the liberation of their homeland and the recovery of their inalienable national rights.

83. The Conference reaffirmed that the Zionist occupation of Palestine and the usurpation and denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Conference affirmed that a just and durable peace in the Middle East cannot be established without the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by it since 1967, including Jerusalem, and without the achievement of a just solution of the problem of Palestine on the basis of the attainment and exercise in Palestine of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return, self-determination without external interference and the right to national independence and sovereignty, including the right to establish the Palestinian Independent State in its homeland, Palestine.

84. The Conference reaffirmed that the Palestine Liberation Organization is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and that it has the right to participate on an independent and equal footing in all endeavours, international conferences, activities and international bodies, organs and agencies on the basis of resolutions of the United Nations relevant to the question of Palestine with a view to ensuring the attainment and exercise in Palestine of the inalienable rights of the Pales-

tinian people. Consequently the Conference rejects all plans, arrangements and agreements which are not in conformity with the provisions referred to above.

85. The Heads of State or Government welcomed the resolutions of the sixteenth session of the Palestine National Council, held in Algeria from 12 to 22 February 1983, which reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the unity of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole and legitimate representative. The Conference also affirmed its full solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organization, which has confronted Zionist aggression courageously and come through that ordeal stronger, more resolute and determined to fight until the rights of the Palestinian people are realized.

86. The Conference stressed the urgent need to undertake endeavours to achieve a just and comprehensive peace on the basis of the principles enunciated above in this Declaration. No action should be taken which is inconsistent with these principles or would adversely affect the struggle of the Arab countries for the liberation of their territories and of the Palestinian people for the liberation of their homeland, Palestine, and the exercise of their inalienable rights therein.

87. The Conference strongly condemned Israel for its continued occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories and for its persistent acts of repression against the Palestinian people, and demanded the United Nations Security Council invoke the powers vested in it with a view to imposing on Israel the relevant sanctions prescribed in the United Nations Charter until Israel withdraws from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, demolishes all Israeli settlements established in these territories and complies fully with the relevant decisions of the Security Council.

88. The Conference especially condemned Israel for the acts of genocide perpetrated against the Palestinian people in the Sabra and Shatila camps in Lebanese territory under occupation by Israeli armed forces.

89. The Conference also decided to request the international community to set up a war crimes tribunal in order to try Israel under international law for the crimes committed against the Palestinian people in all the territories which it has occupied since its establishment in 1948.

90. The Conference referred to the responsibility of the Government of the United States of America for violating the commitments it had undertaken to guarantee the safety and security of Palestinian refugees.

91. The Conference reaffirmed its firm opposition to the policy and practices of Israel in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem, and sharply condemned them. It condemned in particular and viewed as illegal the establishment of Israeli settlements in these territories since this constitutes a serious obstacle to a just and comprehensive solution to the question of Palestine and the Middle East crisis.

92. The Conference reaffirmed in this context its total rejection of all the Israeli policies designed to modify the geographical characteristics, demographic composition or legal status of the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967. The Conference decided not to recognize any change made by Israel in the above territories and called on all States not to recognize such changes and to refrain from any co-operation with Israel that might encourage it to pursue its policies and practices in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories.

93. The Heads of State or Government reaffirmed the resolution of the Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Countries, held in New Delhi in 1981, which had firmly condemned the hostile attitude of the United States of America towards the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the Palestine Liberation Organization and towards the total and unconditional withdrawal from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem. That attitude violated the purposes and principles of the United Nations Char-

ter and the General Assembly resolutions on the questions of Palestine and the Middle East and was an obstacle to the establishment of a just peace in the region.

94. The Conference condemned the policy which the United States is striving to impose in the region and which is prejudicial to the liberation of the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem, and to the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

95. The Conference also condemned the support given by the United States of America to the Israeli entity in all fields, especially the military and the political fields. The Conference affirmed that the pursuit of this policy harmed the relations and interests which linked the non-aligned countries on the one hand with the United States on the other.

96. The Heads of State or Government noted with satisfaction the efforts made by the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People in the search for a just solution to the question of Palestine. The Conference welcomed the measures taken by the Committee in accordance with General Assembly resolution 37/86 to organize the International Conference on the Question of Palestine to be held in Paris in August 1983. The Conference also declared its conviction that this Conference would make a positive contribution to realizing the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. The Conference called upon all members to take an active part, and to be represented at a high level, in the International Conference and in the regional preparatory meetings so as to contribute to the success of that Conference.

97. The Conference called upon the Security Council to implement the United Nations General Assembly resolutions on the question of Palestine, and in particular resolution 37/86 (D and E). It called upon the United Nations Secretary-General to implement the provisions of resolution 37/120 (I and J) as soon as possible.

XII. SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

100. The Heads of State or Government expressed concern over the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East caused by Israel's habitually aggressive and expansionist policies in the region. They were of the view that this situation threatened a new Israeli aggression and posed a grave threat to international peace and security. They reaffirmed the solidarity of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries with the struggle for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the usurped rights of the Arab people.

101. The Conference considered it necessary to reaffirm all the principles and resolutions previously adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement in regard to the question of Palestine and the Middle East situation and especially since Israel's aggression of 1967. It reiterated that the question would not be resolved and that peace would not be established in the region unless all the following principles were observed simultaneously:

- (a) The question of Palestine is the core of the Middle East problem and the root cause of the Arab-Israeli conflict.
- (b) The question of Palestine and the Middle East problem form an indivisible whole and cannot be dealt with or resolved separately. In view of this, a partial solution or a solution confined to some aspects of the conflict to the exclusion of others is not possible. Nor is it possible to establish a partial peace. Peace should be just and comprehensive.
- (c) A just peace in the region can only be based on Israel's total and unconditional withdrawal from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and the restoration of all the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to their homes, the right to self-determination without foreign interference and the right to establish their own independent and sovereign State in their nation-

al territory on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974.

- (d) West Jerusalem is part of the occupied Palestinian territory and Israel should withdraw completely and unconditionally from it and restore it to Arab sovereignty.
 - (e) The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and it alone has the full right to represent this people and to participate fully in all international conferences, activities and events relating to the question of Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict, in order to secure the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and to solve the Middle East problem. No solution can be considered comprehensive, just or acceptable without the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization on an independent and equal footing in its elaboration and acceptance.
 - (f) All the measures taken by Israel in the Arab and Palestinian territories since their occupation covering installations and all changes affecting political, cultural, religious, demographic, physical, geographical and other features are null and void and illegal.
 - (g) All settlements set up or to be set up by Israel in occupied territories are null and void and illegal and are considered as an obstacle to peace. They should, therefore, be pulled down immediately and no new settlements should be set up and the proliferation of existing settlements should not be allowed.
102. (a) The Conference expressed its support for and adopted the Arab Peace Plan proclaimed at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference held at Fez, Morocco, and emphasized that this Plan, being based on international legitimacy and on the principles of right and justice,

constitutes a framework for establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

(b) The Conference reaffirmed that the Non-Aligned Movement considered that the question of Palestine and of the territories occupied since 1967 is a common cause to all non-aligned countries. The Conference, therefore, resolved that any deviation from the resolutions of the Conferences of non-aligned countries relating to the Middle East problem and the question of Palestine would affect the unity of the Non-Aligned Movement in its struggle against colonialism, foreign occupation, racism and zionism. It would also be considered as swerving from the determination of the non-aligned countries to bring to an end the occupation of Arab-Palestinian territories by Israel and to help the Palestinian people to secure its inalienable national rights.

(c) The Conference condemned any agreement or treaty which violates or infringes the rights of the Arab nation and the Palestinian people as recognized by the Non-Aligned Movement, and in accordance with international law, the United Nations Charter and its relevant resolutions and which prevents the liberation of Jerusalem and the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories and the full exercise of, and attainment by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights.

103. (a) The Conference reaffirmed its firm opposition to and condemnation of Israeli policies and practices in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem. It especially condemned the establishment of Israeli settlements in these territories, considering them to be illegal and to constitute a serious obstacle to the achievement of a just and comprehensive settlement of the question of Palestine and the Middle East problem.

(b) The Conference condemned the Israeli invasion of

Lebanese territory and the crimes perpetrated by the Israeli forces, such as killing and destruction, in this non-aligned country.

- (c) In this respect, the Conference reaffirmed its categorical rejection of all Israeli policies aimed at changing the geographical features, the demographic character or the legal status of the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. The Conference resolved not to recognize any changes made by Israel in the aforesaid territories and called upon all States not to recognize them and to refrain from any co-operation with Israel that might encourage it to pursue its policies and practices in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories.
104. (a) The Conference strongly condemned Israel for its refusal to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly relating to the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. The Conference affirmed that Israel's decision to annex these Heights and the measures taken to implement its decision are null and void and without any legal validity. They have no legal effect and are not recognized.
- (b) The Conference called upon all States members of the United Nations that have not yet taken any measure to implement General Assembly resolution ES-1/9 of 5 February 1982 to do so in order to join in the just struggle of the Syrian nationals in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. The Conference invited the Security Council to take the necessary action to compel Israel to implement resolution 497 (1981).
 - (c) The Conference expressed the full support of the members of the Non-Aligned Movement for and their solidarity with the just struggle of the Arab nation against Israeli occupation, aggression and threats and for the attainment of the national inalienable rights of

the Arab people of Palestine and the liberation of the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. On this occasion the Conference denounced the attack launched by Israel and the United States of America against the right of Syria to secure the means to defend itself. The Conference noted that that attack could be considered as the prelude to a premeditated assault against Syria and other Arab States.

105. (a) The Conference strongly denounced the exploitation by Israel of the natural resources and wealth of Palestine and the occupied Arab countries in defiance of the Hague and Geneva Conventions and called upon all countries to take the necessary action in order to refrain from any co-operation that would enable Israel to continue to exploit such wealth and resources unlawfully.
- (b) The Conference condemned Israel for its intention to cut a canal between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. It affirmed that this project constitutes a dangerous activity among the aggressive actions undertaken against the legitimate rights and vital interests of the Palestinian people and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, as well as a threat to global peace and security. The Conference invited all countries to denounce this project and refrain from providing any support or assistance which might allow Israel to implement it.
- (c) The Conference declared that the Geneva Conventions of 1949, and in particular Convention No. 4 regarding the protection of civilians in time of war and the Protocols 1 and 2 annexed to the Conventions adopted in 1977, should be applied to all the occupied Arab territories and Palestine, including Jerusalem. The Conference condemned Israel for its persistent violation of those Conventions and of the basic rights and freedoms of the inhabitants of the territories mentioned in having displaced them, destroyed their homes and

confiscated their property. The Conference condemned the refusal of Israel to receive the tripartite committee set up under Security Council resolution 446 (1979) to inquire into conditions in settlements in the occupied Arab territories and its refusal to comply with Security Council resolution 452 (1979).

- (d) The Conference condemned all those policies, and particularly the policy of the United States of America, which help Israel to continue its occupation of the Arab and Palestinian territories and which jeopardize the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights. In this connection the Conference noted that the United States of America was continuing to support Israel in several fields.
- (e) The Conference also noted that the United States of America, by exercising its right of veto in the Security Council in a manner contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, prevents the Security Council from taking steps to implement the principle of the non-admissibility of acquisition of territories by force and to enable the Palestinian people to recover their inalienable rights. The Conference therefore calls on the United States of America to abandon its abuse of the right of veto.
- (f) The Conference expressed its profound concern at the establishment of a "strategic alliance" between the United States of America and Israel and affirmed that the alliance strengthened the aggressive role of Israel, which threatens the stability of the countries of the Middle East and global peace and security and encourages Israel to pursue its policy of annexation, aggression and racial discrimination.
- (g) The Conference expressed its deep concern at the build-up of conventional and nuclear weapons in Israel, which is designed to reinforce Israel's situation as a base for colonialism and racism in the third world in

general and in Africa and Asia in particular. By taking such measures Israel imperils global peace and security. The Conference called for the implementation of United Nations General Assembly resolutions 33/71 of 14 December 1978 on military and nuclear co-operation with Israel and 37/82 of 9 December 1982 on Israeli nuclear armament.

- (h) The Conference condemned Israel for pursuing its policy of aggression and annexation against the Arab countries and the Palestinian people and called on all countries, including the United States of America, to put an immediate end to their military, political and economic assistance and to the provision of human resources to Israel. The Conference called on all countries to refrain from providing assistance and facilities for implementing Zionist plans for the immigration of Jews from all over the world to Palestine and the occupied Arab territories. The Conference condemned all imperialist or colonialist forces of military intervention which have constituted or constitute a threat to the security and independence of Arab countries and interference in their internal affairs.

- (i) The Conference expressed its deep concern at the increase in collaboration between the Zionist entity in Palestine and the racist regime of South Africa, especially in the military and nuclear fields. It strongly condemned this collaboration and solidarity and called on all countries of the Movement to sever relations with the above two regimes in all fields and to isolate them completely.

- 106. (a) The Conference called upon the Security Council to recognize the inalienable national rights of the Palestine people, including its right to self-determination and its right to establish an independent Arab state in Palestine, and to facilitate the achievement of these rights. The Conference also called upon the Council

to implement the principle of the non-admissibility of the acquisition of territories by force, by taking the necessary measures to achieve the withdrawal of Israel from all Palestinian and Arab territories it has occupied since 1967. The Conference called upon the members of the Security Council to play their role and discharge their responsibilities so that the Council may take appropriate measures in conformity with the United Nations Charter to establish and guarantee peace and security in the Middle East.

(b) After reviewing the history of the Middle East since the establishment of Israel in Palestine in 1948, the Conference considered that Israel's aggressive, expansionist and colonialist policies and practices in the occupied territories against the Arab nation in general and the Arab people of Palestine in particular, its continued violation of the United Nations Charter and the principles of international law and international agreements and treaties and its persistent refusal to implement the United Nations resolutions relating to the Middle East demonstrated that Israel is not a peace-loving member and does not fulfil the requirements of the United Nations Charter and the resolutions of international organizations. The Conference therefore considered that it is high time for the United Nations to take the necessary measures under Chapter VII of the Charter. The Conference called upon the Security Council to convene to take the measures referred to against Israel for not carrying out the resolutions of the Security Council and for imperilling international peace and security by its conduct.

(c) The Conference called upon all countries that support the liberation of occupied countries and the Palestinian cause to take all appropriate measures against the countries that encourage Israel to pursue its policy and practices, especially the United States of America.

- (d) The Conference recalled the decision taken by the Heads of State or Government at their meeting in Algeria, urging non-aligned countries to work for a boycott of Israel in the diplomatic, economic, military and cultural fields and in the sphere of maritime and air traffic in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Considering the reasons that led to the adoption of this resolution, the Conference stressed the need to continue to implement it and urged member countries of the Movement to adhere to it and apply it strictly.

107. (a) The Conference affirmed the commitment of the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement to strengthen their support for the confrontation Arab states and the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in order to enable them to fulfil the requirements imposed on them by the liberation struggle and to defend their lands and their independence against Israeli aggression and threats. The Conference urged friendly countries and the organizations that have participated in the national liberation struggle to continue to give it their support.

- (b) The Conference expressed appreciation of the effective solidarity offered by all States and powers that support the struggle of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation, especially the countries of the Organization of African Unity, the socialist countries and the Organizations of the Islamic Conference. The Conference also praised the advanced European stand on the problem of the Middle East and Palestine. The Conference called upon those countries and powers to intensify their political, diplomatic and material support for the Palestinian people and the Arab countries in their efforts to re-establish all their national rights and recover all the occupied Arab territories.

**INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON THE QUESTION
OF PALESTINE
GENEVA,
29 AUGUST-7 SEPTEMBER 1983**

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE

DECLARATION

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

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

3. The Conference recognizes further that as one of the most acute and complex problems of our time, the question of Palestine—inherited by the United Nations at the time of its establishment—requires a comprehensive, just and lasting political settlement. This settlement must be based on the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions concerning the question of Palestine and the attainment of the legitimate, inaliena-

ble rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination and the right to the establishment of its own independent state in Palestine and should also be based on the provision by the Security Council of guarantees for peace and security among all States in the region, including the independent Palestinian State, within secure, internationally recognized borders. The Conference is convinced that the attainment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, as defined by General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974, will contribute substantially to the achievement of peace and stability in the Middle East.

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

5. The International Conference considers that the various proposals, consistent with the principles of international law, which have been presented on this question, such as the Arab Peace Plan adopted by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference held at Fez in September 1982, should serve as guidelines for concerted international effort to resolve the question of Palestine. These guidelines include the following:

(a) the attainment by the Palestinian people of its legitimate inalienable rights, including the right to return, the right to self-determination and the right to establish its own independent state in Palestine;

(b) the right of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate on an equal footing with other parties in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East;

(c) the need to put an end to Israel's occupation of the Arab territories, in accordance with the principle of the inadmissibil-

ity of the acquisition of territory by force, and, consequently, the need to secure Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem.

(d) the need to oppose and reject such Israeli policies and practices in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and any *de facto* situation created by Israel as are contrary to international law and relevant United Nations resolutions, particularly the establishment of settlements, as these policies and practices constitute major obstacles to the achievement of peace in the Middle East;

(e) the need to reaffirm as null and void all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, the occupying Power, which have altered or purported to alter the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, including the expropriation of land and property situated thereon, and in particular the so-called "Basic Law" on Jerusalem and the proclamation of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel;

(f) the right of all States in the region to existence within secure and internationally recognized boundaries, with justice and security for all the people, the *sine qua non* of which is the recognition and attainment of the legitimate inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as at (a) above.

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

tutional arrangements on the basis of relevant United Nations resolutions in order to guarantee and to carry out the accords of the International Peace Conference.

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

Programme of Action

The International Conference on the Question of Palestine agreed that no effort should be spared to seek effective ways and means to enable the Palestinian people to attain and exercise their rights in Palestine in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the principles of international law. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine, taking into consideration the Declaration adopted, recommends the following Programme of Action:

I.

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

1. Recognize the great importance of the time factor in solving the question of Palestine;
2. Intensify efforts for the establishment of an independent Palestinian State within the framework of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict in accordance with the United Nations Charter, the relevant United Nations resolutions and the guidelines of the Geneva Declaration on Palestine;

3. Consider the continued presence of Israel in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, as exacerbating instability in the region and endangering international peace and security;

4. Oppose and reject, as a serious and continuing obstacle to peace, the expansionist policy pursued by Israel in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and in particular the alteration of the geographic nature, demographic composition and legal status of those territories and all the measures taken in violation of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and of the Hague Regulations of 1907, such as the establishment and expansion of settlements, the transfer of Israeli civilians into those territories and the individual and mass transfers therefrom of the Arab Palestinian population;

5. Refrain from providing Israel assistance of such a nature as encourages it militarily, economically and financially to continue its aggression, occupation and disregard of its obligations under the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations;

6. Not encourage migration to the occupied Arab territories until Israel has put a definitive end to the implementation of its illegal policy of establishing settlements in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967;

7. Fully comply with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and its specialized agencies on the Holy City of Jerusalem, including those which reject Israel's annexation of Jerusalem and its declaration of that city as its capital;

8. Undertake universal efforts to protect the Holy Places and urge Israel to take measures to prevent their desecration;

9. Consider ways and means of meeting the threat that Israel poses to the regional security in Africa in view of Israel's disregard of United Nations resolutions, and its close collaboration with the *apartheid* regime in the economic, military and nuclear fields, thereby contributing to the continued illegal occupation

of Namibia and enhancing the regime's repressive and aggressive capacity;

10. Encourage, through bilateral and multilateral contacts, all States including Western European and North American States which have not done so, to welcome all peace initiatives based on the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, which were also welcomed by Chairman Yasser Arafat at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine;

11. Seek and develop ways and means to enable the Palestinian people to exercise sovereignty over their national resources;

12. Express concern that Israel debars Palestinians from economic activity and access to national resources on Palestinian territory, in consistent violation of General Assembly resolutions on the right of the Palestinians to permanent sovereignty over their national resources;

13. Declare null and void, and counter such measures and practices applied by Israel in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, as the annexation and the expropriation of land, water resources, and property and the alteration of the demographic, geographic, historical and cultural features thereof;

14. Undertake measures to alleviate the economic and social burdens borne by the Palestinian people as a result of the continued Israeli occupation of their territories since 1967;

15. Consider contributing or increasing special contributions to the proposed budgets, programmes and projects of the relevant organs, funds, and agencies of the United Nations system that have been requested to provide humanitarian, economic and social assistance to the Palestinian people, with particular reference to:

(a) Resolution 33/147 of the General Assembly, and the appeal of the UNDP Governing Council at its thirty-first session for additional special contributions amounting to at least \$8

million during the third programming cycle (1982-1986) aimed at helping to meet the economic and social needs of the Palestinian people;

(b) The proposed UNCTAD programme budget of the United Nations for 1984/1985 for the establishment within UNCTAD of a Special Economic Unit as requested by the sixth session of UNCTAD at Belgrade;

(c) Establishing a special legal aid fund to assist Palestinians in securing their rights under conditions of occupation in accordance with the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilians in the time of war;

16. Ensure that UNRWA can meet the essential needs of the Palestinians without interruption and any diminution in the effectiveness of its services;

17. Review the situation of Palestinian women in Israeli occupied territories and in view of their special hardships, urge the Preparatory Committee of the World Conference for the United Nations Decade for Women to be held in Nairobi in 1985 to include this item on the agenda of the Conference;

18. Review, if they have not yet done so, in conformity with their national legislation, their economic, cultural, technical and other relations with Israel, and the agreements governing them with the aim of ensuring that these relations and agreements would not be interpreted or construed as implying in any way recognition of any modification of the international legal status of Jerusalem and of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, or an acceptance of Israel's illegal presence in those territories;

19. Recognize that the process of enabling the Palestinian people to exercise its inalienable rights in Palestine is a significant contribution to the restoration of the rule of law in international relations;

20. Assure the observance of the stipulations provided for in General Assembly resolution 181 (II) guaranteeing to all per-

sons equal and non-discriminatory rights in civil, political, economic and religious matters and the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of religion, speech, publication, education, assembly and association;

21. Express concern that the laws applicable in the occupied Arab territories have been totally eclipsed by a plethora of military orders that have been designed to establish a new "legal regime" in violation of the Hague Regulations of 1907, and the 1949 Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War;

22. Act in accordance with their obligations under existing international law, in particular with regard to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 which require States Parties to respect and to ensure respect for those conventions in all circumstances and in particular ensure the respect by Israel for the Geneva-Conventions of 1949 in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories;

23. Express concern that the Palestinians and other Arabs in the occupied territories are deprived of juridical and other kinds of protection, that they are victims of repressive legislation, involving mass arrests, acts of torture, destruction of houses, and the expulsion of people from their homes, which constitute flagrant violations of human rights;

24. Recognize the necessity that Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners detained by Israel be accorded the status of prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of 1949, if combatants, or in accordance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 1949, if civilians;

25. Strive for the adoption of international measures so that Israel implements in the West Bank and Gaza the provisions of the Hague Regulations of 1907 and the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilian persons, in light of Security Council resolution 465 (1980);

26. Recognize, if they have not yet done so, the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinian people and establish with it appropriate relations;

27. Encourage, in conformity with their national legislations, the formation of national committees in support of the Palestinian people;

28. Encourage the observance of 29 November as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people, in a most effective and meaningful way;

29. Request the thirty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly to designate a Year of Palestine, to be observed at the earliest possible time taking into consideration the factors necessary to ensure its effective preparation for the purpose of galvanizing worldwide public opinion and support in further implementing this Declaration and Programme of Action.

II.

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

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

1. To suppress continuing and growing acts of aggression and other breaches of peace in the Middle East which endanger peace and security in the region and the world as a whole;

2. To take prompt, firm and effective steps and actions to establish an independent sovereign Palestinian State in Palestine through the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, by facilitating the organization of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East as called for in paragraph 6 of the Geneva Declaration on Palestine, by creating in this

context the appropriate institutional arrangements on the basis of relevant United Nations resolutions in order to guarantee and carry out the accords of the International Peace Conference, including the following:

(a) Taking measures consistent with the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force to ensure Israel's withdrawal from the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, within a specific time-table;

(b) Undertaking effective measures to guarantee the safety and security and legal and human rights of the Palestinians in the occupied territories pending the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem;

(c) Subjecting those territories, following the withdrawal of Israel, to a short transitional period, under the supervision of the United Nations, during which period the Palestinian people would exercise its right to self-determination;

(d) Facilitating the implementation of the right to return of the Palestinians to their homes and property;

(e) Supervising elections to the constituent assembly of the independent Palestinian State in which all Palestinians shall participate, in the exercise of their right to self-determination;

(f) Providing, if necessary, temporary peace-keeping forces in order to facilitate the implementation of subparagraphs (a)-(e) above.

B. Meanwhile the Security Council is also invited:

1. To take urgent action to bring about an immediate and complete cessation of such Israeli policies in the occupied territories, and in particular, the establishment of settlements, as have been determined by the Security Council to have no legal validity and as a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East;

2. To consider urgently the reports of the Commission established under its resolution 446 (1979) of 22 March 1979, which examined the situation concerning settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and to reactivate the above-mentioned Commission;

3. To initiate action to terminate Israel's exploitative policies which go against the indigenous economic development of the occupied territories, and to compel Israel to lift its restrictions on water use and well drilling by Palestinian farmers as well as its diversion of West Bank water resources into the Israeli water grid systems;

4. To keep under its constant attention the actions committed by Israel against the Palestinian people in violation of the stipulations provided for in relevant General Assembly resolutions, in particular the stipulations of resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947 guaranteeing to all persons equal and non-discriminatory rights and freedoms;

5. To consider, in the event of Israel's persistent non-compliance with the relevant United Nations resolutions which embody the will of the international community, appropriate measures in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to ensure Israel's compliance with these resolutions.

C. Taking into account the recommendations of the five regional preparatory meetings of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine (1. Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, 29 March to 1 April 1983 for the African region; 2. Managua, Nicaragua, 11 to 15 April 1983 for the Latin American region; 3. Sharjah, United Arab Emirates, 25 to 29 April 1983 for the West Asian region; 4. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 3 to 6 May 1983 for the Asian and Pacific region; 5. Geneva, United Nations Office, 4 to 8 July 1983 for the European region) and United Nations resolutions concerning economic and social assistance to the Palestinian people, requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations to convene a meeting of the United Nations specialized agencies and other organizations associated with the United Nations as well as representatives of the Pal-

estine Liberation Organization and the countries that host Palestinian refugees, and potential sources of co-operation to develop a co-ordinated programme of economic and social assistance to the Palestinian people and to ensure its implementation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (d) Organize regional encounters for journalists;

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

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

III

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9. Parliamentarians, political parties, trade unions, organizations for solidarity and intellectuals particularly in Western

Europe and North America, to join their counterparts in other parts of the world in giving their support, where it has not been done, to an initiative which would express the desire of the international community to see the Palestinian people at last living in their own independent homeland in peace, freedom and dignity.

This book is a collection of major documents adopted by the United Nations and other international organisations and conferences on the Palestine question and related Middle East issues.

Presented chronologically, these documents reflect the main stages of the acute international conflict in the Middle East.

Aside from resolutions condemning Israel's territorial expansionism and acts of genocide against the Palestinian people, the book features numerous documents demonstrating the growing international recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.