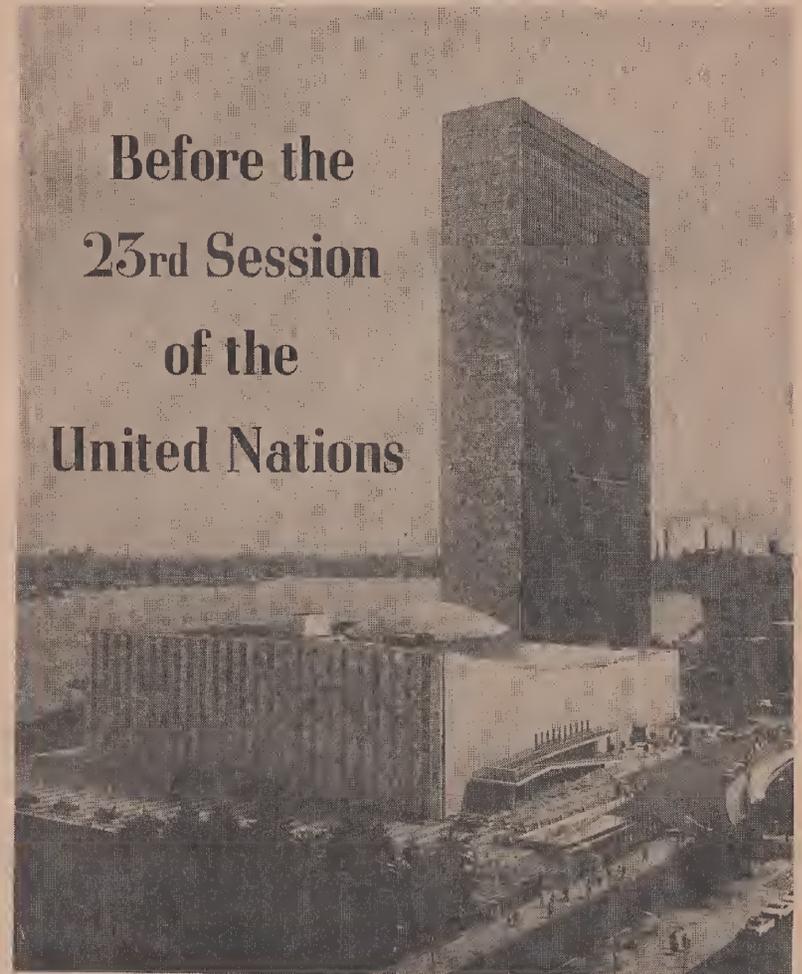


The Case of Palestine



THE ARAB INFORMATION CENTER
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Edited by
Sami Hadawi

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Preface

The Palestine Problem has been on the agenda of the United Nations since it first arose in 1947. No item has been discussed, debated and written about and has resulted in as many resolutions as the Palestine problem. The June, 1967, war brought about more human sufferings and tragedies and more resolutions which, like those which came before them, remain unimplemented.

The object of this pamphlet is to place before world public opinion the case for the Palestine Arabs as it was presented at the twenty-third session of the General Assembly and before the Special Political Committee in their 1968 debates.

The problem also came before the Security Council on three occasions in 1968: twice when the Israelis attacked the El-Karameh refugee camp and the town of Es-Salt in the East Bank of Jordan, and once when Israeli commando forces in four helicopters attacked the civilian airport in Beirut, Lebanon, destroying thirteen passenger planes. Israel was condemned for all three actions.

Israeli disregard of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions 'to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the areas where military operations have taken place and to facilitate the return of those inhabitants to their homes' was also considered by the Commission on Human Rights and the Teheran Conference on Human Rights. Both organs upheld the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and called upon the Israeli authorities to comply with the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The resolutions adopted by these organs of the United Nations are dealt with in Chapter 1 hereunder.

Foreword

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If the Palestine Problem has become more complicated and the situation in the Middle East more critical, this is mainly due to two principal factors:

(1) The inconsistency of United States policy in applying equally to friend and foe the principles of the United Nations Charter pertaining to the commission of aggression by one Member State against the territory of another; and

(2) The biased attitude of much of the leading Western press in reporting on the Palestine problem, by either withholding or distorting the facts in order to mislead public opinion.

In regard to the first, the United Nations Charter distinctly prohibits aggression by one Member State against the territorial integrity of another and, in case of such an occurrence, it lays down the measures to be taken. The United States action in Korea in the name of the United Nations and its subsequent involvement in Vietnam are cases in point.

But if we compare the stand of the United States Government on the Czechoslovakian situation which arose in 1968 with its position on the Israeli aggression in 1967 against three Arab Member States, we find that different codes of conduct have been applied. In the former case, the United States demanded the prompt convention of the Security Council and tabled a draft resolution condemning the Soviet action as an invasion and ordering immediate withdrawal. In the latter case, the United States opposed United Nations condemnation of the aggression and the order for withdrawal. And when, in regard to Jerusalem, the General Assembly and the Security Council called upon the Israeli authorities "to rescind all measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any action which would alter the status of Jerusalem," the United States Government abstained in the voting. Thus Israeli authorities were allowed to hold on to occupied territories, using the question of withdrawal to bargain for a settlement on their own terms.

There was even inconsistency in the positions held by Presidents Eisenhower and Johnson. In 1956 when the Israelis attacked and occupied the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip, President Eisenhower insisted on complete withdrawal and declared: "Israel insists on firm guarantees as a condition to withdrawing its forces of invasion . . . If we agree that armed attack can properly achieve

the purposes of the assailant, then I fear we will have turned back the clock of international order. We will have countenanced the use of force as a means of settling international differences and gaining national advantages... If the United Nations once admits that international disputes can be settled by using force, then we will have destroyed the very foundation of the organization, and our best hope for establishing a real world order... There can be no peace without law, and there can be no law, if we were to invoke one code of international conduct for those who oppose us and another for our friends."

By upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter and courageously ensuring that they are promptly adhered to and carried out, President Eisenhower averted a serious situation from developing in the Middle East; earned respect for the waning prestige of the United States among the Arabs; and gave the United Nations much needed strength. Furthermore, small nations began to feel reassured that their political independence and territorial integrity would be respected and safeguarded against any outside attack.

The Israelis were not pleased to see their plans of expansion thwarted. They decided to wait for another chance, and the opportunity presented itself in 1967. When it became evident that an Israeli attack was imminent, President Johnson issued a warning to 'the leaders of all nations in the Middle East' on May 23, 1967, in which he affirmed the stand of previous Presidents of the United States on the situation in the Middle East and said that, "the United States is firmly committed to the support of the political independence and territorial integrity of all the nations of that area." "The United States," he said, "strongly opposes aggression by anyone in the area, in any form, overt or clandestine..." He added: "We have always opposed—and we oppose in other parts of the world at this very moment—the efforts of other nations to resolve their problems with their neighbors by the aggression route. We will continue to do so..." In this latter statement, the President was no doubt referring to the war in Vietnam.

The Arabs at the time had no reason to doubt the word of the American President. But when Israel's aggression actually took place, Mr. Johnson immediately reversed his position to the bewilderment of many friendly Arabs and the commitments voluntarily undertaken were never honored. So if the situation in the Middle East today is deteriorating, it is only because of the encouragement and support the Israelis have, and continue to

receive, from the United States. In his attitude towards the problem, President Johnson invoked 'a code of international conduct' not in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, nor in conformity with the policy applied by President Eisenhower in the Suez crisis in 1956 which he declared he would uphold. The decision to supply Israel with Phantom jet fighters at a time when Israeli bombers were pounding Jordanian towns and villages, and not to withdraw the decision when Israeli commandos attacked the civilian airport of Beirut, indicates all too clearly that the United States Government was siding all the way with Israel against the Arabs.

In regard to the second point—the biased attitude of the press—public opinion has been led to believe that supposed Arab intransigence and belligerency are responsible for the present crisis in the Middle East. Yet, if all the facts were placed before the public, it would soon be realized that the Israelis, not the Arab States, are to blame for the present deadlock. Here is a vivid example:

On November 11, 1968, Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban held a press conference at the United Nations. The following day the leading press in the United States carried his statements which "chastised the Foreign Ministers of the United Arab Republic and Jordan for breaking off the peace dialogue on the Middle East by going home." He accused the Arab Ministers of having "squandered in cold blood an opportunity for substantive discussions on a Middle East settlement through Ambassador Jarring." Abba Eban ended by stating that "for Dr. Jarring's efforts to move forward, some new development on the Arab side was necessary." "The Arabs," he said, "should realize that the ball is in their court."¹

Had the press been fair and reported what the Foreign Ministers of Jordan and the United Arab Republic had declared on 4 and 10 October 1968 respectively before the General Assembly, the general public would have become aware of the exact positions of the parties involved in the dispute and could have drawn their own conclusions. Both Ministers had in fact repeated their Governments' acceptance of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, and expressed their undertakings to implement all its provisions.² Excerpts from the speeches of the Foreign Ministers are reproduced in Chapter III hereof.

¹See *New York Times* and *Washington Post* of November 12, 1968.

²See U.N. Documents A/PV.1682 of October 4, 1968 and PV.1691 of October 11, 1968.

Chapter I UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS ON THE JUNE 1967 WAR

Another example of press dereliction of their duty towards their readers is that the same day on which Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban held his press conference, U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, made an important statement before the Special Political Committee in which he drew attention to the seriousness of the plight of the Arab inhabitants displaced by Israeli authorities after the June, 1967, war and urged Member States to recognize and discharge their responsibilities collectively and individually to reduce human hardships and sufferings before the severe winter months set in. Anyone reading this statement would have reached the conclusion that the Israeli authorities were defying the United Nations and violating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by preventing the displaced from returning to their homes. The statement was totally ignored by the press and the public was left unaware of the actual situation. Pertinent excerpts from this statement have been reproduced in Chapter II of this pamphlet.

The press in the United States, by arrogating to itself the right to choose to report on what the Foreign Minister of Israel said in defense of aggression and in defiance of the United Nations Charter and resolutions and by ignoring the objective and impartial statement of the Secretary-General who represents 126 nations, as well as what the Representatives of the two Arab Member States had declared to be their policy and their contribution towards a settlement and peace in the Middle East, has done a great disservice to the cause of understanding and peace.

This method of reporting left the public with the belief that the Israelis were indeed peace-loving, that they complied with the United Nations Charter, and that it was the Arab States, by rejecting Israeli terms of what may be described as total surrender, were responsible for the present tension in the Middle East with its dangers to the world peace.

Had the press acted honorably and reproduced—as it was its duty—U Thant's statement alongside that of Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban's, since both were made on the same day, the reader would have been able to decide for himself which party was to blame for the present crisis in the Middle East, which was guilty of aggression, of crimes against humanity, and which continues to obstruct peace in the area.

As a result of the June, 1967, war, the Palestine question in general and the refugee problem in particular have grown graver and greater in magnitude as more and more of the Arab inhabitants of the West Bank of Jordan and the Gaza Strip were either expelled or forced to flee their homes. These have been joined from time to time by inhabitants from the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights of Syria which are now under Israeli occupation. The total number of Arabs—refugees and others—displaced during and after the June 1967 war has reached the estimated figure of 450,000 persons.

The Israeli aggression of 1967 was immediately brought before the Security Council which ordered a cease-fire on June 6, 1967, and when the Israeli authorities ignored this direction, two fresh orders followed on 7 and 9 June, 1967, before hostilities ceased.¹ But the Council failed to reach agreement on condemnation of the aggression and unconditional Israeli withdrawal. On the question of the Arab civilian populations and prisoners-of-war, the Security Council, after considering "the urgent need to spare the civilian populations and the prisoners of war in the area of conflict in the Middle East additional sufferings;" that "essential and inalienable human rights should be respected even during the vicissitudes of war;" and that "all the obligations of the Geneva Conventions relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of 12 August 1949 should be complied with by the parties involved in the conflict," called upon the Government of Israel "to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the areas where military operations have taken place and to facilitate the return of those inhabitants who have fled the areas since the outbreak of hostilities." The Council also recommended "the scrupulous respect of the humanitarian principles governing the treatment of prisoners of war and the protection of civilian persons in time of war, contained in the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949."²

¹Resolutions Nos. 233 (1967), 234 (1967) and 235 (1967)—U.N. Document S/INF/22/Rev. 2, pp.2-3.

²Resolution No. 237 (1967) of June 14, 1967—U.N. Document S/INF/22/Rev. 2, p.5.

Despite the Security Council resolutions for a 'cease-fire', Israeli authorities seized further Arab territories. Accordingly, a special emergency session of the General Assembly was convened and asked to act under article 11 of the Charter to consider the situation, to take a decision to liquidate the consequences of aggression, and to secure the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces behind the armistice line.

Here also the General Assembly failed to reach agreement on condemnation of the aggression and immediate Israeli withdrawal. On the question of 'humanitarian assistance', the Assembly welcomed and endorsed the provisions of the aforementioned Security Council resolution N. 237 (1967) of June 14, 1967.³

On the question of the Israeli annexation of Jerusalem, the General Assembly expressed its 'deep concern' at "the situation prevailing in Jerusalem as a result of the measures taken by Israel to change the status of the City;" considered that "these measures are invalid;" and called upon the Government of Israel "to rescind all measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any action which would alter the status of Jerusalem."⁴

In the face of continued Israeli defiance, the General Assembly was obliged on July 14, 1967, to adopt a second resolution on Jerusalem in which it recalled its previous resolution; and after "taking note with the deepest regret and concern of the non-compliance by Israel with resolution 2253 (ES-V)," deplored "the failure of Israel to implement General Assembly resolution 2253 (ES-V);" reiterated 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."⁵

On July 21, 1967, the special emergency session of the General Assembly was adjourned, and the question of Palestine was referred back to the Security Council with instructions "to facilitate the resumption by the Council, as a matter of urgency, of its consideration of the tense situation in the Middle East."⁶

In a letter dated November 7, 1967, the United Arab Republic requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the dangerous situation prevailing in the Middle East as a result of the persistence of Israeli authorities in not withdrawing

their armed forces from all the territories which they occupied as a result of their aggression committed on June 5, 1967, against the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria.

On November 22, 1967, the Security Council adopted a resolution "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 Israeli 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 Representative⁷ 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;

³Resolution No. 2252 (ES-V) of July 4, 1967—U.N. Document A/6798 pp.3-4.

⁴Resolution No. 2253 (ES-V) of July 4, 1967—U.N. Document A/6798 p.4.

⁵Resolution No. 2254 (ES-V) of July 14, 1967—*Ibid.*

⁶Resolution No. 2256 (ES-V) of July 21, 1967—*Ibid.*

⁷Dr. Gunnar Jarring, Ambassador from Sweden to Moscow, was appointed, and soon after proceeded to the Middle East to take up his duties. After the lapse of one year from the date of the Security Council resolution (November 22, 1967) there were no signs of a solution in sight.

"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."⁸

Concerned with 'the situation in Jerusalem', the Security Council adopted a resolution on May 21, 1968, "*Recalling* General Assembly resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V) of 4 and 14 July 1967... *Noting* that since the adoption of the above-mentioned resolutions, Israel has taken further measures and actions in contravention of those resolutions, *Bearing in mind* the need to work for a just and lasting peace, and *Reaffirming* that acquisition of territory by military conquest is inadmissible,

"1. *Deplores* the failure of Israel to comply with the General Assembly resolutions mentioned above;

"2. *Considers* that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, including expropriation of land and properties thereon, which tend to change the legal status of Jerusalem are invalid and cannot change that status;

"3. *Urgently calls* upon Israel to rescind all such measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any further action which tends to change the status of Jerusalem;

"4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the implementation of the present resolution."⁹

In the General Assembly and during the deliberations of the Special Political Committee, references were made by speakers to the resolutions adopted by the Commission on Human Rights of February 27, 1968; the telegram sent by the Commission to the Israeli authorities on March 9, 1968; and the resolution adopted by the International Conference on Human Rights which was held in Teheran, Iran, between April 22 and May 13, 1968, on 'Respect for and Implementation of Human Rights in Occupied Territories.' These three documents are reproduced hereunder for easy reference:

(1) *The Commission on Human Rights,*

"*Recalling* the provisions of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 regarding the protection of civilian persons in time of war,

"*Mindful* of the principle embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights regarding the right of everyone to return to his own country,

"*Recalling* resolution 237 (1967) adopted by the Security Council on 14 June 1967 in which the Council considered that essential and inalienable human rights should be respected even during the vicissitudes of war and called upon the Government of Israel, *inter alia*, to facilitate the return of those inhabitants who have fled the areas of military operations since the outbreak of hostilities,

"*Recalling also* resolution 2252 (ES-V) adopted by the General Assembly which welcomed with great satisfaction Security Council resolution 237 (1967) of 14 June 1967 and called for humanitarian assistance,

"1. *Notes* with appreciation the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly in accordance with the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Conventions of 1949 regarding human rights in the territories occupied as a result of the hostilities in the Middle East;

"2. *Affirms* the right of all inhabitants who have left since the outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East to return and that the Government concerned should take the necessary measures in order to facilitate the return of those inhabitants to their own country without delay;

"3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Commission informed upon developments with respect to operative paragraphs 1 and 2 above."¹⁰

(2) *The Commission on Human Rights*, by a vote of 17 to 1, with 7 abstentions, adopted on March 8, 1968, the proposal of India, Pakistan and Yugoslavia to dispatch a telegram to the Government of Israel couched in the following terms:

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights is distressed to learn from newspapers of Israeli acts of destroying homes of Arab civilian population inhabiting the areas occupied by the Israeli authorities subsequent to the hostilities of June 1967. The Commission on Human Rights calls upon the Government of Israel to desist forthwith from indulging in such practices and to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms.¹¹

¹⁰Resolution No. 6 (XXIV) adopted at 93rd meeting on February 27, 1968. This resolution was endorsed by the Economic and Social Council at its forty-fourth session in resolution No. 1336 (XLIV).

¹¹U.N. Document E/CN.4/11025/Add.14 of March 9, 1968.

⁸Resolution No. 242 (1967) of November 22, 1967—U.N. Document S/INF/22/Rév. 2, pp.8-9.

⁹Resolution No. 252 (1968) of May 21, 1968.

(3) *The International Conference of Human Rights*, adopted a resolution on May 7, 1968, which contained the following three provisions:

(a) It drew the attention of the Government of Israel to the grave consequences resulting from disregard of fundamental freedoms and human rights in occupied territories;

(b) It called upon the Government of Israel to desist forthwith from acts of destroying homes of Arab civilian populations 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;

(c) It 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, resume normal life, recover their property and homes, and rejoin their families according to the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.¹²

Reference was also made by the delegates to two resolutions adopted by the Security Council in 1968 dealing with Israeli attacks against the East Bank of Jordan—one on the refugee camp of El-Karameh in March, 1968, and the other on the town of Es-Salt in August, 1968.

In both cases, the Security Council condemned Israel and warned that such actions of military reprisal and other grave violations of the cease-fire cannot be tolerated and that the Security Council would have to consider further and more effective steps as envisaged in the Charter to ensure against repetition of such acts.¹³

Addendum

On December 28, 1968, four Israeli helicopters carrying about 120 commandos, carried out a raid against the civilian airport of Beirut, Lebanon.

The Israeli violation was brought before the Security Council

¹²See U.N. Document A/7098.

¹³See Resolution No. 248 (1968) of March 24, 1968, and Resolution No. S/RES/256 (1968) of August 16, 1968. The wording of this warning coincides with that of Security Council Resolution No. S/228 (1966) of November 25, 1966, regarding the Israeli attack on the Arab village of Es-Sammu', a few months before the invasion and occupation of the West Bank of Jordan.

which, after "observing that the military action by the armed forces of Israel against the civil International Airport of Beirut was premeditated and of a large scale and carefully planned,"

"1. *Condemned* Israel for its premeditated military action in violation of its obligations under the Charter and the cease-fire resolutions;

"2. *Considered* that such premeditated acts of violence endanger the maintenance of the peace;

"3. *Issued* a solemn warning to Israel that if such acts were to be repeated, the Council would have to consider further steps to give effect to its decisions;

"4. *Considered* that Lebanon is entitled to appropriate redress for the destruction it suffered, responsibility for which has been acknowledged by Israel."¹⁴

¹⁴U.N. Document S/RES/262 of December 31, 1968. In essence, the resolution repeats what the Security Council resolved when condemning the Israeli attacks on Es-Sammu' in November, 1966, on El-Karameh in March, 1968, and on Es-Salt in August, 1968. In each case the Security Council warning was rejected by Israeli authorities and the aggression repeated without the Council taking the 'further steps to give effect to its decisions.'

Chapter II THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

In the general debate before the Assembly, Representatives of the Arab States restated their views on the Palestine question as a whole. They drew attention to the situation which developed in the Middle East as a result of the June, 1967, war and the Israeli occupation of the West Bank of Jordan, the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights of Syria. They also drew attention to the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions dealing with the return of the refugees and displaced persons to their homes, the status of Jerusalem, Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied, the termination of all claims and states of belligerency, and the settlement of other problems, with a view to permanent peace in the area.

The Arab States Representatives expressed their deep concern over the aggressive character of Israel; its policies during the past twenty years of systematic expansion into Arab territories and expulsion of Arab inhabitants; and the oppression, persecution and torture of the Arab residents of occupied areas. They warned that if conditions remained what they are, further conflict in the area should not be ruled out and they summed up the causes for the present crisis in the Middle East as due to three main factors:

(1) Israeli defiance of United Nations authority and resolutions, and Israel's refusal as a member of the World Organization to live up to its obligations under the Charter;

(2) Failure of the United Nations to assert its authority and meet its responsibilities to safeguard the territorial integrity of all its members and ensure respect for and freedom of human rights for all peoples;

(3) United States political and military support of Israel. By opposing the condemnation of Israeli aggression and the order for immediate Israeli withdrawal, and by supplying supersonic Phantom jet fighters to Israel at a time when Israeli forces are still in occupation of Arab territories and while Israeli bombers are pounding away at Arab towns and villages in Jordan and the U.A.R., the United States has given encouragement to the Israelis in their policies of intransigence, aggression and expansion.

Representatives of the Arab States then called upon the General Assembly to recognize the seriousness of the situation and to take the necessary measures without delay to ensure the implementation of its resolutions on Israeli withdrawal, the status of Jerusalem, and the return of the refugees and displaced persons to their homes, if the tragedies of further armed conflict in the Middle East were to be avoided.

It was further pointed out that if conditions remained what they were, nothing could stop the Palestine Arabs from dying for the liberation of their country; nor could Israeli acts of terrorism, murder and napalm bombings make them deviate from their determination to free their homeland from the invader. In this they have the support of the entire Arab world. The speakers cited as previous examples the resistance movements of Europe during World War II and other peoples whose lands had once been occupied by foreign forces. It was recognized by the free world that such peoples had every reason to defend their natural and legitimate rights, and in this they had the moral and material support of the Allies. The Palestine Arabs now find themselves in a similar position of having to defend themselves, their homeland and property against invasion and occupation by outside forces. They should therefore receive the support of all freedom-loving peoples.

Further clarification of the Arab position in the present crisis in the Middle East is contained in the following selective statements by the Foreign Ministers of Jordan, the United Arab Republic and Iraq.

Jordan

Foreign Minister Abdul Mineam Rifa'i told the General Assembly that the United Nations, which had been created to save humanity from the scourge of war, had taken little action to avoid bloodshed and human tragedies in Asia and Africa. Many feared, he said, that the coming years might witness, not the growth and maturity of the United Nations, but a weakening of its effectiveness as a means to man's hope to live in peace and prosperity.

As a member of the United Nations, Jordan was dedicated to the principles of its Charter. It was recognized as a dynamic,

progressive and peace-loving country. Now, for almost a year and a half, half of Jordan's population has been living under foreign military occupation. Nearly one-fourth of its population has been reduced to the status of refugees living outside their own homes. The economic unity and progress of the country have been violently disrupted. The Holy Shrines have been torn away and shamelessly violated. The legitimate rights of the people have been stabbed in the heart a second time while still awaiting redress for earlier unprecedented acts of injustice and brutality. Consequently, misery, damage and destruction as a result of the continued Israeli aggression are now seen in every part of Jordan.

Despite their high morale, the people of Jordan, the Minister warned, were reaching a point where they may lose faith in the practical effectiveness of the moral values and lofty principles that are preached and cherished in the world of today. Israel's armed aggression in Jordan had reached, he said, a stage on which to operate freely, with no effective international authority to repel it or to curb it, or even, in many cases, to condemn it.

Mr. Rifa'i then referred to the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, which the Secretary-General had described as providing 'a basis for a constructive and peaceful approach by both parties and the international community to the bitter problems of the Middle East' and for providing for the appointment of a special representative 'to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement: (A/7201/Add.1, Para.47).

The essence of that resolution, he said, was the demand for the withdrawal of the occupying forces of Israel from Jordan and its two sister Arab countries, as well as the restoration of peace conditions in the area. Those big powers, which frustrated General Assembly action in June and July 1967, pledged in November, 1967, to throw their weight behind the implementation of the new Security Council resolution. They called it 'balanced' and 'realistic', and stated that it would enable them to use their influence and political weight to ensure compliance with its provisions.

Mr. Rifa'i declared that the Arab Governments directly involved in the crisis have gone very far in their moderation. The Arab position with regard to the implementation of the resolution

has been flexible and objective. We entered, he said, into detailed talks with the Special Representative, and in those talks we maintained a positive and constructive stand. We reviewed with him practical possibilities for the implementation of all provisions of the resolution and indicated that a time-table could be drawn up for the general and simultaneous implementation of all its items.

The Israeli position, on the other hand, has been to kill by procedural, tactical and semantic games any constructive attempts to tackle the substance of the problem. It refused to commit itself to the acceptance of withdrawal, which is the key point in the issue of peace in the present crisis, and tried to replace the Security Council resolution by a so-called agenda of peace, prepared and proposed by Israel. It avoided discussing substantial issues. It even regarded as unacceptable commitments in the Security Council on the termination of belligerency. It made it clear in every way that the resolution was short of its demands and ambitions. The repeated slogan of direct negotiations or bilateral agreements was but another tactical maneuver designed to break away from the obligations stipulated and emphasized in the November Security Council resolution.

The friends of Israel who had promised, inside the Council chambers and privately outside, support for the Security Council resolution should have foreseen this prospect. Their attitude, past and present, helped to create the present Israeli mentality and mood. By assisting in or being indifferent to Israel's policies of complete disregard of previous U.N. resolutions as well as Israel's systematic use of force to ensure territorial expansion in the last twenty years, they have developed in Israel the arrogance of power and its continued reliance upon their support in every way. Mr. Rifa'i felt that the only way to break the deadlock is for the Big Powers and the United Nations to use pressure on the aggressive party, tempering its military arrogance, and awakening it to the fact that 'reliance on the force of arms does not lead to peace.

In the light of this reality, the issue of peace with the Israelis becomes a problem incapable of solution. Swinging between its hope to live in security and its aim of gaining more land, Israel is unable to determine the area to which it plans to expand and the line to which it may be willing to withdraw.

Thus, the slogan of secure boundaries which Israel keeps raising as an excuse for its failure to accept withdrawal is a vague and undefined concept. This explains the failure of the Israeli Government to provide the Special Representative with a commitment on withdrawal and with a clear and definitive idea on its concept of secure boundaries. It should be borne in mind, Mr. Rifa'i said, that it is Arab territorial integrity and Arab security which have been grossly violated by Israel three times in the last twenty years.

The Minister then pointed out that while engaged in procedural discussions, Israel wasted no time in consolidating its occupation. It planted Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories. It expelled hundreds of thousands of inhabitants of the occupied territories from their homes. It bulldozed into non-existence villages and large quarters of Arab cities. It took drastic and violent measures to swallow up the Holy City of Jerusalem into its political structure by wholesale confiscation of land and property and by other radical measures. Israeli authorities arrested, imprisoned, deported, tortured, shot or subjected to various forms of persecution thousands of Arabs in the occupied areas. Israel also stepped up its wild attacks against Jordan in particular, in a systematic program of heavy shelling and air bombardment of Jordanian villages and towns, in the hope of breaking the people's spirit of resistance and paving the way for more expansion. It is incredible that twenty-three years after the founding of the United Nations the right of a people to live free from aggression becomes a question of debate.

The time has come, Mr. Rifa'i said, for world public opinion to realize what a myth was the claim that the Arabs were planning to throw the Israelis into the sea; and what a myth was the accusation that the Arabs were the belligerent party. It is time for the panic in the Western world over Israel's survival to cool down and give way to more rational understanding of Israel's reality and its designs in the area. It becomes more obvious every day, he said, that as Israel consolidates its position, extends its territory and stockpiles its advanced deadly weapons, the aim it has is to become the future and destiny of the area, at the expense of the rights, security and future of the peoples of the region. Yet, Israel continues to seek more arms aid and continues to receive it. One, at least, would have hoped that in the absence of positive action to bring Israel to the mood of peace, no action would be taken which may further encourage Israel in the direction of war.

Mr. Rifa'i then appealed to the United Nations membership to act speedily to save the efforts towards peace and to dispel the chances of despair. The people of the area, who have suffered so long from Israel's violence and from the inability of the United Nations to support their rights and protect their destiny, have reached the maximum limit of their restraint and faith in the fairness of the world organization. When they reach this point, invitations for moderation and restraint become irrelevant, and the call of struggle for liberation will echo all around, wide and deep.

He remarked that it is true that the Arabs faced a military defeat by a surprise attack in June of last year, but, he warned, that it is also true that there is full determination on their part not to be defeated in their principles and in their rights. It was easy for Israel to occupy vast Arab territories, but it shall not be so easy for Israel to stay and to hold. Our aged citizens, he said, may live for some time with their misfortune in destitution and in refugee camps, but their sons refuse to meet death except through struggle. These young men who are meeting their death in the occupied lands are not terrorists, as cynically described by Israel. They are young patriots, from schools and universities, rushing back to a homeland torn by aggression, to resist occupation.

Mr. Rifa'i concluded with the assurance that Jordan would continue to believe in the cause of peace, and would continue its endeavors to achieve peace. But, he pointed out, a lasting peace could not be established except on the solid foundations of right and justice. If we fail in our endeavors, he said, then we can say that we tried.¹

United Arab Republic

Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad deemed it his duty to outline the grave situation which exists in the Middle East as a result of the continued occupation by Israeli forces of Arab territories, a fact which constitutes a continued aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of three Member States of the United Nations.

¹U.N. Document A/PV. 1682 of October 4, 1968.

Every day that passes without the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Arab territories constitutes, he said, a new aggression and a new violation of the rule of the Charter. It also constitutes a situation fraught with the gravest dangers for peace and security in the Middle East.

The deliberations which took place in the Assembly following Israel's aggression of June 5, have emphasized the fundamental principle of the Charter which prohibits the acquisition of territory by force. The resolution, unanimously adopted by the Security Council on November 22, 1967, has only affirmed that principle and consequently affirmed the necessity for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the territories now occupied.

Mr. Riad accused Israel of obstructing the mission of Dr. Gunnar Jarring by its refusal to withdraw from territories occupied; by annexing Arab territories; refusing to recognize the rights of the refugees; expelling the Arab citizens; establishing Jewish settlements on Arab lands; defying United Nations resolutions on Jerusalem; and by resisting the mission of the Secretary-General's representative charged with the task of examining the conditions of the Arab population in the occupied territories.

At the same time, Israel continues its aggression against the civilian population of the United Arab Republic in the towns of Suez and Ismalia, as well as its attacks against the factories and installations in the Suez Canal area. Israel attacked civilian boats of the Suez Canal Authority while engaged in surveying the Canal's floor with a view to releasing the stranded ships in the Canal. This operation, he explained, was being undertaken in response to requests from foreign countries and owners of the stranded ships.

Mr. Riad believed that the world has not witnessed, since the Nazi occupation of European territories, a policy where, in a mad exercise of force, every rule of law—be it of peace or war—has been systematically violated and every right of man has been violently denied, such as the policy followed by Israel in occupied territories. It was only natural, therefore, that the International Conference on Human Rights, meeting in Teheran last May, should have condemned Israel's policy.

Israel, he said, occupies Arab territories and claims peace. It resists the return of the refugees and displaced inhabitants and claims peace. It carries on a campaign of terror and oppression against the Arab citizens in occupied territories and claims peace.

It annexes Jerusalem and claims peace. It plunders Arab property and claims peace. It refuses to implement the peaceful settlement approved by the Security Council and claims peace. It lays down one obstacle after another to the peace mission of Ambassador Jarring and claims peace. Peace, in Israel's view, is surrender by the Arab peoples to its will and their acquiescence in its territorial ambitions. But Israel's concept of its international obligations, whether emanating from the Charter or from its contractual commitments under international agreements, is no different from its concept of peace.

As examples, he cited the 'Lausanne Protocol' and the Armistice Agreements, both of which were signed in 1949. The Israelis signed the first in order to gain admission into membership of the United Nations. They signed the latter to legalize their presence within the territory they then occupied. And when they attacked and occupied the Sinai Peninsula in 1956, then Prime Minister David Ben Gurion announced that the Egyptian-Israeli Agreement was 'dead and buried'.

Today, the Israelis declare that all the Arab-Israeli Armistice Agreements no longer exist. Israel proceeds on the premise that it is entitled to conclude international agreements and then to renounce them after it has achieved its expansionist aims. To illustrate, Mr. Riad quoted from a statement made by Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Dayan before the Kibbutzim Youth Federation on July 5, 1968, in which he said: "Our fathers reached the frontiers that were recognized in the partition plan of 1947. Our generation reached the 1949 frontiers. But the 'six-day generation', were able to reach Suez, Jordan and the Gholan Heights in Syria." He added: "This is not the end; for after the present cease-fire lines, there will be new lines, but they will extend beyond the River Jordan, maybe to Lebanon and perhaps to central Syria as well."

Mr. Riad remarked that these were not mere words. They express the actual policy of Israel as manifested by its occupation of Arab territories and its eviction of Arab citizens from those territories, and the establishment of Israeli settlements in their place.

He then called upon the international community to reject Israel's imposition of a *fait accompli*, based on the use of force and aggression, as a substitute for international legality.

Israel, he said, could not have continued its policy of aggression and defiance of the United Nations had it not been receiving the political and material support of the United States. The provision of weapons and planes to Israel by the United States while Israel insists on the occupation of territories of three Member States of the United Nations, can in no way contribute to the achievement of peace in the Middle East. Any military or economic assistance provided to Israel while it occupies Arab territories is nothing but support for Israeli aggression and an unfriendly act against the Arab countries and peoples.

Mr. Riad then compared Israeli policy with that of Nazi Germany. Both policies, he said, emanate from a blind, racist philosophy which imagines that a group of people are entitled to impose their will upon other peoples. Israel, like Nazi Germany, considers itself entitled to cross national frontiers, impose a *fait accompli*, and demand from the occupied countries negotiations to confer legality upon its territorial gains.

While Israel continues to insist on its aggression and its refusal of the peace settlement approved by the Security Council, the United Arab Republic has taken a clear and consistent position. We have informed the Special Representative, from the very beginning of our talks with him, Mr. Riad said, of our full acceptance of the Security Council resolution as well as of our readiness for its implementation. We have also proposed to the Special Representative that he set up a time-table for the implementation of the resolution. Our proposal still stands, and still offers an opportunity to bring about peace in the Middle East under the supervision and guarantees of the Security Council.

The Minister concluded by stating that peace is a basic necessity in order to continue to build, construct and share positively in the movement for progress. Every man and woman in the United Arab Republic is committed to the recovery of every inch of territory occupied by Israel. The faith of our people, he said, is absolute that the forces of goodness and justice throughout the world shall stand by us for the achievement of peace based on justice.²

²U.N. Document A/PV. 1689 of October 10, 1968.

Iraq

Foreign Minister Abdul Karim Al-Shaikhly said that in the view of his Government, the primary cause of tension and conflict in the Middle East during the past twenty years has been, first, the failure to find a just solution to the Palestine question which would guarantee the inalienable right of self-determination of the people of Palestine to live in sovereign freedom and peace in their ancestral homeland; and second, the pursuance by Israel of aggressive and expansionist policies at the expense of the Arabs. If we really want to reduce tension in the area, he pointed out, we should never lose sight of the fact that we are dealing with the right of the Arab people of Palestine to survive as a distinct and homogeneous national community. A great deal has been said in the last year and a half about innocent passage through international waterways, about secure boundaries, about belligerency, territorial expansion by military force, negotiations, direct and indirect, and about what is called the crisis in the Middle East and the conflict between Israel and the Arab States. But not much has been heard about the people of Palestine, whose tragic fate is at the root of all the problems besetting our area. For can we forget that all those problems were created as a result of the onslaught of Zionism against the people of Palestine? Nothing will be settled, and nothing will endure, until and unless the consequences and implications of that aggression are recognized and fearlessly dealt with.

Mr. Al-Shaikhly went on to say that the one solid unalterable fact which will always live in the conscience of the Arab nation, and indeed of world opinion, is the refusal of the people of Palestine to disappear as a distinct national Arab entity and their determination to stay alive whatever the cost.

In addition to the provisions of the Charter and the principle of international law, Iraq's foreign policy, he explained, derives its inspiration from the unshakeable belief of the Iraqi people in the right of the people of Palestine to live as part of the Arab nation. Iraq, he said, will spare no effort and will employ all available means inside and outside the United Nations to render assistance to the people of Palestine in their struggle to uphold and exercise that right.

For over twenty years, the Foreign Minister said, the people of Palestine have been cajoled, intimidated and subjected to all kinds of pressures and temptations to give up their claim to their homeland; but they resisted and will continue to resist however great are the sacrifices. The people of Palestine have been the victims of an unparalleled racist colonial invasion. In their struggle to regain their rights and recover their lost freedom and usurped homeland, they are entitled to the understanding, sympathy and support of the other peoples of the world, especially those which only recently emerged from colonial rule.

He went on to say that during the general debate last year, there was virtual unanimity in upholding the Charter principles relating to the inadmissibility of territorial expansion by force. Implicit in this was a universal condemnation of Israel's ill-concealed ambition to annex the Arab territories occupied. A whole year has now passed and Israeli occupation still continues. Israel annexed Arab Jerusalem; numerous administrative steps have been taken to integrate the rest of the West Bank, politically and economically, with Israel; and in Gaza, Israel has continued its systematic campaign to drain it of its Arab population in preparation for its eventual annexation. The reign of terror and intimidation in the occupied territories continues unabated, violating all humanitarian principles and international conventions and reminiscent of the worst crimes committed in Europe under Nazi occupation. It was natural, therefore, that the Teheran Conference on Human Rights should denounce the violation of human rights in the occupied territories. Hoping to hide these crimes, Israel has refused to accept the Secretary-General's proposal to send a special representative to look into the conditions of the civilian population in the areas it occupied in June, 1967.

During the past year, Israel has been twice condemned by the Security Council for wanton and unprovoked large-scale military attacks on Jordan. In the Suez Canal region, Israel has mercilessly bombarded the densely populated cities of Suez and Ismalia and has wilfully and arbitrarily obstructed all efforts to reopen the Suez Canal to international shipping. Israel's behavior during this past year is further proof of its lack of respect for the principles of international law its utter disregard of the Charter. It also confirms Israel's refusal to evacuate occupied Arab territory and its intention to annex those territories. The United

Nations is thus again faced with a most serious challenge to one of the fundamental principles of the Charter, namely, the territorial integrity of States and the inadmissibility of territorial expansion by force. Failure to deal with this challenge will inevitably weaken faith and erode confidence in the Organization. The United Nations must demonstrate that its principles are applicable to all without discrimination.

The Minister continued that he would not be revealing anything new if he said that Israel would not have dared to commit all those aggressive acts and would not have continued to violate all principles of international morality if it had not been sustained by its unholy alliance with the United States, which still ignores its responsibilities as a permanent member of the Security Council to respect the Charter and uphold the principles of international justice. The decision of the United States Government to sell Israel supersonic Phantom jets provides incontrovertible proof of the complete bias of United States policy in Israel's favor. This latest act of blatant favoritism would not fail to encourage Israel to continue its aggressive expansionist policy.

Mr. Al-Shaikhly then quoted the statement by the Secretary-General to the effect that "There is the immediate and urgently challenging issue of the withdrawal of the armed forces of Israel from the territory of neighbouring Arab States occupied during the recent war. There is near unanimity on this issue, in principle, because everyone agrees that there should be no territorial gains by military conquest. It would, in his view, lead to disastrous consequences if the United Nations were to abandon or compromise this fundamental principle." (A/6701/Add.1, para.47)

This statement, the Iraqi Foreign Minister pointed out, has lost none of its timeliness and significance today. The passage of time has not diminished its pertinence and urgency. More than ever, it provides the only guideline for action by the international community.

The situation which confronts the United Nations at present, he said, was not brought about by fortuitous circumstances but resulted inevitably from a comprehensive Israeli plan of action with well-defined political, strategic and territorial objectives. This is no longer a matter of opinion or conjecture. In the face of this blatantly expansionist design, there can be no retreat and no

compromise. There can be no settlement, not even the beginning of a rational discussion of the underlying causes, before unconditional withdrawal from every inch of Arab territory is effected. Ultimately, the road to peace in the Middle East lies in the non-partisan study of the merits of the case, in the objective appraisal of the contributing factors, in the rigorous examination of former policies and the intellectual ability to distinguish cause from effect, the symptoms from the disease. And all this must be done on the basis of a balanced and compassionate sense of justice, not on the basis of glib Israeli explanations.³

Chapter III THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE

Functions of the Committee

The Special Political Committee is the organ of the United Nations entrusted by the General Assembly with the task of studying the annual reports of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) as well as any reports which the Conciliation Commission for Palestine might issue from time to time, and to make recommendations on the measures needed to maintain the refugees during the coming year and to report on the progress made in the implementation of the provisions of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194(III) of December 11, 1948. The text of this paragraph—which calls for a solution of the refugee problem—reads as follows:

The General Assembly,

"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 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."¹

Notwithstanding the intent and clarity of this provision, the Committee is not asked to seek or suggest a permanent settlement of either the Palestine problem or the Arab States-Israeli conflict. It is merely requested to review the activities of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for the Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) for the previous year, to listen to the statements of delegates in the debate, and then to submit to the General Assembly its report and a draft resolution of its recommendations. The form of the draft resolution—which is seldom changed by the General Assembly—follows the line of pre-

³U.N. Document A/PV. 1689 of October 11, 1968.

¹See provisions of Resolution 302 (IV) of December 8, 1949.

vious years. It begins by recalling previous resolutions adopted since 1948 and "notes with deep regret that repatriation or compensation of the refugees as provided for in paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194(III) has not been effected, that no substantial progress has been made in the program endorsed in paragraph 2 of resolution 513(VI) for the reintegration of refugees either by repatriation or resettlement and that, therefore, the situation of the refugees continues to be a matter of serious concern." It then goes on to deal with the financial aspects of the refugee problem by calling upon governments and private organizations to make or increase their contributions to enable the relief agency to meet its commitments for the coming year.²

"After nineteen years, the refugees have still had neither an opportunity of returning to their homes nor of compensation for their property. Since the two issues of repatriation and compensation are linked together as alternatives in the resolution, the continuing deadlock over repatriation has had the result of denying the refugees of any benefit from the property they left behind in 1948. It would hardly seem that this can have been the intention of the Assembly in adopting its resolution of nineteen years ago. Suggestions have been made from time to time for measures to enable the refugees to receive compensation, irrespective of whether they would have the opportunity of returning to their homes and without prejudice to this or any other political claims they may have; but these suggestions have not been pursued."³

The approach of annually affirming and re-affirming the right of the refugees to either repatriation or compensation without suggesting effective measures how to enforce the provisions of paragraph 11 of resolution 194(III) has had the effect of maintaining the *status quo*—to the detriment of the Palestine Arabs, the advantage of the Israelis, and increased dangers to the peace of the Middle East.

Report on Activities of UNRWA

In his annual report for 1967-1968, the Commissioner-General of UNRWA tried to depict the situation of the Palestine refugees and the other persons who were displaced by the Israelis during and after the June, 1967, war, to outline their needs, and to

summarize what has been done to assist them by UNRWA, the host countries, and the many non-governmental organizations which have offered their help.

The total number of refugees registered with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency as at the end of June, 1968, stood at 1,364,294, as against 1,346,086 for the previous years. This does not include the number of displaced persons as a result of the June, 1967, hostilities. The figure of these varies from month to month as more and more Arab residents are displaced by Israeli authorities. The total number of persons—both refugee and displaced—affected by the June war is estimated to be in the neighborhood of 450,000 persons.

In the 'Introduction' to his annual report, the Commissioner-General pointed out that "the year which followed the hostilities of June 1967 in the Middle East was one of new hardships and anxieties for the Palestine refugees, as they lived under the shadow of dangers and uncertainties. Those who became refugees for a second time (about 175,000), together with most of the 350,000 or more other persons newly displaced from the occupied areas of southern Syria, the West Bank of Jordan, Gaza and Sinai, were in need of the very essentials of physical survival—food, water, shelter, blankets, clothing and health care and, scarcely less important, the education of their children. For many, these needs could be met only in tented camps, where winter cold and storms brought additional suffering. Inhabitants of the camps in the Jordan Valley found themselves exposed to the physical danger of military action as well, and fled again to the higher lands away from the Jordan Valley; for many it was their fourth move within a year."

The Commissioner-General explained that "for all of the refugees, the future was uncertain as they anxiously awaited the measures that might follow the Security Council resolution 242(1967) of 22 November 1967 calling for a just and lasting peace and including as one of its elements a 'just settlement of the refugee problem.' They awaited also the realization of Security Council resolution 237(1967) and General Assembly resolution 2252(ES-V) calling upon the Government of Israel to facilitate the return of those who were displaced after the outbreak of hostilities to their former places of residence. They noted, too, that the General Assembly once again, in resolution 2341A(XXII),

²See Resolution 2341 (XXII) of December 19, 1967, and texts of resolutions of previous years.

³This comment was made by the Commissioner-General of UNRWA in a note circulated to Member States by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in Document No. A/CONF. 32/22 of April 29, 1968, and again under Document No. A/C.3/L.1636 of November 29, 1968.

adopted on 19 December 1967, noted "with deep regret that the repatriation or compensation of the refugees as provided for in paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194(III) has not been effected, that no substantial progress has been made in the programme endorsed in paragraph 2 of resolution 513(VI) for the reintegration of refugees either by repatriation or resettlement and that, therefore, the situation of the refugees continues to be a matter of serious concern." The General Assembly asked for continued efforts towards the implementation of paragraph 11 of resolution 194(III). It is evident to the Commissioner-General, from his contacts with the Arab Governments concerned and with the refugees, that this paragraph, upon which the refugees had for so long built their hopes, remains of crucial importance to them."

The Commissioner-General goes on to say that "UNRWA's position has been that, in the absence thus far of the 'just settlement of the refugee problem', which the Security Council in resolution 242(1967) of 22 November 1967 rightly views as an essential part of a 'just and lasting peace in the Middle East', those who fled after the outbreak of hostilities should be allowed to return to the places where they were living before June 1967. This, it is believed, corresponds to the expressed will of both the Security Council and the General Assembly."⁴

In introducing his report to the Special Political Committee on November 11, 1968, the Commissioner-General stated that "the human needs of the Palestine refugees, and of the other persons displaced since the hostilities of June 1967, are great and pressing." "Many thousands," he said, "are living in extremely precarious conditions. Those who have sought shelter in the new emergency camps of Jordan and Syria, in particular, face the hazards of winter storms with severe winds, heavy rain and cold."

Mr. Michelmore then outlined conditions in the various camps. In "Syria," he said, "about 8,000 persons are living in four tented camps, and arrangements are now being made to accommodate a further 2,000 persons. These camps have been provided with water supply, roads, paths, storm water drainage, sanitation facilities, concrete bases for the tents, low skirting walls and tent covers." "Despite these provisions," he pointed out, "the inhabitants of these camps in Syria face a winter of hardship and suffering."

In Jordan, the camps have been moved several times during the year. The Commissioner-General described facilities in one camp housing about 3,000 persons as 'excellent'; but the 75,000 inmates of the other five emergency camps are living under canvas. Because of the danger that tents can be swept away by severe storms, UNRWA was anxious to replace them with more solid, but still temporary structures. Even if the necessary funds became available, the Commissioner-General said "it would still be a race against the calendar to get as much of this shelter erected as possible before the worst of the winter." "Even on the most optimistic forecast, many thousands of families," he said, "will have only canvas tents to shelter them, and will face the danger of exposure and the risk of respiratory diseases and other illnesses."

On the question of education, the Commissioner-General pointed out that despite the dislocation of the refugees, the demand for education has remained high. Half of the persons registered with UNRWA were age 18 or under. These young people and their families, he said, realize the importance of education to their future and show their interest by their constantly increasing demands for admission to schools and training centres.

As regards displaced persons who were not refugees registered with UNRWA prior to the June, 1967, war, the Commissioner-General wished to make it clear that the figures in his report 'include very little provision' for them. "The responsibility for these persons," he said, "has been taken largely, almost entirely, by the several Governments concerned. In Jordan, UNRWA has worked particularly closely with the Government in what might be described as a combined operation. At the Government's request, UNRWA administers all the emergency camps, although some of the inhabitants are not refugees registered with UNRWA. UNRWA acts as the agent of the Government in distributing food rations to the newly displaced persons authorized by the Government to receive this assistance." He added: "The financial responsibility remains with the Government, however, for food supplies—other than supplies received as World Food Programme or other contributions such as those made in response to the joint appeal which the Secretary-General and the Director-General of FAO made on 29 April this year. The Government also meets the

⁴U.N. Document A/7213.

costs of distributing food and of health and education services as well." However, "in the Syrian Arab Republic and the United Arab Republic, UNRWA has no role in the care of the newly displaced persons," the Commissioner-General pointed out.⁵

In a comment on the refugee problem as a whole, the Commissioner-General said: "The tragic circumstances in which the Palestine refugees found themselves and the harsh conditions they have had to face over the last twenty years, raise inevitably the question whether their status can be reconciled with the precept of Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. . . ." ⁶

Statement By the Secretary-General of the United Nations

On November 11, 1968, the Special Political Committee interrupted its scheduled meetings to hear a statement by Secretary-General U Thant.

The Secretary-General opened his statement with the remark that this was the first time that a Secretary-General had addressed the Committee during its consideration of the subject of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) and the Palestine refugees. He said he was doing so now only because he considered it to be his duty to call to the special attention of the members of the Committee certain acute situations which required urgent action. His purpose was, therefore, to point out and underscore certain vital needs which were, in his view, an international responsibility.

U Thant pointed out that "for twenty years, the Palestine refugees—well over one million of them—have had no homeland, no future and not even a detectable glimmer of hope on their horizon." "We should remind ourselves," he said, "that in all these twenty years, the General Assembly has not found it possible to take any significant step towards a real solution of this great and tragic human problem. It has found it possible," he added, "mainly to discuss each year, at length, the arrangements to be made through UNRWA for the relief of the refugees in their present plight, without touching upon measures which might

achieve a fundamental solution for them." "This fact," he said, "reflects upon us all and certainly upon the United Nations, and we should not allow ourselves to forget it in the debate that is ahead of us in this Committee."

The Secretary-General then stressed "the urgent necessity of meeting the responsibilities of the United Nations for the care of the refugees and displaced persons." He pointed out that "the international community which the United Nations represents cannot abandon this very large group of people, for whose plight the United Nations must bear a considerable measure of responsibility, without dealing a harsh blow to international morality and the conscience of humanity which the United Nations must always seek to reflect."

U Thant then declared: "As Secretary-General, I would be derelict in my duty if I did not recall to the Special Political Committee the resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly relating to humanitarian questions, and in particular to Security Council resolution 237(1967) of 14 June 1967 which, among other things, asked that the return of those inhabitants who have fled the areas since the outbreak of hostilities be facilitated. A similar appeal was made by the General Assembly in its resolution 2252(ES-V) of July 4, 1967. . . ."

"It cannot be questioned," he continued, "that the plight of many of the refugees could best be relieved immediately by their return to their homes and to the camps which they formerly occupied. For the displaced persons, the only remedy that would appear to be at once acceptable and practical is their early return to their former places of residence. Although efforts have been made to secure such a return both for the refugees and the displaced persons, the results in terms of the numbers who have actually returned have been relatively small. I think it is necessary to state that if the camps on the West Bank could again serve their original purpose, and if the displaced persons could return to their former homes, a long step would have been taken towards reducing the hardships faced by a large number of the refugees and displaced persons in Jordan." The Secretary-General went on to say that "a major factor and a possible obstacle to such a development from the standpoint of the displaced persons and refugees themselves, and conceivably of the Government of Israel as well, is the continuing occupation by Israel forces of the area concerned and the lack of any present indication as to when that occupation will be terminated and peaceful conditions prevail."

⁵U.N. Document A/SPC/PV.612 of November 11, 1968.

⁶From 'Note' submitted by the Commissioner-General of UNRWA and circulated by the Secretary-General under Document No. A/CONF. 32/22 of April 29, 1968.

U Thant concluded his statement with a general comment: "Of all the humanitarian situations with which the United Nations is concerned, the plight of the Palestine refugees should arouse the most active compassion of all the Governments and peoples of the United Nations, for we are dealing here with nothing less than a twenty-year-old tragedy for a group of people who considerably outnumber the whole population of a number of the States which are members of the United Nations. Members may differ on the rights and wrongs of the situation in the Middle East, of which the Palestine refugees are the innocent and long-suffering victims. Efforts may be exerted through the United Nations, or outside it, to find solutions to the problems of the Middle East, of which the refugee problem is a major one."

The Secretary-General said he believed "that everyone will agree that the tragedy of the Palestine refugees, who three times in twenty years have known at first-hand the cruel blast of war, demands that the United Nations should live up generously, and without hesitation, to its humanitarian duty towards them." He earnestly hoped that "the action of this Committee collectively, and of its members individually, will allow the United Nations to meet this responsibility to the fullest possible extent."⁷

⁷U.N. Document A/SPC/PV.612 of November 11, 1968.

Chapter IV THE DEBATE

The Special Political Committee began its consideration of the Report of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) for the period July 1 1967 to June 30, 1968 on November 18 and ended its deliberations on December 13, 1968. In all, the Committee held twenty meetings.¹

All speakers paid tribute to the Commissioner-General of UNRWA and his staff for their untiring dedication to duty under most difficult circumstances. They also welcomed the statement of the Secretary-General of November 11, 1968, in which he expressed his concern for the refugees and displaced persons and hoped that "the action of the Committee collectively, and of its members individually, will allow the United Nations to meet its responsibility towards the refugees and displaced persons to the fullest possible extent."

Delegates varied in their presentation of the case. The Arab Representatives dealt with the problem from all its aspects; some delegates touched only upon the responsibility of the United Nations and the need of finding a political as well as a humanitarian solution, while others confined themselves entirely to the activities of UNRWA, extension of its mandate, and the provision of the necessary funds to maintain the refugees for another year.

Because the basic issue in the Palestine problem is more political, and since the relief question is fully covered by the Commissioner-General of UNRWA in U.N. Document A/7213, the Arab case will focus more on the political issue.

To avoid repetition, the substance of the statements of delegates has been reproduced in tabulated summarized form under specific headings without identifying the individual speaker. Two exceptions, however, have been made:

- (1) In the case of the Big Four Powers because their policies, reflected in their statements, influence the Palestine Problem one way or another; and
- (2) Statements by the Representatives of the Palestine Arabs.

¹For Records of Meetings (verbatim and summary), see U.N. Documents Nos. A/SPC/PV (or SR) 616 to 635.

The position they hold reflects the demands of the Palestine people who cannot be ignored in any solution of the Palestine problem. It is therefore important that their stand should be fully understood.

Statements By Representatives of the Big Powers

The United Kingdom — Lord Caradon expressed his gratitude to the Secretary-General who, he said, had taken the exceptional action of putting before the Committee a message of particular importance. It is on that message and in response to that challenge that, he said, he wished to speak.

Lord Caradon remarked that he had had the great privilege of living for more than a decade on one side or the other of the Jordan, and he claimed that very few knew the area better than himself. Consequently, he said, he had a personal interest in the people. Their suffering to him was more than a matter of statistics. The injustice which they have endured, most of them for so long, and their hardships which are now so much greater, seemed to him very real and very near. He hoped that all members of the Committee would have sufficient imagination to realize that there is no more terrible sentence than the sentence of leaving home and land to set out on an exile as harsh as it is apparently hopeless.

Lord Caradon stated that it was not his purpose to speak of the main refugee problem which has existed for twenty years. On that the United Nations, he said, had often pronounced in the past since the time of General Assembly resolution 194(III) passed in December, 1948. The solution of that vast human problem would be for urgent consideration as part of the just and lasting settlement which was the object of Security Council resolution 242(1967) of last November.

He wished, however, to draw attention not to long-term purposes but to one immediate aim—that is, "what is to be done to rescue more than a quarter of a million men, women and children who crossed over the Jordan from their homes and camps during and after the fighting of June 1967 and now exist in extreme hardship, many of them on the hills of Eastern Jordan?" Nothing is more urgent, he said, than that. The severity of the winter will greatly intensify their misery. Many of them have homes, stone houses, to go back to on the other side of the Jordan Valley. They could go home tomorrow.

Lord Caradon then drew attention to Security Council resolution 237(1967) of June last year and to General Assembly resolution 2252(ES-V) of July last, both of which called for the return of the refugees to be facilitated. It is a remarkable fact, he said, that both of these resolutions were passed unanimously.

He then quoted the statement of the Secretary-General to the effect that "It cannot be questioned that the plight of many of the refugees could best be relieved immediately by their return to their homes and to the camps which they formerly occupied.... It is necessary to state that if the camps on the West Bank could again serve their original purpose, and if the displaced persons could return to their former homes, a long step would have been taken towards reducing the hardships faced by a large number of the refugees and displaced persons in Jordan."

The United Kingdom Government, Lord Caradon pointed out, had consistently pressed for action to deal with this immediate problem—the problem of those who crossed the Jordan during and after the June war—and had emphasized this immediate need on every possible occasion.

More than a year ago, the then Foreign Minister, at that time speaking in the General Assembly, had regretted that there had not been more progress in the return of innocent people to their homes. Speaking before the General Assembly last October, Mr. Michael Stewart had once again expressed that hope. He added: "If we had the conviction that there was going to be a real beginning in solving the refugee problem, that would transform the atmosphere and we should be in sight of that real, just and lasting peace that all in the Middle East so urgently need. But there must be no more delay." (A/PV.1693, pp.36-37)

The United Kingdom Representative then offered the following suggestions: "We cannot hope to solve the whole refugee problem here and now. The urgency and importance of that main task cannot be over-estimated, but the immediate purpose should be to separate out the problem of the 'newly displaced persons' as they are called in the official jargon, those who left their homes or UNRWA camps during and after last year's fighting, those who have homes or camps to go back to. Let them be dealt with first.

"And if anyone should say that this humanitarian act will increase dangers of violence, I would reply that the dangers of violence are not more from people living in their own homes than they are from people living through the winter in the hardships and humiliation of exile.

"Let me add a plea for urgency. I have myself seen men, women and children die of exposure in the snows of a Jordan winter. There is no time to lose, and no time for bureaucratic delays on either side. The passport for immediate return should be evidence that those coming back from the East have homes to go to and the wish to go back.

"What a transformation in the atmosphere there would be if a generous, a magnanimous gesture could now be made. And, after all, when you come to think of it, it is not asking a lot that people should be allowed to go home. Surely that is an elementary human right.

"So I advocate that we should not allow ourselves to be confused by disputes over the exact numbers involved or by the complications and difficulties of wider issues. Let a start be made by allowing the new refugees to go home.

"There is one other parallel action which could be taken at once: that is, to allow the existing refugee camps near Jericho and elsewhere on the West Bank to be occupied again. Dr. Michelmore in his report says:

In relation to UNRWA, its capacity to help is reduced by the fact that some of its best camps, schools, clinics and other facilities stand idle in Jericho and other camps on the West Bank are partly empty, while the former inhabitants eke out a bare subsistence in tented camps or other temporary accommodation in East Jordan... the incongruity of having to improvise and expend limited resources, while decent, permanent camps and facilities lie idle on the West Bank is striking. (A/7213, p15, para.39)

"*'Incongruity'* indeed! I can think of other words. It is wasteful. It is surely indefensible. Moreover, these partly empty camps—there are, I believe, nearly 50,000 vacancies in the Jericho camps alone—could surely be used to give temporary shelter to those now in tented camps in the hills who were previously living permanently west of the Jordan, as staging camps in the first place and then once more to house those refugees long registered with UNRWA who joined the general exodus in the June war.

"Allow me for a minute or two to reflect on the whole situation we face in the Near East. Nearly a year ago we passed unanimously a resolution in the Security Council. The principles and purposes on which we then agreed are accepted by all. We know the solution. That is the extraordinary fact. We know now

what our destination is. We shall reach it in the end. The only question is whether that destination is to be reached through blood and suffering or over the dry land of common sense.

"For a year we have been searching for a first step in the right direction. Often the first step is the most difficult. If we could now take a first step on firm ground then, as my Foreign Secretary said, the atmosphere would be transformed. The sincerity of the search for peace would be clearly shown. Mistrust and suspicion would begin to diminish. There would be hope again. The Arabs could look forward to the restitution of their territories. The Israelis could look forward to a permanent peace within secure and recognized boundaries—a peace based not on a perpetuation of hate but on a beginning of mutual respect. The road ahead would still be long and difficult but at least we would have started.

"What better start could there be than to allow innocent men, women and children to come down from the hills and go home. If we could make that start this month, this November, then I am optimistic enough to believe that the way would be clear for new hopeful developments. We could turn to deal with the greater refugee problem in a better spirit; we could sustain and speed the efforts of the indefatigable Dr. Jarring; we might even by taking the first step have ensured our eventual arrival at our destination. We would have taken a step in the right direction to avoid a catastrophe so beastly and so bloody that we can scarcely imagine its scale or scope.

"I realize that to take this first step calls for a sense of urgency and also for imagination, magnanimity and courage. Without such qualities, we are unlikely to break out of the deadlock which we now face. We are justified, so I believe, in making an appeal that these qualities should be forthcoming before it is too late.

"Perhaps we are fortunate that in this situation so complex and so dangerous we have something good we can do at once. The crying human need could unite us instead of dividing us."

Lord Caradon concluded his statement with these words: "I have no hesitation in saying that anyone who opposes help to the refugees is an enemy of a just settlement. Equally, I have no hesitation in saying that those who come forward now without expectation of political advantage or national gain to bring comfort to those in deep distress will be working for a permanent

peace. For they will have shown that what matters most is not political advantage or national gain but human decency and a considerate compassion and a sense of justice."²

The United States of America — Mr. Wiggins expressed deep concern for the more than one million refugees in the Near East. He appealed on behalf of the 'unfortunate men, women and children who must look for succor to this assembly.' He then commended UNRWA which had for twenty years struggled desperately to save from starvation, disease and destruction more than a million people who have given no offence to the world by any act or word of their own, but who have suffered the man-made scourge of war—a scourge that has made them homeless, divested them of their livelihood, and taken from them all the expectations and hopes associated with a decent and normal life.

When UNRWA was established twenty years ago, it was hoped that it was engaged in a brief and emergency enterprise; and the expectation that its career would be short, soon faded. In its camps a new generation has been born which has grown to manhood and womanhood.

Mr. Wiggins described the UNRWA report as the story of a noble effort to redress by human charity wrongs inflicted by human folly. It sets forth, as far as statistics can set forth, a measure of the misery with which UNRWA has been dealing. He expressed the hope that the mission of Ambassador Jarring, entrusted to him in Security Council resolution 242(1967) of November 22, 1967, would succeed so that the wards of UNRWA might at last be integrated into a normal society.

The Representative of the United States referred to the statement of the Israeli Foreign Minister in the General Assembly on October 8, 1968, when the latter 'promised that his Government would take new measures to deal with hardship cases, family separations and unexploited return permits' and expressed the prayer that the Government and people of Israel will respond to the plight of these newly displaced persons, not only by the measures which the Foreign Minister enumerated, but by a greatly expanded program for returning to the lands west of the Jordan, in advance of a permanent peace, most of the persons displaced by the 1967 war. Such an appeal, made at such a time

of national crisis and concern, might be addressed in vain to many governments and many peoples. But the Government of Israel and the people of Israel can never be counted among the governments and peoples who lack knowledge and understanding of the miseries of the exiled, the orphaned, the persecuted and the homeless.

The Jews, he said, have been instructed by the sad experiences of a thousand years of history, in the anguish of exile, the misery of plight, the perils of persecution and the horrors of hunger. As another winter descends on the refugees, surely their plight will touch the hearts, move the minds, and overcome the fears of Israel and inspire an act of generosity and confidence that will give the whole world an example of humanity and magnanimity. That is the best and the only real hope of the newly displaced persons.

The Representative of the United States concluded his statement with these words: "Surely with such an example from Israel before us, the rest of us will take up this remaining and continuing burden in better heart and higher hope, resolved to continue an effort on behalf of more than a million Palestinians whose plight is no reproach to them. It is a reproach more justly laid against the rest of the world, in which for centuries there have flourished the terrible evils of racial and religious discriminations. Our duty now is clear: We must adopt a resolution extending the life of UNRWA; we must continue our efforts to establish peace; we must lift the burden of homelessness from the unoffending victims of a generation of strife in the Middle East."³

France — Mr. Berard said that the fact that the problem of the Palestine refugees had existed for two decades and the further dimension it had acquired as a result of the events of June, 1967, surely made it one of the most poignant problems the world had ever faced. The successive military actions initiated since the end of the conflict had, moreover, extended the unfortunate effects, and the movement of refugees from the West Bank of the Jordan had been complicated during recent months by a steady flow from Gaza.

He referred to the statement of the Commissioner-General of UNRWA which reiterated that the Agency's capacity to help refugees would be much greater if, in accordance with Security

²U.N. Document A/SPC/PV. 616 or November 18, 1968.

³*Ibid.*

Council resolution 237(1967), the inhabitants who had fled were allowed to return to the places where they had been living before the outbreak of hostilities. The Commissioner-General, he said, hoped that the return to the territories now occupied would be considered and permitted at the earliest possible date and without waiting for the settlement of the refugee problem. The Secretary-General, in his statement on November 11, to the Special Political Committee, had, for his part, said that the early return to their former places of residence was for the displaced persons the only remedy that would appear to be at once acceptable and practical.

Mr. Berard declared that the French Government attached particular importance to the question of the return of displaced persons to their homes or camps. He referred to Israel's authorization of a repatriation operation in July and August 1967, and said that out of 400,000 persons only 14,000 persons had been able to return. Despite appeals, only a further 2,000 to 3,000 persons were allowed to return as special cases. The speaker associated himself with those countries which had called for action that would unquestionably be a gesture of generosity and confidence, but above all an act of justice. He felt that the necessity for achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem which was affirmed by Security Council resolution 242(1967) defined the elements of a political solution of the Near East question; it was the implementation of the draft resolution which would finally put an end to the human tragedy of the refugees.⁴

U.S.S.R. — Mr. Mendeleovich stated that the fact that no political solution had yet been achieved to the problem of the Palestine refugees was due to Israel's refusal to comply with the relevant decisions of the United Nations; and the recent complications of the problem resulting from the increase in the number of refugees were due to Israel's continued armed provocation against the Arab States. By their policy of intimidating the Arab people and seizing their land, Israeli occupation forces were making conditions intolerable for the Arabs and forcing increasing numbers to become refugees. Israel sought to present the initial expulsion of the Arabs from Palestine and the more recent expulsion in 1967 and 1968 as *fait accompli*, but such assertions had no political or legal validity: politically, they were an expression of Israel's aggressive policy; legally, no *fait accompli* could be recognized as lawful as long as it was rejected by its victims.

A solution could only be found if Israel decided to abandon its aggressive policy and to implement the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. It was the primary duty of all Member States to promote such a solution. The first task was to take steps to ensure the implementation by Israel of Security Council resolution 237(1967), operative paragraph 1, which called upon the Government of Israel to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the areas where military operations had taken place and to facilitate the return of those inhabitants who had fled the areas since the outbreak of hostilities. Similar provisions had been included in General Assembly resolutions 2252(ES-V) and 2341B(XXII). The International Conference of Human Rights held in Teheran had called upon Israel to refrain from violations of human rights in the occupied Arab territories and had reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Arab refugees to return to the areas in which they had formerly lived.

The plight of the refugees living in camps in East Jordan had reached its height. Both the Secretary-General and the Commissioner-General had appealed for the newly displaced persons to be allowed to return to their places of permanent residence as soon as possible. It also appeared to be the general view of those who had spoken during the debate that the question should be settled without delay. That had been the position taken by the Representative of the United Kingdom and supported, although less strongly, the the Representative of the United States. Yet no practical steps had followed. The draft resolution submitted by the United States (A/SPC/L.165) made no mention of the return of the newly displaced persons to their permanent homes. It was therefore difficult to know whether those two Representatives had had any practical assistance in mind. Israel, however, had now made its position absolutely clear; the statement of November 19, 1968, by the Israeli Government could not be regarded as anything but an open mockery of tens of thousands of newly displaced persons. The aggressor who had forcibly expelled more than 250,000 Arabs from their homes in June, 1967, now graciously agreed to allow the return of some 7,000 refugees. The Representative of Israel, in his statement at the 622nd meeting, had in effect said that there was no problem of the Palestine refugees, that it was all the creation of Arab propaganda, and that nobody needed assistance. If that were so, the Representative

⁴U.N. Document A/SPC/SR. 617 of November 22, 1968.

of Israel might be asked who were the people who were sheltering in the camps in East Jordan, deprived of their means of livelihood, their homes and their possessions? The reason why the Representative of Israel had objected to the showing of the documentary film produced by UNRWA, which had truthfully depicted some of the sufferings of the Arab refugees, was clear. Incontrovertible facts, facts recorded by the United Nations, could not be cancelled out by Israel's subterfuges.

The Israeli Representative's confident description of the Arab territories which Israel had occupied as 'Israel-held territories' echoed the statements of the Israeli leaders, in particular General Dayan, concerning their plans to annex those territories. The Representative of Israel could not expect to receive support in the Committee for Israel's expansionist designs; the decisions of the United Nations on the question were directed towards eliminating the consequences of Israel's 1967 aggression and achieving a political settlement in the Middle East. The United Nations has sufficient authority to demand Israel's scrupulous compliance with the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly concerning the return of the newly displaced persons to their homes, and the United Nations could and should make such a demand. Any specific proposal upholding the right of the newly displaced persons to return home immediately and reaffirming the obligation of Israel's occupation forces not to hinder their return, would receive the support of the U.S.S.R. delegation. Even that, however, would be only the beginning of a genuine solution to the problem of the Palestine refugees. The final solution of the problem must form part of a general political settlement in the Middle East in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967). The Arab States declared their readiness to implement all the provisions of that resolution, but the Government of Israel made no such statement. It was the duty of all peace-loving States to compel Israel to comply with that resolution and with other United Nations decisions which provided for a settlement of the problem on the only just basis, namely, that the refugees should be given an opportunity to return to their homes or to receive suitable compensation for the property they had lost.⁵

Statement By Representatives of the Palestine Arabs⁶

The Representatives of the Palestine Arabs made it clear that the Palestine Arabs reject any attempt to deprive them of their inalienable right to self-determination and of the right to return to their ancestral homeland. The Palestine Arabs are determined also to resist any outside interference and pressures to compel them to recognize Jewish sovereignty over any part of their country.

The question of Palestine is directly connected with the question of freedom itself and with the fate of liberated peoples all over the world. It is the means whereby the Arab nation could examine its ability to realize its goals, namely, political, social, and economic independence. Like the struggle of the various Afro-Asian peoples against colonialism and foreign occupation, the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine is moral, just and legitimate. It is similar to the struggle waged by the national resistance movements in Europe during the Nazi invasion. It is a battle against a hardened ideology, called Zionism, and against neo-colonialism and racial discrimination. The Palestine question must therefore be viewed in its broad perspective and not simply as a question of refugees to be fed or displaced persons to be sheltered, or even of border incidents or occupied territories. The essence of the problem is that a homeland had been forcibly usurped and a people militarily uprooted. To attempt to fragmentize an indivisible question, or to consider only its humanitarian aspects, is deliberately to ignore its true nature, in the hope that, with the passage of time, it would lose its crucial importance. Yet nothing would weaken Palestinian resistance to the presence of Israel. In such a vital situation which involved the entire population of a country of more than 2,500,000 inhabitants and affected the World Organization and the world at large, the principles of dignity, justice and freedom must be honored and to fight to uphold them remains a duty.

There is no need to be an expert on Middle Eastern affairs to realize the abnormal situation which had resulted from the creation of an alien enclave in the Arab homeland. Throughout history, Palestine had been an Arab land and the Arabs of Palestine an integral part of the Arab nation. The Arabs in general,

⁵U.N. Document A/SPC/SR. 624 of December 3, 1968.

⁶Mr. Saadat Hasan, representing the Palestine Liberation Organization; Mr. Isa Nakhleh, representing the Palestine Arab Delegation.

and the Palestinians in particular, are engaged in a battle not with the Jews but with Zionism. As Louis D. Brandeis pointed out, the Arabs, unlike other peoples, had no inherent dislike of the Jews with whom they had lived in perfect amity before and during the First World War.

The struggle now waged by the Palestine Arabs is for the achievement of their legitimate aspirations and also for the emancipation of the Jews forcibly mobilized by Zionism. The Arabs firmly believe that the Jew, like the Moslem, the Christian, the Hindu, or the Buddhist, has the fundamental right to live in the country of his birth. Zionism, however, encouraged Jews to emigrate to Palestine in order to set up a racist enclave of foreign settlers. Albert Hyamson (Director of Immigration in Mandated Palestine) estimated the number of Jews living in Palestine in 1523 A.D. to have been less than 4,000. Norman Bentwich (Attorney General in Mandated Palestine) estimated their number in 1770 A.D. to be less than 5,000—a small fraction of the total population. Moreover, the Jews in question had frequently emigrated from Palestine. On the other hand, the Palestinian Arabs, who for centuries had constituted the greater part of the population, had lived in the area since time immemorial and, despite all the invasions, epidemics, natural disasters and famines, had never left their country until Zionism had usurped it in the era of the Charter and with the approval of the United Nations as constituted in 1947.

The United Nations was concerned with the question ever since its inception because of the abnormal conditions forced upon Palestine as a result of the collusion between Zionism and Western colonialism. Until that time, Palestine had been a peaceful country—the whole of it cultivated by its inhabitants. Yet Zionist propaganda tried to give the impression that the Zionists had gone into Palestine to transform the desert into a garden on the well-known pretext of a civilizing mission. With the end of the First World War, when the Arabs became aware of the designs of both the United Kingdom and Zionism, they protested by every possible means against the British Mandate and the imminent invasion of the Zionists and claimed their rights as recognized by a number of treaties and declarations, by the Covenant of the League of Nations, and, later, by the Charter of the United Nations. In spite of that, Zionism was able to give the impression that it was the innocent victim and that the Arabs, although in a state of self defense, were the aggressors.

That is a lie which the Zionist dominated information media has never ceased repeating.

From its beginning Zionism planned to expel the Palestinians from their country. In 1907, Zionist leaders began their boycott of Arab labor which intensified and then extended to Arab goods. In Arab lands, the Jews had not known the intolerance and discrimination which they were forced to endure in Europe. Yet the architects of Zionism have used every means to exploit the anti-Semitism prevailing in Europe to assert their claim to Palestine. Herzl, who had given Zionism its ideological and organizational structure, considered that anti-Semitism was ineradicable in Europe and that the Jews could resolve the problem only by gathering into one State. Starting from the principle that the end justified the means, he shrank from nothing to overcome the resistance of his co-religionists and to gain the support of many great Powers. According to Zionist theory, all Jews constituted a single people, even though they were of very different races and nationalities and bound by religious, not historic, ties.

The Jewish connection with Palestine was terminated in 135 A.D. The majority of the Hebrews who had lived in Palestine prior to the Roman conquest became Christians and subsequently were Arabized. The vast majority of Jews today are Europeans who embraced Judaism, not Jews who were Europeanized. Thus, Zionism has no connection whatsoever with Palestine—racially, historically or linguistically. Israel was not established because of any claim of historical priority to Palestine; it was an offshoot of Western imperialism and a base for aggression. Israel was born of conspiracy, devoid of any humanitarian aspect, whereby the Zionists undertook to use Jewish influence and pressure to bring the United States into the war in exchange for which the United Kingdom would assist the Jews to colonize Palestine and establish a Jewish national home in that country. The infamous Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, was merely the confirmation of the conspiracy started in 1916.

The United Kingdom, as Mandatory, opened the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration, nourished the growth of Zionism and facilitated the establishment of Zionist military power, while brutally repressing Arab resistance. Aware that its presence in the Middle East would not be permanent, the United Kingdom entrusted the task of defending Western colonialism to the Zionists in Palestine.

The alliance between the Zionists and the United Kingdom that came into being during the First World War was reshaped during the Second World War. The United Kingdom ceased to be the guardian of the interests of the colonial Powers in the Third World, and it was the United States which took its place. Moreover, the United Kingdom had played its part well by facilitating the immigration of Jews to Palestine until they represented 33 per cent of the population in 1947 as against less than 6 per cent in 1917.

In 1947, the United Kingdom decided to rid itself of the Palestine problem by placing it in the lap of the United Nations. The pressures used to bring about the partition resolution have been described as 'scandalous'. How could a country be partitioned against the wishes and without the consent of the overwhelming majority of its indigenous inhabitants, when such a partition was a negation of all the principles embodied in the United Nations Charter and the principles of international law and justice?

Racial discrimination in Europe greatly contributed to the creation of Israel, and the Zionists tried to arouse feelings of guilt in the conscience of mankind. They endeavored to obtain all possible financial and military support and to create new enemies for the Arabs. They attempted to convince the world that their treatment of the Palestinians represented compensation for the crimes which had been committed against the Jews in Europe. The Palestinian Arabs, however, had never persecuted the Jews.

The Four Great Powers used the Security Council and the General Assembly to assist the 'Jewish state' by admitting it into United Nations membership. World Jewry and the Western Powers then helped the new regime build up its military potential, providing the Jewish forces with the most modern weapons to menace neighboring Arab countries.

During the last twelve years—from 1956 to 1968—Jewish circles in the United States completed their domination of United States politicians and of the United States Administration, so that the United States could protect and strengthen the Jewish colonial occupation of Palestine and block any resolution in the United Nations which might give a semblance of justice to the Arabs of Palestine. The Jews of America thus were able to collect annually tax-free funds amounting to more than \$650 millions, \$500 million of which was poured into the coffers of

the Israeli treasury. In addition, direct aid, amounting to more than \$1,500 million was given by the United States Government in the form of grants and aids during the past twenty years. The United States and world Jewish leaders extracted from the Federal Republic of Germany, under the pretext of 'atoning for German guilt against the Jews', more than \$1,000 million as compensation and grants for Israel as well as more than \$4,000 million in compensation for the relatives of alleged Jewish victims of Nazi Germany.

In 1955, Jewish leaders made a secret deal with the French Government whereby they gave that Government the secrets for the manufacture of nuclear weapons, illegally obtained by Ben Gurion from Jewish scientists who had served in the United States Atomic Energy Commission. In exchange, the French Government undertook to build the atomic reactor in Dimona and to supply the Israelis with all the military supplies they might need. It should be noted that Israel refused to sign the Treaty for the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons so as to avoid all international inspection of the reactor.

In essence, the Palestine question is a very simple one: the invasion of a country by a multitude of immigrants from all parts of the world who came in order to settle and who dispossessed and displaced the indigenous inhabitants. That is the question on which the Member States of the United Nations have annually been called upon to take a stand. The Palestinian Arabs, the lawful owners of the country, were rarely represented during those deliberations. In one United Nations resolution after another, they were referred to simply as the 'Palestine refugees' and treated as if they had no right to their homeland.

The United Nations, which was the hope of mankind, particularly of the small countries, succumbed to the pressures of the United States Government and approved the partition of Palestine, instead of respecting the principles of the Charter and in particular the principle of self-determination. That partition was a flagrant injustice and was concluded against the wishes of the great majority of the inhabitants of Palestine. In 1947, the United Nations was mainly composed of countries which were under the influence of the new champion of colonialism and imperialism, and yet, even at that date, it had seen fit to take certain measures to protect the rights and property of the Arabs. Israel had preferred to disregard those measures, and that situation is one which the United Nations of today should no longer tolerate.

The Palestine Arabs appreciate the devotion and efforts of Mr. Michelmore and of all the staff of the Agency who, on behalf of the international community, are trying to ease the lot of the refugees. However, much concern was shown for the security of the invaders of Palestine, who were rewarded by the recognition of their right to exist, but very little emphasis was placed on the right of the Palestinian Arabs to become once again citizens of their own homeland. There is reason to ask whether those who were in favor of rewarding the aggressor by guaranteeing his security were prepared to admit that the Arabs had civil and political rights in their own homeland, Palestine. It must be asked whether the Powers which professed to be so attached to the principle of private property were ready to apply that principle in the case of 94 per cent of the total land of Palestine which was still the property of the Arabs.

The repatriation of the refugees continues to be a question of morality and justice, and not an act of generosity or magnanimity on the part of the aggressor. Those who advance the theory that Israel is an established fact are saying in essence that the Arab people of Palestine are an abolished fact. That theory is unacceptable because the Palestinian people are developing and growing, and are determined to survive and have faith in the outcome of the struggle. Those who ask them to accept the *status quo* thereby condemn them to national suicide and forget that Zionism, at the time of the invasion of Palestine, was nothing more than a dream which bore no relation to the realities of the Arab people, their hopes and aspirations, their sufferings and tribulations. Those who viewed Zionism as a humanitarian movement should reflect on the fate which its supporters reserved for the inhabitants of Palestine.

The Palestinians are no more prepared to commit suicide than to content themselves with their status as refugees or as persons under military occupation. They are determined to improve their lot, to develop their meagre resources and to sacrifice everything to gain freedom. What they want is simple: they want what rightly belongs to them. They covet no land but their own, and what they want above all else is the liberation of their homeland.

At the present stage of their armed national revolution, the Palestinian people count on the Arab States to facilitate their task and to place the necessary means at their disposal. They are

bound to the Arab countries not only by the bonds of brotherhood, but also by a common struggle against a real threat directed against the whole Arab nation, since Israel openly preaches expansionism and seeks to create a 'Greater Israel' disregarding the frontiers and existence of the Arab countries.

From an international point of view, the liberation of Palestine is an act of self-defense, and for that reason the Palestinian people count on the support of all States which care for freedom and justice. From a humanitarian point of view, the liberation of Palestine would restore to the Palestinians their dignity and would put an end to their status as refugees. Man continues to be an end in himself, and the Palestinians wish to liberate the Arabs as well as the Jews from the odious movement called Zionism.

Israel is a perpetual source of tension which threatens peace in the Middle East and throughout the world. The liberation of Palestine would remove that danger and would restore peace and harmony in the region.

Since the aggression of June, 1967, the Israelis have demonstrated that they regarded the war as their war, not only against the Arabs, but against Islam as well and its holy places; they bombarded the Holy City of Jerusalem, damaging or destroying religious monuments, and dynamited a number of buildings and a mosque to clear the way for a square in front of *Al-Buraq* which they call the *Wailing Wall*. It should be recalled that the disturbances of 1929 took place because the Jews attempted to establish for themselves new rights in *Al-Buraq*. A commission of enquiry was appointed to examine the rights and claims of the Arabs and Jews, and came to the conclusion that the present western wall had been built by Moslems, belonged exclusively to Moslems, and had no relation whatsoever to the Jewish temple. Nevertheless, Israeli authorities in occupied Palestine and Jewish organizations throughout the world have attempted to convince public opinion that the wall is a Jewish holy place.

The Israeli forces which occupied Hebron in June, 1967, also took possession of the Mosque of *Al-Haram Al-Sharif*, raised their flag over it and erected signs in Hebrew stating it to be a Jewish holy place. They denied entrance to Moslems except on Fridays, and transformed the Mosque into a tourist attraction.

The Israelis have not hidden their plans to destroy *Al-Masjid Al-Aqsa* in Jerusalem and to build a Jewish temple in its place. In 1920, they unsuccessfully requested the British Government to hand over the land where that mosque stood; in 1922, Lord

Melchet, a British Zionist, stated that the day would come when the Jewish temple would be rebuilt, and in 1929, the Chief Rabbi of Palestine said that Jewish young people all over the world were ready to sacrifice their lives to redeem the holy temple occupied by Al-Aqsa Mosque.

As far back as 1948, committees of Jewish rabbis and scholars prepared miniature descriptions of the Jewish Temple which had existed two thousand years ago and which had been completely destroyed in 70 A.D. A committee of architects was sent up in 1949 to design the Jewish Temple on the site of Al-Masjid Al-Aqsa. After the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem in 1967, world Jewry established a secret fund of \$200 million for the construction of that Temple; and since March, 1968, Israeli authorities have carried out excavations under and around the Mosque in the hope of discovering traces of the Jewish Temple.

In *Time* magazine of June, 30, 1967, the author of an article on Judaism suggested that the time might be ripe to erect the Third Temple, adding that it ought to be built on the original site—the spot from which the Prophet Mohammad had ascended into Heaven. According to the writer, some Jews saw plausible theological grounds for discussing the reconstruction of the Temple. In this respect, the Grand Mufti of Palestine and President of the World Moslem Congress (representing 700 million Moslems) as well as the Secretary-General of the World Moslem Congress warned the Jews of the world most categorically that any attempt by them to destroy, desecrate or damage Al-Masjid Al-Aqsa in Jerusalem or Haram Sayidna Ibrahim Al-Khalil in Hebroh, or any other Moslem shrine, would plunge them into a holy war. The Jews of the world were advised that they would do well to ponder the matter carefully.

Israel's occupation authorities have proceeded at a highly accelerated rate to change the Arab character of the occupied areas, and their military organizations have begun setting up colonies in those areas. The Israelis have deported Palestinian leaders, have encouraged the indigenous inhabitants to become refugees and are trying to strangle the economy of the Arabs by confiscating their property and by committing acts of destruction, pillage and cruelty in the region. Arab freedom fighters are being tortured, imprisoned and murdered in cold blood, or tried as common criminals, contrary to the provisions of the Geneva Conventions.

In spite of all these inhuman measures, the Arab people of Palestine remain steadfast in their attachment to their homeland and are convinced that Zionist domination will end as all other military conquests have ended. They categorically reject any solution other than the complete liberation of their country. That was their stand fifty years earlier when they refused to accept the Balfour Declaration; that was their stand in 1947 when they declared that the partition plan was immoral, null and void; and that remains their position in 1967 in regard to Security Council resolution 242(1967) which means the end of the Arab people of Palestine.

It goes without saying that the Arabs of Palestine are the sole masters of their own destiny and that no one can barter their rights away. Instead of perpetuating the present situation, safeguarding the interests of the aggressors and protecting what was established by the colonial Powers, the United Nations should seek a solution which would rectify the errors of the past and would restore the rights of the Arab population.

The Palestine case has been the cause of three wars in the Middle East, and if it is not solved in accordance with the principles of justice, equity and morality, it will continue to be a threat to peace and security. In the absence of such a solution, the Arab population of Palestine will continue its national struggle and exercise its legitimate and national duty in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of self-determination and the Declaration of Human Rights.

Since Israel was created by a colonial movement, it is difficult to imagine a struggle for the liberation of Palestine without it being also a struggle against colonialism. Palestinians today are living through a revolution whose most important goal is the victory of the forces of good over evil. It is a battle to put an end to the acts of aggression, injustice and terror and to the occupation and colonialization perpetuated by the Zionists. The Arab people of Palestine are determined to continue that struggle and their sacrifices until final victory. Their armed revolution is an expression of their belief that only one way exists to protect their cause, to restore their land and to regain their national rights. They are not alone in that struggle.

In the final analysis, only a just settlement of the Palestine Problem can put an end to the present bloodshed and injustice. As far as the Palestine Arabs are concerned, this can be achieved only if the state of 'Israel'—which has defied the United Nations

and the principles of international law by its wars and conquests—is expelled from the United Nations; that recognition of the 'Jewish State' by Member States is withdrawn; that funds are prohibited from going to Israel; that an arms embargo is placed upon Israel; that the Israelis are disarmed; and that the United Nations should arrange to transfer Jews from Palestine to their countries of origin or other places of their choice, return Palestinians to their homeland and assist them to regain possession of their property; and guarantee to Moslems, Christians and Jews of all nations free access to the Holy Places.

Views of Other Delegates

The points of interest raised by other speakers during the debate in the Special Political Committee are summarized below.

Right of Return

The speakers were unanimous in the view that the refugees and persons displaced as a result of the June, 1967, war must be allowed to return to their homes, and as quickly as possible. They pointed out that such a step, apart from reducing the hardship and suffering of those concerned and relieving the financial burden of the Agency entrusted with the relief of the 1948 refugees, was a natural right that had been recognized in the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Commission on Human Rights, the Economic and Social Council, and the International Conference of Human Rights which was held in Teheran in May, 1968. Israel as a Member State of the United Nations and signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was duty-bound to respect its obligations under the United Nations.

Israel's announcement of its willingness to re-issue the unused 7,000 return permits was described as a propaganda stunt to appease those who criticized her actions. The problem was not one of 7,000 but of all the 250,000 persons who had applied for return to their homes and in respect of whom the United Nations resolutions were passed.

The Israelis appear to apply a double standard with regard to the meaning of a refugee. On the one hand, Israel and the political movement which it represents has claimed repeatedly that Jews all over the world, even wealthy Jews, constitute refugees living in a state of 'exile' which would not terminate until their

'return' to Palestine, where they had never lived. Yet Israel considers the Palestine refugee, who was expelled from his home, to be only a poor man whose suffering would end when his economic plight had improved.

Attention was drawn to the United Nations responsibility for the future and well-being of the Palestine Arabs—a responsibility embodied in the Partition Resolution of 1947 on the basis of which the State of Israel came into existence. The original refugee problem was the result of that act. To meet the situation which had arisen, the General Assembly adopted on December 11, 1948, resolution 194(III) calling for the repatriation of those refugees who wished to return to their homes and for the payment of compensation to those who did not wish to return, and for losses sustained. This resolution was as explicit and carried exactly the same legal weight as the resolution which had created the State of Israel.

Under the same resolution, a Palestine Conciliation Commission was established and entrusted with the task of facilitating the repatriation, resettlement, rehabilitation and compensation of the refugees. Israel's intransigence, however, prevented the implementation of the provisions of the resolution and obstructed the task of the Commission. For twenty years the United Nations has affirmed and reaffirmed its 1948 resolution but without result. The June, 1967, war complicated the problem further as it affected the lives of some 450,000 persons, some of whom became refugees for the second time.

When Security Council resolution 237(1967) was adopted, its sponsors and all the members of the Council who voted in its favor declared that the return of the refugees and displaced persons was a matter of urgency and was not necessarily related to the establishment of peace. In the Council, Israel itself gave the impression that it shared that point of view and, far from raising the argument of security, it seemed to support the return of a great number of refugees.

Israel has since taken an opposite stand. It has maintained that the tension which prevailed in the area was attributable to Arab hostility. However, the primary responsibility for the hostilities clearly lay with Israel in consequence of the measures which it has adopted. Thus, after the resolutions concerning the conflict of June, 1967, were adopted, Israel annexed Jerusalem, violently attacked settlements of civilians on the west bank of the Suez Canal and was twice condemned by the Security Council for having violated the cease-fire with Jordan.

⁷See U.N. Document A/SPC/SR. 623 of December 2, 1968, and U.N. Document A/SPC/SR. 628 of December 10, 1968.

Israel deliberately created a state of tension in the area and subsequently used that situation as a pretext for not implementing United Nations resolutions. In that connection, is instructive to observe that Israel employed the same tactics in 1948. At the time of the adoption of General Assembly resolution 194(III), many representatives stressed that the return of the refugees should not have to await the re-establishment of peace. Israel itself on that occasion did not have recourse to the argument of security because the majority opinion, as in 1967, was that the refugees should be allowed to return to their homes for humanitarian reasons. It was therefore of the greatest importance that the Special Political Committee would not countenance a renewal of those tactics in 1968. There would be no precondition put upon the return of the refugees.

Repatriation of the refugees is a question of morality and justice, not an act of generosity or magnanimity on the part of the aggressor. Those who advance the theory that Israel is an established fact are saying in essence that the Arabs of Palestine are an abolished fact. Such a theory is not acceptable because the Palestinians have continued to develop and grow even in their present exile. Those who ask them to accept the *status quo* are in fact asking them to commit national suicide.

Consequently, peace in the Middle East cannot be restored until the Palestine Arabs regain their full rights in their homeland. And no solution is acceptable unless the principles of international law and the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are fully observed and implemented.

The Zionist Claim to Palestine

The Arabs reject the Zionist claim of an exclusive Jewish right to Palestine. To consider that Palestine is the spiritual and temporal home of the Jews alone, as Zionism proclaims, is to ignore the rights of the inhabitants of Palestine who do not profess, or no longer profess, the Jewish religion. Admittedly, there is a connection between Palestine and the Jewish faith, but the connection is at least as important for Christianity and Islam and is not a valid basis for political or territorial claims. The Palestinian people who were expelled from their homeland by force of arms were descendants of the inhabitants of the Holy Land who, at one time or another in their history, had been converted to Christianity or to Islam.

It should be understood that the Hebrews had entered the Holy Land—then Canaan—as invaders and had been resisted, often successfully, by the local population. In addition to the evidence in the Bible, there is unimpeachable archaeological proof of the circumstances surrounding the invasion in the form of contemporary letters from the kings of Canaan—the old kings of Palestine—to the Egyptian pharaohs asking for help against the invading Hebrew nomads from Mesopotamia. Centuries had elapsed before the invasion had culminated in success with the occupation of Jerusalem by King David in the year 100 B.C. Herod, King of Judea in Roman times, was a Palestinian, not a Hebrew; and after his reign, a large number of Hebrews and other Jews had been converted to Christianity. The Palestinians of the present day, whether Christian or Moslem, could well be of Hebrew origin; and the mere fact that their ancestors had chosen Christianity as a religion is no reason why they should lose the right to live in their ancestral homeland.

The Gospel according to St. John describes how Jews, or Hebrews, had been converted to Christianity during the time of Christ and how the people of Jerusalem welcomed Christ as the King of Israel. Furthermore, if the Zionist claim is based on God's promise to Abraham, it should be remembered that Moslems too conder themselves to be the descendants of Abraham to whom the land of Canaan had been promised and which they too call *The Promised Land*. At any rate, who could prove today that the Palestine Christians and Moslems are not the descendants of Abraham but that the Poles or Jews of other origins are?

Nobody could claim in modern times that all Jews belong to the same ethnic group and are of the same origin. Anthropologist Harry Shapiro has stated unequivocally, on page 74 of his work, *The Jewish People*, that in the light of their past, it is strange that the Jews are frequently considered to be a distinct race and that so much effort is made to prove it. The Palestinian people were deprived of their right to live in their ancestral homeland on an historical pretext which has no moral or legal value and which is without any valid foundation, as many Jewish historians have admitted.

Zionism should be completely dissociated from Judaism because, as many Jewish authorities have already pointed out, Zionism is a temporal, racist and bellicose concept which could not be accepted by a universal and tolerant religion, such as Judaism. Rabbi Benjamin from Israel is quoted in *Dossier des Temps Modernes* to have said, *inter alia*, that the Jews have no right to create a national home and to realize their ideal via the property of others.

Another Jewish authority, Joseph Reinach, wrote in the *Journal of Debates* that there is neither a Jewish race nor a Jewish nation, but only a Jewish religion, and that Zionism constitutes a triple error—historical, archaeological and ethnic. A great foreign statesman of Jewish origin, Andre Philip, did not hesitate to refer to Zionism as pagan idolatry.

People talk about the right of 'return'. Why should the Palestinians, the descendants of peoples who populated Palestine before the Hebrew conquest, not have the right of return to their homes while the Zionists, who came from the four corners of the world, claim that right on the basis of uncertain ancient history?

It has been proved that the majority of Zionists are the descendants of peoples who had never lived in Palestine, and that most Zionist invaders are Ashkenazi Jews who, according to the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, constitute 85 per cent of the Jews of the world. According to the same source, the Zionists for the most part are descendants of the Khazars—a people who inhabited the southern Caucasus in Russia and who had been converted to Judaism around 740 A.D. primarily for political reasons.

That being so, how could the descendants of the Khazar tribes who had never known Palestine claim the right of 'return' to a country they had never seen? On the other hand, should not the indigenous inhabitants of Palestine be permitted to return to the homes and fields to which they have every right whether on the basis of descent or ownership?

Hence, Zionism is not a legitimate nationalist movement. It has lacked one essential element—a country it could legitimately call its own.

The Arab Right to Palestine

After two decades of discussions in the United Nations, the Palestine question has lost neither its urgency nor its importance. Few problems have had such enduring significance, or raised more fundamental moral and political issues. The fundamental cause was the refusal of the Arab community in Palestine, despite its suffering and long exile, to surrender its claim to its ancestral homeland. Had it agreed to be absorbed by other Arab countries, there would have been no refugee problem and not even a Middle East crisis. Those who urged the Palestinians to give up their struggle for survival were asking them to renounce their title to a homeland which had been theirs since the dawn of history and to cease to exist as a community, simply because an alien force had conquered their country and expelled them from their homes. Such surrender to brute force would mean a return to the darkest days of history, when force was the only arbiter in human affairs. The fate of the people of Palestine has implications which affect the future of peoples everywhere, particularly those similarly threatened by superior force in southern Africa and elsewhere.

Once it is agreed that the Arabs of Palestine are entitled to their homeland and must be allowed to exercise in freedom their right of self-determination, the question becomes simple. Those who assert that the full restoration of Arab rights in Palestine would have disastrous consequences for the State of Israel and its people seem to forget that the creation of that State has already had disastrous consequences for the Arabs of Palestine. Israel's demands for security, which in fact has meant freedom to consolidate its conquests, have been justified by the Zionists and their supporters on the grounds that the Jews have a higher moral right, and a superior legal claim to the land of Palestine. It is surprising how rational and responsible men could accept such myths. Balfour, the author of the Declaration which carries his name, said in 1922 that the four great Powers were committed to Zionism which, right or wrong, good or bad, was of profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who inhabited that ancient land. Israel's legal and political claim to Palestine was based on the Balfour Declaration and on the General Assembly partition resolution 181(II), neither of which was valid: the former was a promise the United Kingdom had neither the moral nor the legal right to make; the latter violated a basic principle of the Charter.

Israel's Policy of Expulsion

Israel's ideology and motives have always remained the same; and the 1967 hostilities had provided the Israelis with an opportunity to repeat their behavior of 1948. In view of the fact that one million Arabs had remained in the territories occupied by Israel, the Zionists were faced with two imperative tasks. The first, which was demographic, was to maintain Jewish predominance in the territories controlled by Israel. The second, was to pursue an expansionist policy. Three ways of resolving those two problems were proposed. The first was suggested by Menachem Begin, taking South Africa and Southern Rhodesia as an example, and consisted of annexing the occupied territories without giving the inhabitants the right of citizenship. The second proposal, made by General Moshe Dayan, was in the classic colonial mould; in other words, it entailed the economic integration of the territories, which would then have occupied status. The third proposal, made by Mr. Allon, Deputy Prime Minister, consisted in the annexation and colonization of the sparsely inhabited areas of the occupied territories and the maintenance of semi-autonomous enclaves. Those three proposals had one purpose only—to retain as much territory as possible with the Arab population kept to a minimum.

In a study of the population trends in Israel, published in September, 1967, statisticians of the Israeli Government came to the conclusion that, if the population growth of the Arabs and the Jews maintained its present rate, the Arabs would outnumber the Jews by 1980. That prospect was obviously unacceptable to Israeli leaders, who had no desire to see their State become bi-national. Abba Eban said in January, 1966, that the Israelis wanted a state with an overwhelming Jewish majority and which preserved Jewish characteristics and culture. The solution of that problem consisted, therefore, in increasing the Jewish birth-rate. A demographic institute was established for that purpose, and an appeal made to Jewish families to increase the number of their children. It went without saying that the measure had to be accompanied by a corresponding reduction in the Arab birth-rate. Such a practice is contrary to articles II, III and IV of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and poses a great moral problem, that of the increase in size of the dominant race at the expense of those considered inferior. Luckily, there were some Jews who protested against that doctrine.

The Israelis had another means of achieving their ends: to encourage the Arab population to continue to leave the occupied territories. That question has been under study by the Third Committee of the United Nations, to which a draft resolution has been submitted recommending that an investigation should be made of Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the population of the occupied territories.

The statements of various witnesses and above all those of the Israeli leaders themselves, show that Israel is determined to encourage the Arab exodus. General Dayan is quoted as saying to Arabs in a certain camp that no one was obliged to live under the Israeli regime and that those who were not satisfied could sell their property and cross over into Arab countries. The former head of the Israeli security forces also said that those who did not wish to live under the Israeli regime could pack up and leave. Other similar testimonies include a letter from an Arab published in the *Economist* of June 14, 1968.

The Israelis have said repeatedly that the only way for their presence to be accepted in the region was to colonize it intensively. The members of the Committee were certainly aware that colonization of occupied territories is contrary to the Geneva Conventions of 1949, one article of which specifically mentions that question. Yet since 1967, twenty-three Jewish colonies have been set up in the occupied territories. When the first was installed, Israeli authorities officially denied that it was part of a plan, saying that it was only a temporary measure. In February, 1968, however, the Prime Minister announced that twenty-four requests for the establishment of colonies had been received and that so far seventeen had been granted.

The basic principle of Israeli policy has been the acceleration of Jewish immigration by rate as well as volume. When the Zionists first decided to establish a state, they decreed that the region chosen should be emptied of its indigenous population and re-peopled by Jews from the world over. The events of 1967, which extended its frontiers facilitated an acceleration of that process.

At the Zionist Congress of 1968, the program adopted in 1967 was replaced by a new plan with two essential changes: the appeal for immigrants, formerly addressed only to exiled Jews, was addressed to Jews in general, and Palestine, which in the initial plan had been called Israel, became the historic homeland.

The appeal for immigrants was successful and the colonies established in the occupied territories were known to be composed mainly of new immigrants financed by voluntary organizations which collected tax-free contributions for that purpose in many countries. It is contrary to international law and to the most elementary principles of justice that some countries should be authorized to collect contributions and make appeals to public charity in order to enable immigrants to establish themselves in an occupied territory.

Such actions show that the assertions of Israeli spokesmen have been completely false. For example, they have said that refugees were incited by their leaders to remain refugees. In fact, these leaders did everything possible to encourage them to return home. The Israelis have also asserted that the problem is essentially a problem of poverty. If the refugees exist, however, it is above all because the Israelis decided to expel whole populations, and if they are poor, it was because they are homeless.

Finally, Israeli spokesmen have declared that it is in fact a question of an exchange of populations, the Arabs having left Israel and the Jews the Arab countries. That idea of an exchange of human beings is most improper and is firmly rejected. Whereas the Arabs did, in fact allow the Jews to leave their countries, the Jews, on the other hand, *forced* the Arabs to leave Palestine. Moreover, the only object of that exchange was to serve the interests of the Israelis by allowing the people they did not want to leave the country in order to make room for others whom they greatly needed.

Protection of Arab Property

The question of the appointment of a United Nations custodian to control and administer Arab property in Israeli-occupied territory, was once again raised during the debate. The views of those representatives who supported the proposal were that for twenty years Israel has been allowed to use the property of the Palestine Arabs without payment of rent or compensation.

Lack of protection of Arab property in the past has encouraged the Israeli authorities to seize further Arab lands after the June, 1967, war and to establish thereon Jewish settlements as if those lands were legally owned by the Jewish settlers. The case of the Gholan Heights was cited, where fifteen Jewish settlements were established on purely Arab lands in Syrian territory.

Subsistence relief, it was pointed out, was not consistent with human dignity, nor would its continuation bring about a just solution of the basic issue. In any case, the resources available to UNRWA were far from sufficient to satisfy even basic needs. The United Nations therefore should not wait until a political solution made repatriation or resettlement a reality. As an interim measure, the appointment of a custodian was urged as a matter of urgency. It would preserve Arab rights and interests which, with the passage of time, are in danger of extinction. Furthermore, such a step would assure the Palestine Arabs that the United Nations has not forgotten its responsibility towards them; it would restore to the refugees a measure of self-respect and dignity pending a solution of their problem, and it would ease the financial burdens of UNRWA.

Attention was drawn to the pertinent provisions of General Assembly resolution 394(V) concerning "measures for the protection of the rights, property, and interests of the refugees," as well as to the established principles governing claims to restitution of property or payment of compensation.

Reference was made to the book entitled *Indemnities and Reparation*, by Nehemiah Robinson, published in 1944 by the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the World Jewish Congress. The author made a strong case for the intervention of the United Nations on behalf of those victims of war who would remain in or would be willing to return to their former homeland. He suggested the establishment of internationally organized courts or similar bodies empowered to make and execute decisions irrespective of the residence of the respondents and the location of the goods. The United Nations could not afford to go back on the various pledges it made to the Palestine refugees.

The sponsors of the proposal considered the creation of an office of United Nations custodian to administer Arab property in Israeli-held territory a necessary requirement for the implementation of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194(III) which dealt with the right of refugees to return to their homes and the payment of compensation to them. The latter had two different aspects: payment of compensation to refugees who choose not to return home, and payment of compensation to refugees 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. It was with a view

toward implementing both aspects of that paragraph that operative paragraph 2(a) of General Assembly resolution 394(V) directed the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine to establish an office which would make such arrangements as it considered necessary for the assessment and payment of compensation to the Palestine Arab refugees.

Repatriation and compensation, it was pointed out, were the essentials of an international pledge given to the people of Palestine by the United Nations as a consequence of its decision to establish a Jewish State in their country. Until that pledge was honored, the matter remained the responsibility of the United Nations, which would forfeit its moral capital if it condoned the confiscation of Arab property, assets and property rights in Palestine by Israel.

Israel's claim that the United Nations could not intervene because the lands in question had been incorporated into the Israeli economy, and because Israel had sovereignty over them, were rejected as 'illegal, immoral, and unjust, and moreover, as a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law.'

Attention, in this respect, was drawn to Article 17(2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—to which Israel was a signatory—which stated that no man should be arbitrarily deprived of his property. This article was still not applied to the Palestine Arabs even in the year 1968 which marked the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and which was designated 'International Year for Human Rights'. The present situation was also contrary to the provisions of the International Covenants on Human Rights, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the accepted principles of international law, *inter alia*, those laid down in articles 46 and 47 of the Hague Regulations and in the judgment of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, relating to private property and the protection of private rights. Ironically, those principles were upheld and implemented in all those Western countries which consistently voted against a draft resolution that would give the people of Palestine the right to enjoy the assets from their properties.

It was also pointed out that states exercising sovereignty were subject to the obligations of international law, and had undertaken, by the terms of the Charter of the United Nations, to

respect human rights and fundamental freedoms and to fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter. The established principles of international law regarding state responsibility could be said to be that a state could not invoke its municipal legislation as a reason for avoiding its international obligations, and that a state was criminally and physically liable for acts which contravened international law.

Israel has violated the principles summarized by the International Law Commission with regard to expropriation by a state of properties in its domain. The Commission has stated that the action of a state is considered arbitrary and unlawful if (a) it is contrary to international law; (b) the state is forbidden to take action under a treaty or international conventions; (c) the method of procedure constitutes a denial of justice; (d) the state's action discriminates between nationals and aliens; (e) the expropriation is considered as an unjust encroachment. All those grounds apply to the case in point. When the Jews invaded Palestine, a minority of them expelled the majority of the population, proclaimed themselves a State and designed laws which deprived the lawful inhabitants of their properties and of the use and enjoyment of the income therefrom.

The present situation also contravenes the principles submitted by the International Law Commission to the effect that if the owner of a certain property owned the land before a law of expropriation was passed, then the law in question could not enable the state to expropriate that owner's property. Although the properties of the Palestine Arabs existed for over 2,000 years, Israel has designed laws with the intention of confiscating the rights of the Palestine Arabs, and now asserts that the question must be dealt with under its domestic laws.

All authorities on international law uphold the principle of the supremacy of international law over the sovereignty of any state. For example, Article 5 of the Charter of the Organization of American States stipulates that international law is the standard of conduct of states in their reciprocal relations and that international order rests on the faithful fulfillment of obligations derived from treaties and other sources of international law.

If such recognized principles of international law are flouted, then all other interventions by the United Nations will become null and invalid.

Attention was further drawn to Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations which prescribes that the United Nations must solve all disputes peacefully "in conformity with the principles of justice and international law." That phrase had been added to the

original draft at the San Francisco Conference because all delegations insisted that a settlement could not be made by expediency or on political grounds.

The Palestine Arabs are now pleading for respect for their human rights, in conformity with Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter, and respect for their property; they demand the application of international law and justice to that end. If the United Nations is unable to decide the issue, then the matter and all other issues of the Palestine question should be referred to the International Court of Justice.

The Resistance Movement

For twenty years the people of Palestine have heard too many words in the United Nations but have seen too little action to improve their plight. It was unfortunate that those states which might have made the Organization more useful were only rendering lip-service to United Nations effectiveness.

For twenty years the Committee has been debating the problem and adopting resolutions which the Zionists have completely ignored, just as they had ignored the decisions of the Security Council. Meanwhile more weapons have been given to Israel which, on the pretext of self-defense, was using them to attack neighboring Arab countries.

The Israeli Representative has claimed that Jordan was promoting violence within the occupied areas. He was wrong if he expected the Jordanian Government to take forcible measures to prevent the people from challenging Israeli occupation. The inaction of the United Nations, Israel's refusal to withdraw from the occupied areas, the acts of repression, the planting of Jewish settlements on Arab lands in the Gholan Heights, Central Sinai, and Hebron, the attempts to strangle the economy of Arab inhabitants, the annexation of Jerusalem, and Israel's policy of ruthlessness, left no choice to the people of Palestine but resistance.

It will be recalled that the Israeli Minister of War threatened after the El-Karameh battle that the eastern bank of the Jordan would be made uninhabitable for Arab families. Not only was that done, but the demolition of houses and the eviction of the civilian population has continued in the Syrian occupied lands despite Israel's claim that Arab families were being reunited. Israel military or police personnel have even entered UNRWA premises, and the Agency's installations in the Jordan Valley have been destroyed or damaged by shelling and raids by Israeli forces.

A telling condemnation of Israel's inhuman acts can be found in an open letter to the Israeli Press signed by eighty-five Israeli intellectuals, saying that such methods would lead to an abyss of

hatred, would strengthen resistance and the underground movement, and would culminate in another war.

Under such conditions, resistance is a right exercised by every people subjected to foreign occupation; and the people of Palestine not only have that right, but are determined to continue their struggle.

The Israeli Position

The Israeli Representative stated that his Government's prime concern was to achieve a peace settlement which would end the Israeli-Arab conflict, and to adopt a constructive approach to the problems of human displacement which it had caused. He gave no direct explanation, however, why the Israeli Government continues to flout United Nations authority and refuses to implement the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on the return of the refugees and displaced persons to their homes, why it refuses to rescind measures taken to annex Jerusalem or to withdraw from occupied territories—measures which are certain to advance the cause of peace in the Middle East.

Instead, the Israeli Representative delved into irrelevant questions—none of which has been dealt with in any resolution by the United Nations—such as:

1. The Arab States started the wars of 1948, 1956 and 1967, and therefore bear full responsibility for all that followed;
2. Some 500,000 Jews have been uprooted from Arab countries and welcomed into Israel;
3. A vast amount of Jewish property has been confiscated in Arab countries and no offer of compensation was made to the owners;
4. The figures on the refugees as reported by UNRWA were inaccurate;
5. The return of the refugees and displaced persons was linked with the security of the Jewish State and peace with the Arab States;
6. Solution of the refugee problem is a matter for the Arab States to settle in their territories;
7. Peace in the Middle East can only be achieved by direct negotiations.

Conclusion of Debate

During the course of the general debate, four draft resolutions were tabled:

1. On November 20, 1968, by the *United States of America* (A/SPC/L.165). This draft resolution dealt with the refugee problem as a whole since it first arose in 1948.

At the 633rd meeting, on December 11, the draft resolution was adopted by a roll-call vote of 101 to none, with Israel abstaining.

2. On December 9, 1968, *Iran, Pakistan, Senegal and Turkey* submitted a draft resolution (A/SPC/L.166) of which *Argentina* and *Yugoslavia* subsequently became co-sponsors (A/SPC/L.166/Add.1). This draft called upon the Government of Israel to take effective and immediate steps for the return without delay of the inhabitants who fled the areas since the outbreak of hostilities, and requested the Secretary-General to follow the effective implementation of the resolution and to

This six-power draft resolution was voted upon at the 633rd meeting, on December 11, 1968, and adopted by a roll-call vote of 91 to 1 (Israel), with 9 abstentions.

3. On December 10, 1968, *Afghanistan, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, India, Iran, Italy, Norway and Sweden*, submitted another draft resolution (A/SPC/L.167) of which subsequently *Argentina, Ireland, Nigeria, Turkey and Yugoslavia*, became co-sponsors (A/SPC/L.167/Add.1). This draft resolution appealed to governments and private organizations to contribute generously to the funds of UNRWA.

At the 634th meeting, on December 12, the seventeenth power draft resolution was adopted by a roll-call vote of 88 to none.

4. On December 11, 1968, *Afghanistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, and Somalia* submitted a fourth draft resolution (A/SPC/L.168). This draft resolution requested the Secretary-General to take appropriate steps for the appointment of a United Nations custodian to "protect and administer Arab property, assets and property rights in Israel and to receive income derived therefrom on behalf of the rightful owners." In addition, the Assembly would have called upon Governments concerned to render all facilities and assistance to the custodian, who would be requested to report to the Assembly at its next regular session, but at the 635th meeting, on December 13, the draft resolution was rejected by a roll-call vote of 44 to 42, with 27 abstentions.

Chapter V

Resolution of the General Assembly

The Special Political Committee concluded on December 10, 1968, its general debate on the Report of the Commissioner-General of UNRWA; and the Rapporteur of the Committee submitted his Report to the General Assembly on December 16, 1968.⁸

On December 18, 1968, the General Assembly adopted the following resolution by a vote of 100 in favor to 1 against in respect of Part "A", and by a vote of 105 in favor to none against, with 3 abstentions in respect of Parts "B" and "C":

A

The General Assembly,

Recalling Security Council resolution 237 (1967) of 14 June 1967,

Reaffirming its resolution 2252 (ES-V) of 4 July 1967,

Taking note of the appeal made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in the Special Political Committee on 11 November 1968,

Convinced that the plight of the displaced persons could best be relieved by their speedy return to their homes and to the camps which they formerly occupied,

Emphasizing, consequently, the requirement for their speedy return,

1. *Calls upon* the Government of Israel to take effective and immediate steps for the return without delay of those inhabitants who fled the areas since the outbreak of hostilities;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to follow the effective implementation of the present resolution and to report thereon to the General Assembly.

B

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 194 (III) of 11 December 1948, 302 (IV) of 8 December 1949, 393 (VI) and 394 (V) of 2 and 14 December 1950, 512 (VI) and 513 (VI) of 26 January 1952, 614 (VII) of 6 November 1952, 720 (VIII) of 27 November 1953, 818 (IX) of 4 December 1954, 916 (X) of 3 December 1955, 1018 (XI) of 28 February 1957, 1191 (XII) of 12 December 1957, 1315 (XIII) of 12 December 1958, 1456 (XIV) of 9

⁸U.N. Document A/7411 of December 16, 1968.

December 1959, 1604 (XV) of 21 April 1961, 1725 (XVI) of 20 December 1961, 1856 (XVII) of 20 December 1962, 1912 (XVIII) of 3 December 1963, 2002 (XIX) of 10 February 1965, 2052 (XX) of 15 December 1965, 2154 (XXI) of 17 November 1966, and 2341 (XXII) of 19 December 1967,

Noting the annual report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, covering the period from 1 July 1967 to 30 June 1968,

1. *Notes* with deep regret that repatriation or compensation of the refugees as provided for in paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) has not been effected, that no substantial progress has been made in the programme endorsed in paragraph 2 of resolution 513 (VI) for the reintegration of refugees either by repatriation or resettlement and that, therefore, the situation of the refugees continues to be a matter of serious concern;

2. *Expresses its thanks* to the Commissioner-General and the staff of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East for their continued faithful efforts to provide essential services for the Palestine refugees, and to the specialized agencies and private organizations for their valuable work in assisting the refugees;

3. *Directs* the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East to continue his efforts in taking such measures, including rectification of the relief rolls, as to assure, in cooperation with the Governments concerned, the most equitable distribution of relief based on need;

4. *Notes with regret* that the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine was unable to find a means to achieve progress in the implementation of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III), and requests the Commission to exert continued efforts towards the implementation thereof;

5. *Directs attention* to the continuing critical financial position of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, as outlined in the Commissioner-General's report;

6. *Notes with concern* that, despite the commendable and successful efforts of the Commissioner-General to collect additional contributions to help relieve the serious budget deficit of the past year, contributions to the United Nations Relief and

Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East continue to fall short of the funds needed to cover essential budget requirements;

7. *Calls upon* all Governments as a matter of urgency to make the most generous efforts possible to meet the anticipated needs of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, particularly in the light of the budgetary deficit projected in the Commissioner-General's report, and therefore urges non-contributing Governments to contribute and contributing Governments to consider increasing their contributions;

8. *Decides* to extend until 30 June 1972, without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III), the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

C

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 2252 (ES-V) of 4 July 1967 and 2341B (XXII) of 19 December 1967,

Taking note of the report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, covering the period from 1 July 1967 to 30 June 1968,

Taking note also of the appeal made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in the Special Political Committee on 11 November 1968,

Concerned about the continued human suffering as a result of the June 1967 hostilities in the Middle East,

1. *Reaffirms* its resolutions 2252 (ES-V) and 2341B (XXII);

2. *Endorses*, bearing in mind the objectives of these resolutions, the efforts of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East to continue to provide humanitarian assistance, as far as practicable, on an emergency basis and as a temporary measure, to other persons in the area who are at present displaced and are in serious need of continued assistance as a result of the June 1967 hostilities;

3. *Strongly appeals* to all Governments and to organizations and individuals to contribute generously for the above purposes to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East and to the other inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations concerned.

By the same author:

- **Palestine: Loss of a Heritage* (1963).
- **Bitter Harvest: Palestine 1947-1967* (1967).
- ***Palestine: Questions and Answers* (1961).
- ***Israel and the Arab Minority* (1960).
- ***Palestine Occupied* (1968).
- ****United Nations Resolutions on Palestine 1947-1966* (Edited).
- ****Palestine Before the United Nations 1965* (Edited).
- ****Palestine Before the United Nations 1966* (Edited).
- *****The Arab-Israeli Conflict (Cause and Effect) 1947-1967*.
- *****The Palestine Arab Refugee Problem 1948-1967*.
- ******Palestine in Focus* (1968).

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THE ARAB INFORMATION CENTER
405 LEXINGTON AVENUE • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017