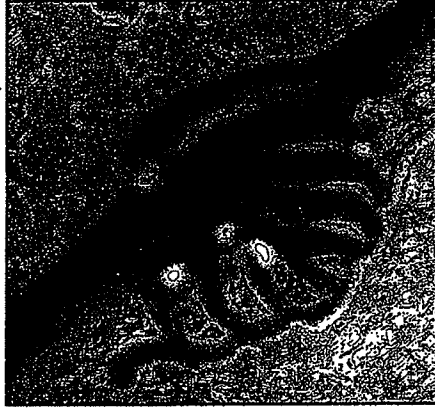
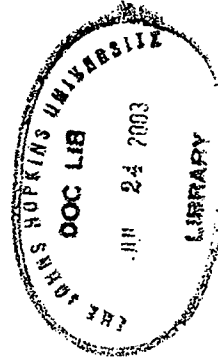


EXHIBIT I

The Question of Palestine &



the United Nations



Foreword

The United Nations has been seized with the question of Palestine since 1947, when the General Assembly adopted resolution 181 (II). It provided for the establishment of an Arab State and a Jewish State in Palestine, with a special status for the holy city of Jerusalem. No other problem has engaged the attention of the world Organization as intensively or as extensively. From 1948 there have been wars, destruction, suffering and loss of lives of Palestinians and Israelis alike engaging the United Nations in a continuing search for a solution to the problem. Given the grave dangers that are evident to all, there is a vital need to revive efforts aimed at ensuring a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East on the basis of United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973) and 1397 (2002). However, a precondition for any progress in peace negotiations is cessation of all acts of violence, provocation, incitement and destruction. What is also needed is a clear commitment by all sides to honour all bilateral and international agreements, as well as United Nations resolutions.

In outlining a United Nations strategy for dealing with the conflict in the Middle East, the Secretary-General of the United Nations has laid out the following three separate, yet closely linked, core issues:

First, restoring security from terror and violence for both Israelis and Palestinians;

Secondly, addressing the urgent humanitarian needs of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories; and

Thirdly, promoting serious and accelerated negotiations towards a settlement.

There is growing recognition that unless the international community assume a direct and effective role on the ground, progress towards a negotiated settlement will not be sustained. In recent

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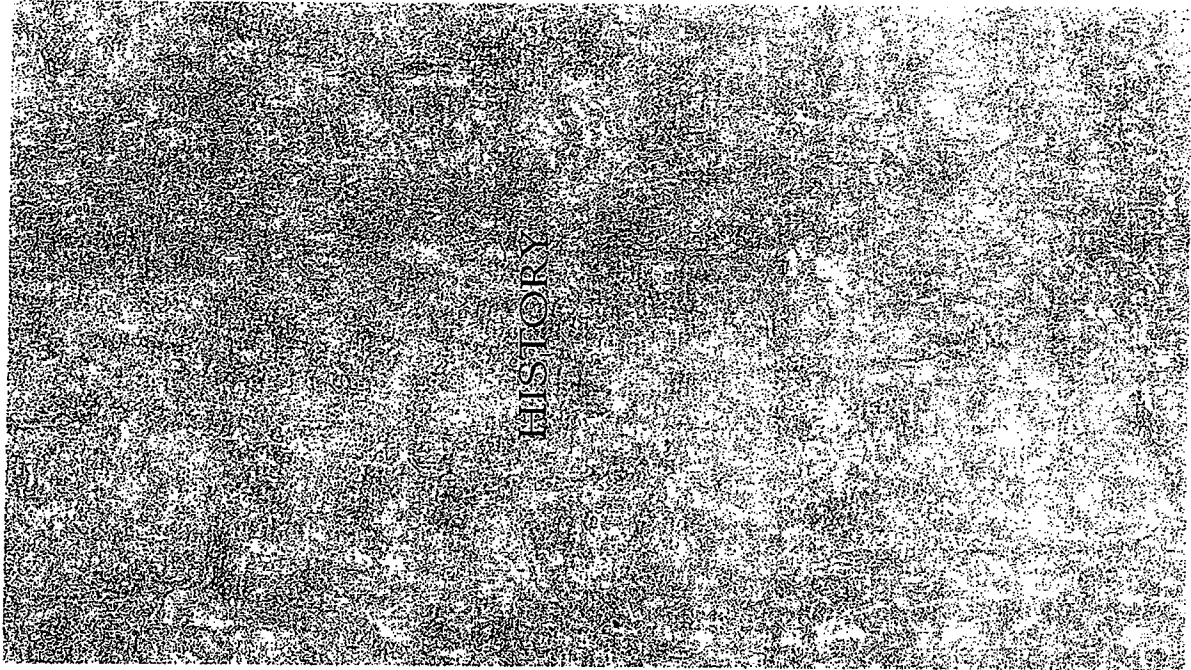
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months, the United Nations, the United States of America, the European Union and the Russian Federation have formed what is now known as the Quartet. All four have committed themselves to working with the Israelis and Palestinians, with the Arab Governments and the international community, to restore the hope of all the people in the region.

This book is a primer on the question of Palestine and the role of the United Nations. It sets out to explain some of the intricacies behind the spiral of violence in the Middle East and the legal framework under which a comprehensive, just and lasting peace could be established in the region.

The information contained in the book is up-to-date only as of October 2001. In the succeeding months, the litany of violence in the region further continued, causing more death and destruction. There have also been important diplomatic moves, including the formation of the Quartet. I invite the readers to follow these and other developments on the situation in the Middle East through the United Nations web site on the question of Palestine and its related links, including a comprehensive database, which provides users with full-text documents of the United Nations system relevant to the question of Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East since 1946. The web site also carries news and analysis of developments in the Middle East. You can access the web site at http://www.un.org/partners/civil_society/m-qpales.htm

Shashi Tharoor
Under-Secretary-General
Department of Public Information



Chapter 1

THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS

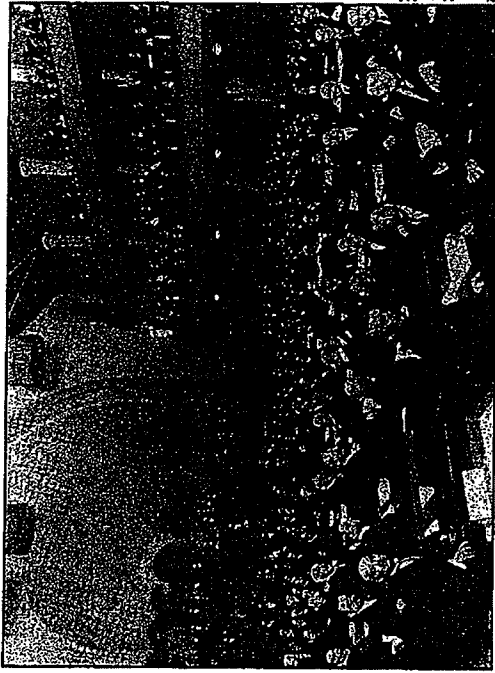


Photo: United Nations

The League of Nations in session, 1922.

Palestine under League of Nations Mandate, 1922

When the United Nations was founded on 24 October 1945, the territory of Palestine was still administered by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland under a Mandate received in 1922 from the League of Nations.

Among the issues that had to be dealt with by the Mandatory Power was the question of a Jewish home in Palestine. Increasing Jewish immigration to Palestine following the Second World War was strongly opposed by the Arab inhabitants, who in the mid-1940s comprised about two thirds of the territory's population of 2 million. Faced with escalating violence, the United Kingdom decided, in February 1947, to bring the question of Palestine before the United Nations.

Drawing attention to "the desirability of an early settlement in Palestine", the British Government asked that a special session of the General Assembly be called immediately in order to constitute and instruct a special committee to prepare a preliminary study on the question of Palestine for consideration by the Assembly at its next regular session.

First special session of the General Assembly, 1947

At the first special session of the General Assembly, which began on 28 April 1947, a special committee on Palestine was established. Five Arab countries—Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Syria—tried unsuccessfully to include in the agenda of the special session an item that would address "the termination of the Mandate over Palestine and the declaration of its independence". The Jewish case was presented by the Jewish Agency for Palestine, while the Arab Higher Committee spoke for the Palestinian Arabs.

Creation of UNSCOP

At the special session, the Assembly established the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), made up of 11 Member States, to investigate all questions relevant to the problem of Palestine and to recommend solutions to be considered by the General Assembly at the regular session in September 1947. During the course of its two-and-a-half-month investigation, the Special Committee went to Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and Trans-Jordan, and also visited the displaced-persons camps in Austria and Germany, which had been ravaged by the Second World War and had experienced the tragedy of the European Jews under Nazism.

While Jewish organizations cooperated with UNSCOP in its deliberations, the Palestinian leadership in the Arab Higher Committee decided not to participate, on the grounds that the United Nations had refused to address the question of independence and had failed to separate the issue of Jewish refugees from

Europe from the question of Palestine. The natural rights of the Palestinian Arabs were self-evident and should be recognized, it said, and could not continue to be subject to investigation.

The Jewish leadership maintained before UNSCOP that the issues of a Jewish State in Palestine and unrestricted immigration were inextricably interwoven. The Arabs, represented by the League of Arab States, sought the immediate creation of an independent Palestine west of the Jordan River.

UNSCOP completed its work on 31 August 1947, with the members agreeing on the question of terminating the Mandate, the principle of independence and the role of the United Nations. There was no consensus, however, on a settlement of the question of Palestine. The majority of the members of the Committee recommended that Palestine be partitioned into an Arab State and a Jewish State, with a special international status for the city of Jerusalem under the administrative authority of the United Nations. The three entities were to be linked in an economic union. The minority plan called for an independent federal structure comprising an Arab State and a Jewish State, with Jerusalem as the capital of the federation. Australia abstained from voting on either plan because it maintained that the recommendations exceeded the Committee's terms of reference.

UN facts

Dividing Palestine: Two proposals

The Special Committee on Palestine considered in 1947 two proposals on the question of Palestine: the majority and minority proposals. Here are their main features:

**The minority proposal:
A federal State of Palestine**

“ The independent State of Palestine—The peoples of Palestine are entitled to recognition of their right to independence, and an independent federal State of Palestine shall be created following a transitional period not exceeding three years...

“ The independent federal State of Palestine shall comprise an Arab State and a Jewish State.

“ During the transitional period, a constituent assembly shall be elected by the population of Palestine and shall formulate the constitution of the independent federal State of Palestine...

“ The attainment of independence by the independent federal State of Palestine shall be declared by the General Assembly of the United Nations as soon as the authority administering the territory shall have certified to the General Assembly that the constituent assembly referred to in the precedent paragraph has adopted a constitution...

“ There shall be a single Palestinian nationality and citizenship, which shall be granted to Arabs, Jews and others.

“ Jerusalem, which shall be the capital of the independent federal State of Palestine, shall comprise, for purposes of local administration, two separate municipalities, one of which shall include the Arab sections of the city, including that part of the city within the walls, and the other the areas which are predominantly Jewish.”

**The majority proposal:
partition with economic union**

“ Partition and independence—Palestine within its present borders, following a transitional period of two years from 1 September 1947, shall be constituted into an independent Arab State, an independent Jewish State, and the City of Jerusalem...

“ Independence shall be granted to each State upon its request only after it has adopted a constitution... has made to the United Nations a declaration containing certain guarantees, and has signed a treaty creating the Economic Union of Palestine and establishing a system of collaboration between the two States and the City of Jerusalem.

“ Citizenship—Palestinian citizens, as well as Arabs and Jews who, not holding Palestinian citizenship, reside in Palestine, shall, upon the recognition of independence, become citizens of the State in which they are resident...

“ Economic union—A treaty shall be entered into between the two States... The treaty shall be binding at once without ratification. It shall contain provisions to establish the Economic Union of Palestine.

“ Population—The figures given for the distribution of the settled population in the two proposed States... are approximately as follows:

	Jews	Arabs and others	Total
The Jewish State	498 000	407 000	905 000
The Arab State	10 000	725 000	735 000
City of Jerusalem	100 000	105 000	205 000

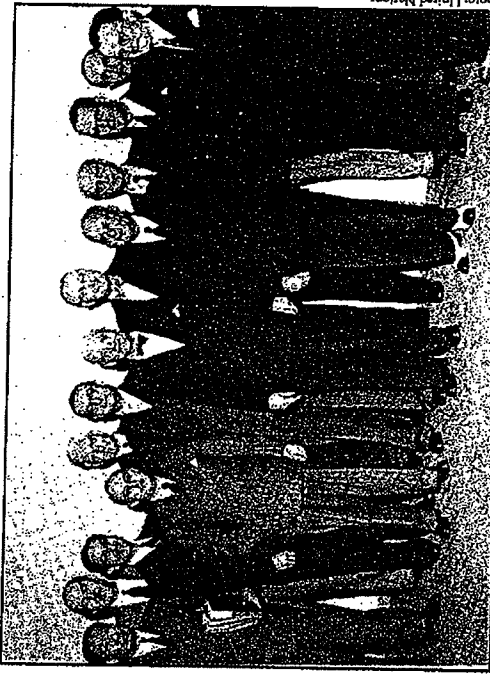
“ In addition there will be in the Jewish State about 90,000 (Arab) Bedouins...

“ (Jerusalem)—The City of Jerusalem shall be placed under an International Trusteeship System by means of a Trusteeship Agreement which shall designate the United Nations as the Administering Authority.”

Source: *The Origins and Evolution of the Palestine Problem, 1917-1968*, United Nations, 1960, p. 115.

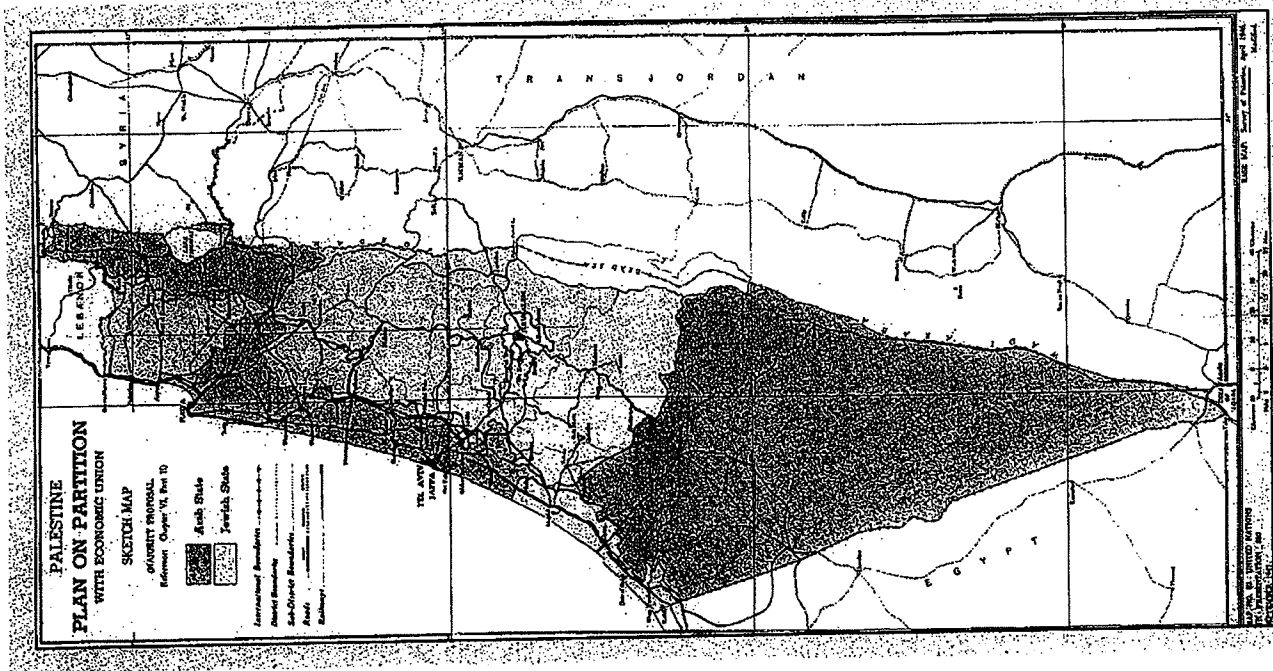
Chapter 2

THE PLAN OF PARTITION AND END OF THE BRITISH MANDATE



Members of the Special Committee on Palestine (shown here with two United Nations officials).

The question of Palestine was brought before the General Assembly by the United Kingdom almost as soon as the United Nations came into being. An 11-member Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) was formed at the first special session of the Assembly in April 1947. The majority of the committee members recommended that Palestine be partitioned into an Arab State and a Jewish State, with a special international status for the city of Jerusalem under the administrative authority of the United Nations.



The partition plan, 1947

At its second regular session, after an intense two-month-long debate, the General Assembly, on 29 November 1947, adopted resolution 181 (II), approving with minor changes the Plan of Partition with Economic Union as proposed by the majority in the Special Committee on Palestine. The partition plan, a detailed four-part document attached to the resolution, provided for the termination of the Mandate, the progressive withdrawal of British armed forces and the delineation of boundaries between the two States and Jerusalem.

The plan included:

- * The creation of the Arab and Jewish States not later than 1 October 1948;
- * Division of Palestine into eight parts: three were allotted to the Arab State and three to the Jewish State; the seventh, the town of Jaffa, was to form an Arab enclave within Jewish territory;
- * The international regime for Jerusalem, the eighth division, to be administered by the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

The plan also set out the steps to be taken prior to independence. It dealt with the questions of citizenship, transit, the economic union and a declaration to be made by the provisional government of each proposed State regarding access to holy places and religious and minority rights. By resolution 181 (II), the Assembly also set up the United Nations Palestine Commission to carry out its recommendations and requested the Security Council to take the necessary measures to implement the plan of partition.

The Jewish Agency accepted the resolution despite its dissatisfaction over such matters as Jewish emigration from Europe and the territorial limits set on the proposed Jewish State. The plan was not accepted by the Palestinian Arabs and Arab States on the ground that it violated the provisions of the United Nations Charter, which granted people the right to decide their

own destiny. They said that the Assembly had endorsed the Plan under circumstances unworthy of the United Nations and that the Arabs of Palestine would oppose any scheme that provided for the dissection, segregation or partition of their country, or which gave special and preferential rights and status to a minority.

End of the British Mandate

The adoption of resolution 181 (II) was followed by outbreaks of violence in Palestine. As the situation deteriorated, the Security Council called for a special session of the General Assembly, which then met from 16 April to 14 May 1948. On 17 April, the Security Council called for the cessation of all military and paramilitary activities in Palestine, and on 23 April it established the Truce Commission to supervise and help bring about a ceasefire. For its part, the General Assembly relieved the Palestine Commission of its responsibilities and decided to appoint a mediator charged with promoting a peaceful settlement in cooperation with the Truce Commission. On 20 May, Count Folke Bernadotte, President of the Swedish Red Cross, was chosen as United Nations Mediator.

First Arab-Israeli war, 1948-1949

On 14 May 1948, the United Kingdom relinquished its Mandate over Palestine and disengaged its forces. On the same day, the Jewish Agency proclaimed the establishment of the State of Israel on the territory allotted to it by the partition plan. Fierce hostilities immediately broke out between the Arab and Jewish communities. The next day, regular troops of the neighbouring Arab States entered the territory to assist Palestinian Arabs.

The fighting was halted after several weeks, through a four-week truce called for by the Security Council on 29 May 1948. The truce went into effect on 11 June and was supervised by the United Nations Mediator with the assistance of a group of inter-

national military observers, which came to be known as the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). Despite the efforts of the Mediator, no agreement could be reached on an extension of the truce, and fighting broke out again on 8 July.

On 15 July 1948, the Security Council decided in a resolution that the situation in Palestine constituted a threat to the peace. It ordered a ceasefire and declared that failure to comply would be construed as a breach of the peace requiring immediate consideration of enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. In accordance with the resolution, the second truce came into force. By that time, Israel controlled much of the territory allotted to the Arab State by the partition resolution, including the western part of Jerusalem. Egypt and Jordan respectively administered the remaining portions of Gaza and the West Bank of the Jordan River (which included East Jerusalem, or the old city). More fighting took place in October 1948 and March 1949, during which Israel took over other areas, some allotted to the Arab State. In 1950, Jordan brought the West Bank including East Jerusalem formally under its jurisdiction pending a solution to the problem.

The hostilities also created a major humanitarian crisis, with almost 750,000 Palestinians being uprooted from their land and becoming refugees.

While in the middle of negotiations between the parties, Count Bernadotte was shot and killed on 17 September 1948 in the Israeli-held sector of Jerusalem. Ralph Bunche, of the United States of America, was appointed as Acting Mediator.

Between February and July 1949, under United Nations auspices, armistice agreements were signed between Israel, on the one hand, and Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria on the other. The agreements, which were similar in general content, accepted the establishment of the armistice as an indispensable step towards the restoration of peace in Palestine. They also made clear that the purpose of the armistice was not to establish or

recognize any territorial, custodial or other rights, claims or interests of any party.

In August of 1949, the Security Council called for UNTSO observers to supervise the armistice. In accordance with Council decisions, UNTSO observers remain stationed in the Middle East.

General Assembly resolution 194 (III): The right to return

At its third regular session, on 11 December 1948, the General Assembly adopted resolution 194 (III), in which it delineated ways to resolve the Palestine problem. Following suggestions contained in the report prepared by Count Bernadotte for a solution to the increasingly intractable situation in Palestine, the Assembly declared that:

- * 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;
- * Compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return.

The Assembly also called for the demilitarization and internationalization of Jerusalem and for the protection of, and free access to, the holy places in Palestine. Resolution 194 (III) also provided for the establishment of a three-member United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, which was to assume the functions of the United Nations Mediator insofar as it considered necessary. It was instructed to assist the parties in achieving a final settlement on all outstanding questions and to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees. The Assembly subsequently named France, Turkey and the United States to the Commission.

The Conciliation Commission tried to resolve three major issues: the size of the territories, the refugees and the status of Jerusalem. Through separate talks with Arab States (Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria) and Israel at a conference in

UN facts

Israel joins the United Nations

Israel became a member of the United Nations on 11 May 1949. The preamble to the resolution admitting Israel to United Nations membership specifically referred to Israel's undertakings to implement General Assembly resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III), the two resolutions that formed the centre of the Palestine issue in the United Nations:

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

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

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

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

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

“ The General Assembly,

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

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

“ 2. Decides to admit Israel to membership in the United Nations ”

Source: *The Origins and Evolution of the Palestine Problem, 1917-1988*, United Nations, 1990, p. 144.

Lausanne in April 1949, it obtained a protocol, signed separately by each side, agreeing to use the boundaries established in the partition resolution as a basis for discussion. However, the 1949 meetings of the Commission ended inconclusively, with the Arab States pressing for the refugees to be returned as a first step, and with Israel insisting that the territorial question be given priority.

Later efforts by the Commission to secure the return of the Palestinians and establish an international regime for Jerusalem were also unsuccessful. Since 1951, the Commission has tried to secure the complete release of Arab refugee bank accounts blocked in Israel. In 1964, it completed the identification of Arab refugee property, and it continues to maintain records relating to such property.

In periodic reports submitted to the General Assembly since 1952, the Commission has repeatedly stressed that its efforts to advance matters towards the implementation of resolution 194 (III) depend on substantial changes in the attitudes of the parties. The provisions of that resolution on the right of Palestinian refugees to return have been reasserted by the Assembly virtually every year since 1948.

Meanwhile, on 11 May 1949, Israel became a Member of the United Nations. In admitting Israel, the General Assembly specifically took note of Israel's declarations and explanations made earlier to the Assembly's Ad Hoc Political Committee regarding the implementation of resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III). Those declarations and explanations referred, among other things, to the international regime envisaged for Jerusalem, the problem of Arab refugees and boundary questions.

3 Chapter

THE 1967 AND 1973 WARS



Photo: United Nations

Security Council adopts resolution 242 (1967).

With the question of Palestine unresolved, an uneasy peace, punctuated by violence and acts of force, was maintained in the region from 1950 until 1967, when Israel came to occupy the entire area of the former British Mandate of Palestine.

Establishment of UNEF I

Earlier, armed conflict had erupted in 1956, when, on 29 October, Israel began military operations against Egypt, joined later by France and the United Kingdom. In a politically charged atmosphere, Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal in July of that year. The crisis ended with a ceasefire called for by the General Assembly at an emergency special session, the eventual withdrawal of the invading forces and the deployment of the

United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I)—the first United Nations peacekeeping force.

UNEF I was withdrawn in May 1967 at the request of Egypt, which had informed the Secretary-General that it would no longer consent to the stationing of the force on Egyptian territory and in Gaza. On 5 June 1967, hostilities broke out between Israel and Egypt, Jordan and Syria. By the time a ceasefire called for by the Security Council was accepted by the parties, Israel had occupied the Egyptian Sinai, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank including East Jerusalem and part of the Syrian Golan Heights.

After the ceasefire was secured, the Security Council adopted resolution 237 (1967), in which it called upon 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 the displaced persons. The Governments concerned were asked to respect scrupulously the humanitarian principles governing the protection of civilian persons in time of war contained in the Fourth Geneva Convention, of 1949. At its fifth emergency special session, convened after the fighting began, the General Assembly called upon Governments and international organizations to extend emergency humanitarian assistance to those affected by the war. The Assembly asked Israel to rescind all measures already taken and to desist from taking further action which would alter the status of Jerusalem.

Security Council resolution 242 (1967)

Later that year, on 22 November, the Security Council unanimously adopted, after much negotiation, resolution 242 (1967), laying down principles for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. The resolution stipulated that the establishment of a just and lasting peace should include the application of two principles:

- * Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict; and
- * Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territo-

rial 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.

The resolution also affirmed the territorial inviolability of every State in the region and called for "achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem".

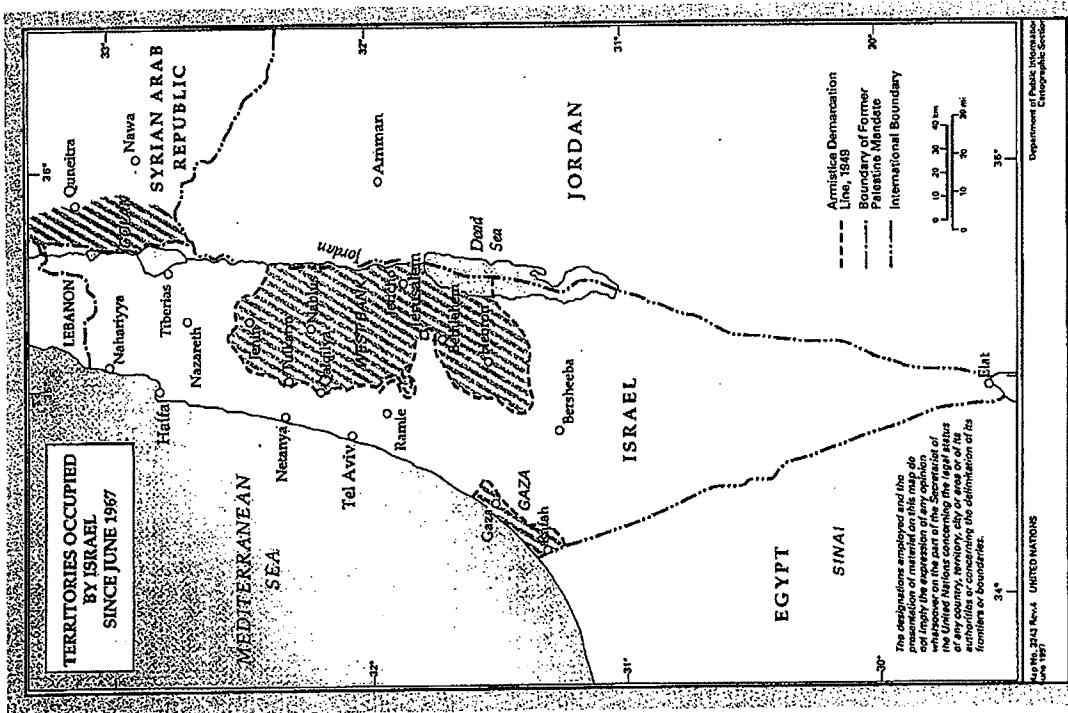
Egypt and Jordan accepted resolution 242 (1967) and considered Israeli withdrawal from all territories occupied in the 1967 war as a precondition to negotiations. Israel, which also accepted the resolution, stated that the questions of withdrawal and refugees could be settled only through direct negotiations with the Arab States and the conclusion of a comprehensive peace treaty. Syria rejected the Council action, maintaining that the resolution had linked the central issue of Israeli withdrawal to concessions demanded from Arab countries. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) strongly criticized the resolution, which it said reduced the question of Palestine to a refugee problem.

War of 1973 and Security Council resolution 338 (1973)

In October 1973, war broke out again between Egypt and Israel in the Suez Canal area and the Sinai and between Israel and the Syrian Arab Republic on the Golan Heights. As fighting reached a critical stage, the Soviet Union and the United States jointly requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council. On 22 October, the Security Council adopted resolution 338 (1973), which reaffirmed the principles of resolution 242 and called for negotiations aimed at "a just and durable peace in the Middle East". The ceasefire call was later confirmed in resolution 339 (1973) of 23 October, and the Secretary-General was requested to dispatch United Nations observers immediately.

However, as fighting continued in the region, President Anwar el Sadat of Egypt appealed directly to the Soviet Union and the United States to intervene with troops and enforce the ceasefire. While the Soviet Union agreed, the United States

opposed the request, putting the two super Powers on a collision course. At the request of Egypt, the Security Council reconvened on 24 October, where a resolution calling for the creation of a new peacekeeping force, which became the second United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF II), was worked out. After Egypt and Israel agreed to disengage their forces, UNEF II supervised their redeployment. Under a separate agreement reached in May 1974, Israel and Syria signed a disengagement agreement. This led to the establishment of the United Nations Disengagement Force (UNDOF), which was assigned to monitor the agreements between Israel and Syria. The Council renewed UNEF's mandate periodically until July 1979, when it was allowed to lapse following the conclusion of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. UNDOF continues to function on the Golan Heights.



UN facts

Security Council resolutions 242 and 338

Security Council resolution 242, adopted on 22 November 1967 and resolution 338, adopted on 22 October 1973, are considered basic instruments in all subsequent discussions of a Middle East peace settlement.

1) Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967

The Security Council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,

Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security,

Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter:

1. Affirms that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

- (i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;
- (ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

2. Affirms further the necessity

- (a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area,

(b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;

(c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

3. Requests the Secretary-General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contact with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.

Adopted unanimously at the 1382nd meeting.

2) Resolution 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973

The Security Council,

1. Calls upon all parties to the present fighting to cease all firing and terminate all military activity immediately, no later than 12 hours after the moment of the adoption of this decision, in the positions they now occupy;

2. Calls upon the parties concerned to start immediately after the ceasefire the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in all of its parts;

3. Decides that immediately and concurrently with the ceasefire negotiations shall start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

Adopted at the 1747th meeting by 14 votes to none.¹

¹ One member (China) did not participate in the voting.

Chapter 4

PALESTINIAN REFUGEES IN LEBANON

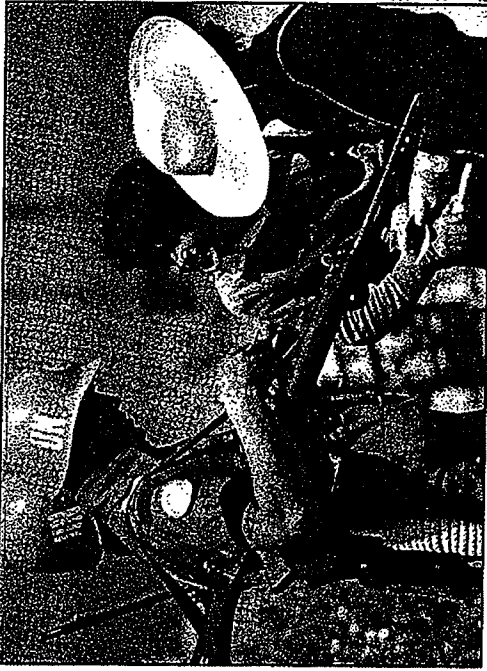


Photo: United Nations

UN peacekeepers on duty in Southern Lebanon, 1978.

Lebanon increasingly became the focus of conflict in the Middle East in the mid- and late 1970s. Many of those who fled the northern and coastal regions of Palestine in 1948 had found refuge in camps around the Lebanese towns of Tyre, Sidon and Beirut. Another wave of Palestinians came in from Jordan in 1970, and unrest steadily increased in southern Lebanon. By early 1972, the situation along the Israeli-Lebanese border had deteriorated. Stating that it was retaliating against raids by Palestinian commandos into its territory, Israel attacked refugee camps in Lebanon. In April 1972, at the request of Lebanon, UNTSO set up a ceasefire observation operation along the border.

Israel invasion of Lebanon, 1978

Israeli forces invaded southern Lebanon in March 1978, following a Palestinian commando raid into Israel. The Security Council called on Israel to withdraw its forces from Lebanese territory and, at the request of Lebanon, established the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), with a mandate to confirm the withdrawal of Israeli forces, restore peace and security, and assist the Lebanese Government to re-establish its authority over the south of the country. However, when Israeli forces completed their withdrawal from Lebanon in June 1978, they handed over their positions in the border area, not to UNIFIL, but to Christian and associated militias supported by Israel.

Southern Lebanon remained volatile, with frequent exchanges of fire between the Christian militias and the Israeli forces on the one hand and armed elements of the PLO and the Lebanese National Movement on the other. Efforts by the United Nations and the United States led to a *de facto* ceasefire in July 1981, and the area remained generally quiet until May 1982. Then, following attacks on Israeli diplomats in London and Paris, Israel carried out air strikes against PLO targets in Lebanon. Fighting broke out once again between Israeli and PLO forces.

On 5 June, in resolution 508 (1982), the Security Council called for an immediate halt of all military activities within Lebanon and across the Israel-Lebanon border. The PLO reaffirmed its commitment to stop all military operations across the border, and Israel informed the Secretary-General that the Council's resolution would be brought before the Israeli Cabinet. The next day, 6 June, Israeli forces invaded Lebanon. UNIFIL positions in southern Lebanon were either overrun or bypassed. The Security Council, in resolution 509 (1982), reiterated its calls for a ceasefire and demanded that Israel withdraw its military forces "forthwith and unconditionally". The invasion continued, and eventually the Israeli forces reached and surrounded Beirut.

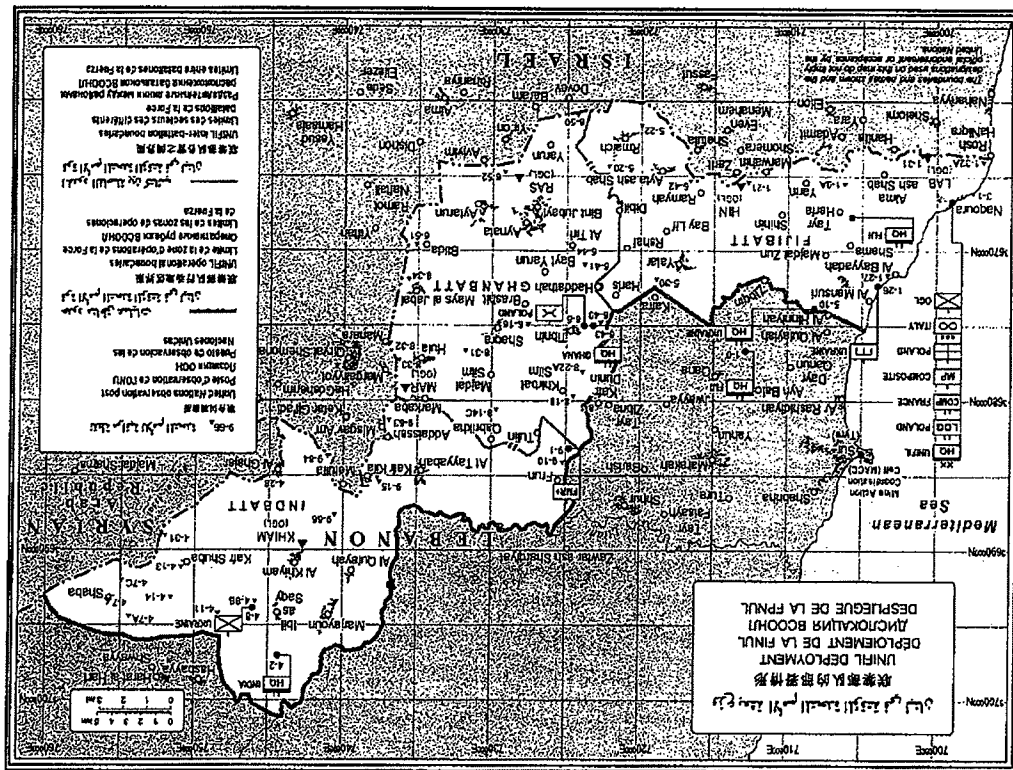
Continuing to meet in June, July and August of 1982, the Security Council demanded that Israel lift its blockade of Beirut so that civilians in the city could receive necessary supplies. It authorized the deployment of United Nations military observers, known as Observer Group Beirut, to monitor the situation in and around the city.

In August, during the siege of West Beirut by Israeli forces, France, Italy and the United States, at the request of the Lebanese Government, sent a multinational force to Beirut to assist in the orderly and safe departure of Palestinian armed personnel from Lebanon. The evacuation of Palestinian forces from the Beirut area was completed on 1 September 1982, and the multinational force was withdrawn over the next two weeks.

Tension increased greatly with the assassination, on 14 September 1982, of Lebanon's President-elect Bashir Gemayal. The next day, units of the Israeli forces moved forward into West Beirut. On 17 September, hundreds of Palestinian civilians, including women and children, were massacred in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila by Lebanese Christian militias, which had entered West Beirut with the Israeli forces. The Security Council condemned the "criminal massacre of Palestinian civilians in Beirut", and the Government of Lebanon requested the return of the multinational force.

Contingents from France, Italy and the United States, later joined by a small unit from the United Kingdom, went back to Beirut late in September 1982. The multinational force encountered serious obstacles in its task, and because of heavy casualties, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States withdrew their personnel, followed by France early in 1984, thus ending the 19-month multinational effort.

In June 1983, clashes broke out in eastern Lebanon between different Palestinian factions, causing widespread suffering among Palestinian civilians. Then the focus of tension among Palestinians shifted to northern Lebanon around the city of Tripoli. An agreement was eventually reached between the par-



Map No. 4144 Rev. 5 United Nations
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 Cartographic Section
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ties, which provided for a ceasefire and the evacuation of PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and the armed elements of the PLO loyal to him. In response to a request by him, the Secretary-General decided, on humanitarian grounds, to authorize the flying of the United Nations flag on ships that would evacuate the PLO forces from Tripoli. The evacuation operation was carried out on 20 December 1983, and thousands of Palestinians sought refuge in Tunisia, Yemen and other countries.

Israel's "security zone" in south Lebanon, 1985

In January 1985, the Israeli Government announced that members of the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) would continue to operate in a "security zone" in southern Lebanon and act as advisers to the so-called "South Lebanon Army" (SLA). The IDF and SLA in southern Lebanon remained targets for attacks by groups opposed to the Israeli occupation. In 1993 and 1996, Israel carried out intense bombardments, causing many civilian casualties.

Israeli withdraws from Lebanon, 2000

On 17 April 2000, Israel informed the Secretary-General that it would withdraw its forces from Lebanon by July 2000 "in full accordance with Security Council resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978)". As a first step, the Secretary-General sent his Special Envoy, Terje Roed-Larsen (Norway), to meet with the Governments of Israel and Lebanon and concerned Member States in the region. United Nations cartographic, legal and military experts, accompanying Mr. Roed-Larsen, examined the technical issues related to the withdrawal.

On 2 May, the Government of Israel notified the Secretary-General that Israel had redeployed its forces in compliance with Security Council resolutions. A United Nations team of cartographers worked on the ground to identify a line to be adopted for the purposes of confirming the Israeli withdrawal (subsequently referred to as the "Blue Line"). On 16 June, the Secretary-General reported to the Council that Israel had with-

Chapter 5

GROWING RECOGNITION OF PALESTINIAN RIGHTS BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

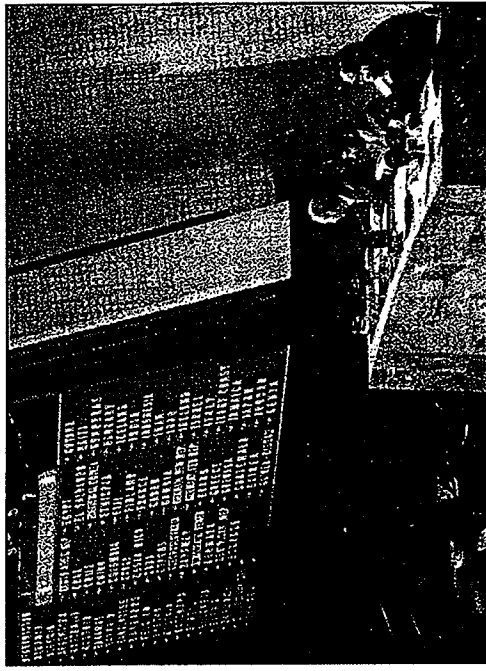


Photo: United Nations
Voting board in the General Assembly hall granting the Palestine Liberation Organization observer status, 22 November 1974.

On the question of Palestine, international attention during the 1950s and the early 1960s focused primarily on the problem of Palestinian refugees and interstate conflict. Following the 1967 war, the question of Palestine began to be understood in a broader political context. There was a resurgence of activity by Palestinians to achieve their national rights. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which had been established in 1964, adopted a new national charter in 1968. The document stated that the international community had so far failed to discharge its responsibility and called for continuing the fight to achieve Palestinian rights.

drawn its forces from Lebanon in conformity with the line identified by the United Nations. The Security Council, in a resolution adopted on 18 June, welcomed the Secretary-General's report and endorsed the work done by the United Nations.

Reporting to the Security Council on 20 July, the Secretary-General stated that southern Lebanon had seen dramatic change. The Israeli forces had left, their local Lebanese auxiliary had been disbanded, and after more than two decades the guns had fallen silent. He warned, however, that while there had been enormous improvement, the situation in the Israeli-Lebanon sector fell well short of peace, and the potential for serious incidents still existed. Therefore, both sides should maintain effective liaison with UNIFIL and take prompt action to rectify any violations or incidents brought to their attention.

Though violations on both sides of the "Blue Line" were reported, the situation in the area of UNIFIL operation remained generally calm. After the Secretary-General informed the Security Council on 24 July that Israeli authorities had removed all violations of the line of withdrawal, the Lebanese Government consented to the full deployment of UNIFIL. On 27 July, the Security Council once again extended the mandate of UNIFIL for another six months, this time until 31 January 2001. The Council called on Lebanon to ensure the return of its effective authority and presence in the south and, in particular, to proceed with a significant deployment of its armed forces as soon as possible.

Reintroduction of the question of Palestine in the General Assembly agenda, 1974

In December 1969, the General Assembly recognized that "the problem of the Palestine Arab refugees has arisen from the denial of their inalienable rights under the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights". In September 1974, 56 Member States proposed that "the question of Palestine" be included as an item in the General Assembly's agenda. They pointed out that the question of Palestine and the status and fate of the Palestinian people had not appeared as a separate item before the Assembly for more than 20 years. Their proposal was accepted, and since then the question of Palestine has again been part of the Assembly's agenda.

In a resolution adopted on 22 November 1974, the General Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, which included the right to self-determination without external interference, the right to national independence and sovereignty, and the right to return to their homes and property. The rights of the Palestinian people, as set forth by the Assembly in 1974, have been reaffirmed every year since.

Observer status for PLO, 1974

Also in 1974, the General Assembly invited the PLO to participate in its proceedings with observer status, as representative of the Palestinian people. The observer status was later extended to cover all United Nations bodies.

Later, in its resolution 43/177 of 15 December 1988, the General Assembly acknowledged the proclamation of the State of Palestine made by the Palestine National Council. The Assembly reaffirmed the need to enable the Palestinian people to exercise sovereignty over its territory occupied since 1967. Also, the General Assembly decided that the designation "Palestine" should be used in place of the designation "Palestine Liberation Organization" in the United Nations system, without prejudice to the observer status and functions of the

Palestine Liberation Organization within the United Nations system.

Ten years later, in 1998, the General Assembly, in its resolution 52/250 of 7 July, decided to confer upon Palestine, in its capacity as Observer, additional rights and privileges of participation in the sessions and work of the General Assembly, as well as in United Nations and international conferences.

Creation of the Palestinian Rights Committee, 1975

The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, also known as the Palestinian Rights Committee, was established by the General Assembly in 1975. The Committee was asked to prepare a programme to enable the Palestinians to exercise their inalienable rights. In 1976, the Committee presented two sets of recommendations, one concerned with the Palestinians' right of return to their homes and property, and the other with their rights to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty.

The Security Council discussed the recommendations but was unable to reach a decision owing to the negative vote of the United States, a permanent member of the Council. The Council considered the matter again on subsequent occasions, but adjourned each time without taking a decision. The recommendations were, however, endorsed by the General Assembly in 1976 and in subsequent years. The Assembly also requested the Committee to keep the situation relating to the question of Palestine under review and to report and make recommendations to the General Assembly or the Security Council. The Committee was also mandated to promote the greatest possible dissemination of information on its recommendations through non-governmental organizations and other appropriate means.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the Committee followed the situation with regard to rights of the Palestinians and brought its findings before the General Assembly and the Security Council. Its programme of seminars, symposiums and

other activities helped increase awareness of the question of Palestine at the international level, and focused efforts on the need for achieving a peaceful settlement based on the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

UN facts

PLO is granted observer status

The General Assembly, in a resolution adopted on 22 November 1974, invited the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly in the capacity of Observer.

The General Assembly

Having considered the question of Palestine,

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

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

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

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

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

1. *Invites the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer;*
2. *Invites the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of all international conferences convened under the auspices of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer;*
3. *Considers that the Palestine Liberation Organization is entitled to participate as an observer in the sessions and the work of all international conferences convened under the auspices of other organs of the United Nations;*
4. *Requests the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps for the implementation of the present resolution.*

A/RES/3237 (XXXIX), 22 November 1974