







International Conference on the Question of Palestine

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE

Report of the African Regional Preparatory Meeting International Conference Centre Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania 29 March-1 April 1983

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I. DECISIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE MEETING

- 1. The African Regional Preparatory Meeting made the following observations and recommendations.
 - A. Recommendations of the African Regional Preparatory Meeting for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine

The plight of the Palestinian people is one that is viewed with profound sympathy by the independent States of Africa. A deep interest and active involvement in the search for a just, comprehensive, and lasting solution to the problem of Palestine through all means, represent the natural and understandable response of Africans who themselves have experienced colonial domination. It is therefore only logical that the African States regard as vital and timely the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, which is scheduled to be held at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris from 16 to 27 August 1983. Likewise it is fitting that the African States should fully support the Conference objective of increasing international awareness of the facts concerning the question of Palestine as a significant step to a just, durable and comprehensive resolution of conflict in the Middle East.

The African Regional Preparatory Meeting which was held in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, from 29 March to 1 April 1983, cognisant of the peculiar historic conditions that led to the usurpation of the Palestinian national homeland, affirms the position reiterated by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity on the Question of Palestine, and recognizes:

- (a) The Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination in Palestine, including the right to an independent and sovereign State, in accordance with United Nations General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947 and more recently endorsed by United Nations General Assembly resolution ES-7/2 of 29 July 1980;
- (b) The inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property in Palestine, from which they have been displaced and uprooted, and the right to compensation of those choosing not to return;
- (c) That the attainment of the exercise of these inalienable rights is the <u>sine qua non</u> for a just solution of the Question of Palestine and a lasting peace in the Middle East;
- (d) That the Question of Palestine is the core of the Middle East problem;
- (e) The Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people;

- (f) The right of the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate on an equal footing in all international conferences, organs, agencies, and endeavours of the United Nations in conformity with relevant United Nations resolutions;
 - (g) The illegality of the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and Gaza;
 - (h) The imperative necessity for the total and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, for a comprehensive and just solution to the conflict in the Middle East;
 - (i) The legitimacy of the struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization against foreign domination and alien subjugation by all available means, including armed struggle, in accordance with United Nations General Assembly resolution 3070 (XXVIII) of 30 November 1973.

Accordingly, the African Regional Preparatory Meeting, recalling the experience of the African people in their struggle against colonialism and for self-determination and national independence, recommends that the African States:

- (1) Take additional initiatives in the Organization of African Unity to support the Palestinian national struggle;
- (2) Establish diplomatic relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization and accord its representatives full diplomatic status;
- (3) Encourage African workers' organizations to seek ways and means to find common cause with Palestinian workers;
- (4) Encourage organizations such as those of women, youth, students, and teachers, to undertake exchanges and other joint programmes of action with their Palestinian counterparts;
- (5) Urge African jurists to initiate with their Palestinian counterparts, consultations, research and investigations on the juridical aspects of problems affecting the southern African and Palestinian struggles, in particular the detention of political prisoners and the denial of prisoner-of-war status to detained members of the national liberation movements of southern African and Palestine;
- (6) Encourage the formation of national support committees with the people of Palestine;

- (7) Request the African news media to engage in special and extensive coverage of the Question of Palestine
- (8) Consider ways and means of meeting the threat that Israel poses to Africa's security in view of Israel's close collaboration with the apartheid regime;
- (9) Participate actively and at a high level in the International Conference on the Question of Palestine in support of the achievement of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

With respect to the United Nations, after full and careful deliberation, the African Regional Preparatory Meeting:

- (1) Considers the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly at its thirty-first session and subsequently, to be a programme capable of enabling the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights in Palestine as well as a firm basis for a just, comprehensive and lasting resolution of conflict in the Middle East;
- (2) Calls upon the Security Council to endorse and to implement the aforementioned recommendations as a matter of utmost urgency, recalling that they have not yet been approved as a result of a negative vote by a permanent member of the Security Council;
- (3) Welcomes the Arab Peace Plan adopted at the twelfth Arab summit held at Fez, Morocco, on 9 September 1982 as an important contribution to the search for a just, comprehensive and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict and considers this plan as being in conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations aimed at settling the Question of Palestine;
- (4) Takes note that the Council of Europe on 22 March 1983 affirmed the disposition towards peace of the Arab Peace Plan;
- (5) Urges the Security Council to consider applying sanctions against Israel in order to compel it to withdraw from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions;
- (6) Requests the Security Council to take urgent action to bring about an immediate and total cessation of Israel's policies in the occupied territories, and in particular the settlements, since the policy of settlements is an obstacle to the attainment of peace in the region;

- (7) Calls upon the Security Council to reactivate as a matter of priority the Commission established by its resolution 446 (1979) of 22 March 1979 to examine the situation relating to Israeli settlements in Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967;
- (8) Considers the continued presence of Israel in the occupied Arab territories, including the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and Gaza, as exacerbating instability in the region and posing a threat to international peace and security;
- (9) Urges the Secretary-General, in consultation with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, and pending the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, to undertake effective measures to guarantee the safety and security and legal and human rights of the Palestinian refugees in the occupied territories;
- (10) Urges the United Nations to take the necessary action to ensure that all Palestinian and Lebanese political prisoners detained by Israel be accorded the status of prisoners of war in accordance with the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.
- 2. The Meeting also drafted a special resolution on Lebanon, as follows:

B. Special resolution on Lebanon

The African regional preparatory meeting expresses its grave concern at the situation in Lebanon arising from Israel's invasion of that country and its continued occupation of the Lebanese territory.

The meeting considers these Israeli actions in Lebanon as constituting a threat to international peace and security.

The African regional preparatory meeting therefore requests the United Nations Security Council to take appropriate measures in order to compel Israel to implement the resolutions of the Security Council demanding the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the entire Lebanese territory.

II. ATTENDANCE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK OF THE MEETING

A. Date and place of the Meeting

- 3. By its resolution 37/86 of 10 December 1982, the General Assembly endorsed the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine contained in its report (A/37/49) providing for, inter alia, the organization of five regional preparatory meetings with the aim of securing the active involvement of Governments and Member States of the various regions during the preparatory stage of the Conference and during the Conference itself.
- 4. In pursuance of this resolution the African Regional Preparatory Meeting was held at the Arusha International Conference Centre in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, from 29 March to 1 April 1983.

B. Attendance

- 5. The following States participated in the Meeting: Algeria, Angola, Comoros, Egypt, Guinea, Kenya, Madagascar, Morocco, Mauritania, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Zaire.
- 6. The Palestine Liberation Organization participated in the Meeting as the representative of the Palestinian people, the principal party to the question of Palestine.
- 7. The following States participated as observers: Cuba, Iraq, Syrian Arab Republic.
- 8. The following attended the Meeting as observers: Economic Commission for Africa, United Nations Industrial Development Organization, United Nations Environment Programme, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Special Committee on Decolonization, Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. The League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania were also represented by observers.
- 9. A number of non-governmental organizations also attended the Meeting.
- 10. Messages of good wishes for the success of the Meeting were received from the Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iraq, His Excellency Mr. Tariq Aziz, and from the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Pan African Women's Organization. These messages are reproduced in the annexes to the present report.

C. Opening of the Meeting and election of the officers

- 11. The African Regional Preparatory Meeting was opened on Tuesday, 29 March 1983 by Mrs. Lucille Mair, Secretary-General of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, who expressed the appreciation of the United Nations for the co-operation and support of the United Republic of Tanzania. She stressed that the presence of the delegations from the African region and other participants underlined world concern for the issue of Palestine. The African States had a fundamental role to play in the quest for peace and security.
- 12. The Prime Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, His Excellency, E.M. Sokoine, addressing the opening meeting, expressed the hope that the meeting would try to answer certain questions, above all "why should the indigenous Palestinians be uprooted?" In the 1960s after political changes, many African countries had achieved independence and the borders of independent Africa had moved further south. The Prime Minister drew parallels between the situation of the Namibian people and the Palestinians and emphasized that South Africa and Israel were "arch collaborators" and "close companions". He deplored the ambivalence and double standards of some powers which champion democracy and human rights among their own peoples but deny them to the Palestinians and Namibians. In conclusion, the Prime Minister warned that time was running out to solve these problems peacefully. (See annex I below.)
- 13. The representative of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, His Excellency M. J.M. Braide of Nigeria, referred to the recommendations of the Committee which provided a basis for a just, comprehensive and lasting solution of the problem of Palestine but on which decisive action has not been taken due to the negative vote of a permanent Member of the Security Council. The intransigence of Israel had proved an insurmountable barrier to the attainment of the just aspirations of the Palestinian people.
- 14. The representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Mr. Shafiq Al Hout, emphasized that it is invaluable to compare the many similarities between the struggles of the Palestinian and African peoples, as well as to examine the differences. The Palestine Liberation Organization confronted a greater challenge since the aim of the Zionist colonizer was to eliminate the Palestinians as a national, political and human entity. He referred in particular to the attacks against Palestinian and Lebanese civilians last summer and the recent news of poisoning of schoolchildren in the West Bank. Mr. Shafiq reaffirmed the commitment of the Palestine Liberation Organization to develop sound political, economic, scientific and cultural relations between his organization and the African nations. (See annex III below.)

- 15. His Excellency Salim A. Salim, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania, was elected Chairman of the African Regional Preparatory Meeting. He stressed that African liberation forces had long recognized the Palestinians as brothers-in-arms, and emphasized a basic difference between the two liberation processes. Africans had fought their liberation wars inside their own country for their rights and their lands. The Palestinians had no homeland, let alone a base for their struggle. Africa, therefore, salutes the Palestinian fighters who fight for their very earth. (See annex II below.)
- 16. At the same meeting, His Excellency, Mohammed-Tahar Bouzarbia of Algeria, His Excellency, Emmanuel Ndahimana of Rwanda and His Excellency, M. M. Liswaniso of Zambia were elected Vice-Chairmen and His Excellency, Latyr Kamara of Senegal was elected Rapporteur.
- 17. A Working Group composed of the officers of the Meeting and representatives of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, the Organization of African Unity and the Palestine Liberation Organization was established to facilitate the work of the meeting.

D. Adoption of the agenda

- 18. The following agenda was adopted at the opening meeting:
 Political and juridical aspects of the question of Palestine
 - 1. Opening of the Meeting
 - 2. Election of the officers
 - 3. Adoption of the agenda
 - 4. Organization of work
 - 5. Comprehensive review of the question of Palestine
 - (a) The Palestinians
 - (b) The right to self-determination
 - (c) The role of the United Nations
 - 6. National liberation movements in the African context and the Palestine Liberation Organization
 - 7. Application of Laws in determining the rights and opportunities citizens: a comparative analysis of the Palestinian and African experience
 - 8. Recommendations for action
 - 9. Adoption of the report
- 19. The meeting had before it the following draft documents:
 - (a) "Palestine in the history of decolonization" which examines the disposession of Palestinians' land, resources and rights as a process begun with the Balfour Declaration and concludes that at the very time that anti-colonial struggles were achieving successes, the decolonization of Palestine was being put in reverse.

- (b) "National liberation movements and the United Nations: the FLN in Algeria and the MPLA in Angola", which defines national liberation as a people's achievement of national self-determination, and provides a brief summary of the historic roles and operation of national liberation movements.
- (c) "The Palestine Liberation Organization" which discusses the growth of the organization out of the Palestinian experience
- (d) "The Palestinian people's legal right to exercise self-determination" which examines the extent to which the Palestinian struggle is rooted in law.
- (e) "Comparative study of land, labour and citizenship control" in Israel and South Africa", which compares the policies of the Republic of South Africa and Israel.
 - . III. SUMMARY OF THE CONSIDERATION OF SUBSTANTIVE AGENDA ITEMS
- 20. When the items on the agenda were considered, the views expressed by representative indicated that there was general agreement over a wide range of issues and basic principles relating to the Question of Palestine, and to the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people which were being systematically and continuously violated by Israel. The meeting stressed that there could be no peace in the Middle East without the achievement of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The recent events in the Middle East were reviewed, with particular attention to Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the massacres of Palestinian refugees in the Sabra and Chatila camps.
- 21. The meeting heard from the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, a detailed account of the events of the summer of 1982 in Beirut, Lebanon, which had been inflicted on the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples with no other purpose than Israel's declared intention to commit genocide. The meeting expressed its admiration of the indomitable courage of the Palestinian people in the face of fearful odds. That courage was the surest guarantee that the Palestinian people would achieve its aim of exercising its rights in Palestine. The meeting noted that the Palestinian people were committed to peace with justice, to be attained by peaceful means if possible, but by armed struggle if necessary.

- 22. Specific reference was made to the most recently reported developments on the West Bank, where several hundred schoolgirls in the Jenin and Hebron areas had been hospitalized for treatment for poisoning. In messages to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the President of the Security Council, the Director-General of the World Health Organization and the International Red Cross Committee the meeting expressed its grave concern at these developments and demanded an immediate and urgent investigation by the World Health Organization and the International Red Cross Committee. The meeting also stressed that it regarded these developments as exacerbating tensions in the region and posing a threat to international peace and security. The text of the messages is annexed to this report.
- 23. The meeting was unanimous in its condemnation of Israel's policies and practices on the West Bank as well as of its arrogant disregard of international law, United Nations resolutions and world public opinion. The meeting condemned Israel's settlements policy which was accompanied by confiscation of land from the Arab inhabitants and was clearly indicated to be a step towards complete annexation of the West Bank and Gaza.
- 24. Attention was drawn to the fact that while Israel consistently tried to convince the world that it was the Arab nations who posed obstacles to peace, it was Israel who had rejected all peace initiatives that had been proposed, because it wished to carry out its expanisionist policies.
 - 25. The meeting highlighted the similarities between the policies of South Africa and Israel and stressed the need to oppose them. It emphasized that the liberation of the people in Namibia and South Africa and the liberation of the people of Palestine are part of the same struggle. The meeting further expressed its solidarity with the struggle of the people of Palestine, a solidarity that is particularly strong due to the history of the decolonization process on the African continent and the role that the independence movement have played, and continued to play, in achieving self-determination and national independence. In this light, comments were made on the document pertaining to national liberation movements as providing a basis for deepening the understanding of the parallels was well as the differences between the struggle in the Near East and Africa.
 - 26. It was suggested therefore that new initiatives should be taken within the Organization of African Unity to support the Palestinian people in their struggle and that Africans from every walk of life should be encouraged to find common cause with the Palestinians. It was felt also that by its close collaboration with the <u>apartheid</u> regime of South Africa, Israel poses a threat to Africa's security.
 - 27. The meeting, recalling that the Special Committee Against <u>Apartheid</u> was observing the twentieth anniversary of its establishment, sent a message of felicitations. The text of the message is annexed.

- 28. The meeting felt strongly that African States should participate actively and at a high level in the International Conference on the Question of Palestine in support of the achievement of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.
- 29. The meeting emphasized the important role which the United Nations had to play in resolving the problem of Palestine, and several suggestions were made regarding the action that should be taken urgently by the Security Council in this regard.
- 30. It was stressed that resolution 181 (II) adopted in 1947 by the General Assembly continues to provide a firm basis for a durable solution to the problem. It had envisaged the creation of two States, an Arab and a Jewish State, but only the latter had come into being. It was the international community's responsibility to ensure the complete implementation of that resolution.
- 31. The meeting heard an account of the work of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, and noted that recommendations made by that Committee which had been repeatedly endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly converge on many points with the proposals of the Twelfth Arab Summit held at Fez in September 1982. There was a consensus that those proposals provide a sound basis for a solution of the problem of Palestine.
- 32. The meeting decided to draw up its recommendations for action and to forward them to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine.
- 33. At its fourth meeting on 31 March 1983, the participants observed a minute of silence to honour the memory of the leader of the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic to the meeting who had tragically passed away on that day. In accordance with a decision of the meeting, messages of condolence were sent to the bereaved family and to the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic.

IV. CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING

34. At the concluding meeting which was held on 1 April 1983, the Chairman of the Meeting presented draft recommendations as a result of the deliberations of the Working Group. After consideration the Meeting adopted these recommendations by consensus as the Arusha Recommendations of the African Regional Preparatory Meeting for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. They are reproduced in section I above.

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- 35. The Meeting also adopted by consensus a special resolution on Lebanon, reproduced in section I above. The Meeting then adopted the report of the African Regional Preparatory Meeting.
- 36. The Meeting also adopted a motion of thanks to the Government and the people of the United Republic of Tanzania. The text is reproduced in annex XI to the present report.

ANNEX I

SPEECH BY PRIME MINISTER NDUGU E. M. SOKOINE, M. P. FOR THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE AFRICAN REGIONAL PREPARATORY MEETING

- It gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the Government, the People of anzania, and on my own behalf, first to welcome you all to Tanzania and to this own of Arusha. I am sure that some, if not many of you, have been to Arusha efore, hence I need not say much about these surroundings. Secondly, I wish to relcome you all and wish you success in your deliberations at this African Regional reparatory Conference on the Question of Palestine.
- The Government and the people of Tanzania find a great measure of satisfaction and inspiration when meetings geared towards the search for freedom and justice are held in our country. We have committed ourselves to building a just society as much as we would like to see freedom and justice prevail all over the world. These are the basic and fundamental human rights, that nobody can be deprived of.
- }. We feel highly honoured also that this United Nations sponsored meeting is taking place in Arusha now, when the question and situation of Palestine, more than ever before, call for the understanding and compassion of the entire International Community. The invasion of Lebanon by Israel's armed forces in the middle of last year, the subsequent dislocation and dispersion of the fighting Palestinians, the atrocities and agonies of Beirut, Shatila and Sabra, evoke nemories which underly the urgent need for the search of a comprehensive and lasting solution to the question of Palestine.
- 4. It is gratifying, therefore, to note that the United Nations is convinced and aware that a wider international recognition and understanding of the facts underlying the question of Palestine could lead to finding a just solution of the problem. As a testimony to that conviction, this African Regional Preparatory, Meeting is being held here to emphasize the need for a comprehensive effort to seek effective ways and means to enable the Palestinian people to attain and exercise their inalienable rights in their own homeland.
- 5. Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates, the agenda of your Meeting underlines the heavy responsibility that the International Community through the United Nations, has conferred upon you. When deliberating on the political and constitutional aspects, of the question of Palestine, you will be trying to contribute towards providing solutions pertinent to matters relating to the Palestinians' dispossession of their land, their right to return to their homeland, their national sovereignty, their right to peace and security in relation to their neighbours and the International Community at large, as well as their participation in the search for a lasting peace.

- 6. I hope Mr. Chairman that this Meeting will try to answer certain basic questions, which are basic and fundamental to human rights. Above all, I expect that the meeting will be prepared to face openly the central issue in the entire problem that is "why should the indigenous Arab Palestinians be uprooted?" Distinguished delegates should also see how one can account for the anomaly by which those who were once persecuted have now adopted the philosophy, practice and brutality of their erstwhile persecutors!
- 7. Constitutions and political models are expressions of the ideal in the minds of men. Their viability is validated by the practice in the context of internal and external developments of a State. But always what is supreme is the fact that constitutions and political models should embody the principles of justice, freedo and human rights.
- 8. So, your Meeting is a very challenging one. It is more so now when the notoriety and intransigence of Israel is being further buttressed and protected militarily and diplomatically by imperialism, not to mention her considerable high level of military sophistication and abundance; her misguided tactics of continued confrontation, repression and expulsions and the illusion of some section of the Western media which try to portray Israel as the "bastion of democracy" or the "champion of peace" in the Middle East. The mixture of all these irrationality complicates the search for a just and lasting solution and makes any real progress difficult and arduous.
- 9. The history of the Palestinian people is a history of a people with an unequalled will to survive and to preserve their national identity with an uncompromising courage to fight for their rights and an insatiable desire for victory. For over three decades now, the Palestinian people have not faltered, under the strong pressure from the enemy, in their quest for freedom and national sovereignty and for the return to their homeland. Let the will, the courage and the desire of the Palestinian People be the shining beacons on the road toward the realization of a just and comprehensive solution to the question of Palestine.
- 10. This African Regional Preparatory Meeting could also avail itself of the opportunity to examine in conjunction with the struggles of the Palestinian people with historical and contemporary features of the liberation struggles of the people of southern Africa.
- 11. After the political wind of change of the sixties, many of our countries achieved their independence. Years later however, it became evident that the prospects for freedom and independence in southern Africa were as remote as they seem now for the Palestinian people, thanks to the will, the courage and the desire for freedom and independence of the people of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe. Today, the borders of independent Africa have extended further south.
- 12. The struggles of the people of Namibia, may be of relevance to the struggles of the Palestinian people. The Namibian people are fighting the South African racist illegal occupation of their country. The people of Namibia, like the Palestinians want their freedom and independence. But the South African regime, the arch-collaborator and close companion of Israel is just as notorious and intransigent as that regime. The two co-operate and co-ordinate their activities closely and receive military and diplomatic support from the same powers.

- 13. Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates; can the South African occupation of Namibia and the continued Israel aggression against the Palestinian people be left to persist without jeopardizing the Universal principles of equal rights to self-determination?
- 14. The answer to the question could be a very simple one had it not been for the ambivalence and double standards used by some of the Powers, that champion democracy and human rights, among their own population, while they deny the same to the Palestinians and the Namibian people. The principles of the Human Rights Declaration are being abused without shame in Namibia, Palestine and elsewhere in the world, to suit the interests of these Powers.
- 15. In the spirit of the resolve of the United Nations to find a just solution to the question of Palestine, we believe a lot of ground will be covered by this meeting towards the realization of this noble objective. However elusive, or tantalizing the road towards the objective may seem to be, we believe we are on the right track if we will stand together and resolve to reach the goal. The causes of the Palestinian people, the people of Namibia, the majority of black South Africans and the oppressed people wherever they may be, basically need the understanding and sympathy of the International Community, and the support of the forces of the world. International peace and security is at stake until the Palestinian and Namibian questions are solved peacefully by the International Community.
- 16. Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates, as I declare open this African Regional Preparatory Meeting for the Conference on the Question of Palestine, I wish to pay renewed tribute to the United Nations, the General Assembly and the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for the unwavering dedication to the cause of the oppressed and embittered Palestinian people. It is my sincere hope that this meeting and the other Regional Preparatory Meetings will successfully achieve the dual objectives of increasing international awareness, of the facts relating to the problem of the Palestinians and thereby obtain African governmental and non-governmental support in the search for peace and a lasting solution to that area, that will enable the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights in Palestine on the basis of United Nations resolutions.
- 17. There is no doubt Mr. Chairman that a gathering like this, bringing together people from such diverse areas of practice and experience can be very useful in allowing experts exchange and compare experiences and review our existing situation so that some better workable and more practical solutions can be achieved.
- 16. In conclusion, I would like to give a warning that time is running out to solve these problems peacefully. It is the duty of every government and the International Community as a whole, who are genuinely interested in peace and security, to see that a satisfactory solution is found immediately to the problems confronting the Palestinian, Namibian and the majority of black South African peoples, in the interest of the suffering peoples of these countries as well as for the International Community.
- 19. With those remarks, Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Delegates, I now officially declare this Preparatory Meeting open.

ANNEX II

STATEMENT BY MINISTER SALIM AHMED SALIM

I am grateful for the honour you have done my country and my person in electime Chairman of this important Regional Meeting which will focus on the Political and Juridical aspects of the question of Palestine in preparation for the forthcoming International Conference on the burning issue of Palestine. In the next few days it shall be my privilege to work very closely with the officers of this meeting and you all in a determined endeavour to fulfil the objectives of this meeting and thus enable Arusha to make its own modest contribution to the success of the International Conference. The success of this meeting as indeed the success of the International Conference in Paris can only be ensured if in our deliberations we are able to come out with ideas, recommendations and decisions which will help to bring nearer the realization of the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

I wish at the very outset to echo the words of sincere pride and firm support expressed by Prime Minister Sokoine towards the heroic Palestinian people and their liberation movement — the Palestine Liberation Organization. In welcoming the PLO delegation to Arusha we welcome the representative of a tested and combatant people whose struggle and sacrifices have won the respect and admiration of us all. Indeed the fact that the question of Palestine is now at the forefront of our global preoccupations is undeniably due to the sacrifices, sweat and will of the Palestinian people.

The town of Arusha holds a special place in the history and in the life of this country for many reasons, not least of which is the privilege it exercises of hosting regular meetings of the OAU Liberation Committee. But rarely have we in Tanzania felt more acutely the tremendous historic honour that is ours today to welcome our African brothers and sisters and our colleagues of the United Nation and Agencies to express our combined support, solidarity and admiration for the Palestinian people and for the achievements of their unique and unsurpassed liberation struggle.

We pay tribute to the valiant and historic achievement of mere survival which the Palestinians have accomplished, under the leadership of the PLO, in the face of deliberate attempts to deny their identity as a people and indeed on some occasions as happened recently in Beirut to physically liquidate them. That the Palestinians, in the period of time, have moved from being a "forgotten people" to where they are now - on the conscience of the world - is a glorious achievement, the like of which is unsurpassed in the world's accumulated experience of liberation struggles.

The Palestinian people have shown an amazing capacity to survive. And despite the terrible ordeal of destruction and death which has been inflicted upon them since 1948, they have refused to be wished away.

Instead of losing themselves in the diaspora, they have preserved their authentic national consciousness and reinforced their cultural roots wherever they have found temporary refuge. Instead of stagnating in a self-pitying ghetto-mentality, they have liberated and revitalized the entire Arab world's awareness of the injustice done to it in the tragedy of Palestine. And above all, they have known how to transfer exile into an experience of renaissance and reconstruction which despite every massacre, every war, has reinforced their commitment and resilience and brought their just cause universal sympathy and support.

It is this very experience survival and rebirth that has brought about the evolution of the PLO, from its creation in 1964, to its supremacy as an authentic, united, democratic and people-based liberation movement which has led the entire Palestine nation from victory to victory against unimaginable odds.

It is because the PLO has been able to contain and channel the energy, resilience and determination of the Palestinian people that their cause is today and at last, being considered in its true context comprising the very core of the Middle East conflict.

The successes and achievements of the Palestinian Resistance, therefore, are not only manifest in their survival and consolidation as a nation <u>outside</u> their homeland. The PLO's struggle has also been aimed at destroying the lies, distortions and myths deliberately invented by its detractors in order to banish the Palestinian question initially to oblivion and subsequently, especially after the 1967 and 1973 wars, to the periphery of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Now, especially after the invasion and massacre, of Beirut, it should be clear to all that in the resolution of the Palestine problem, and specifically in the establishment of an independent Palestinian State, lies the only key to peace and stability in the Middle East.

The African liberation forces have long recognized the Palestinians as brothers-in-arms. The special history and nature of the liberation struggle in Africa has given us an acute awareness and appreciation of the motivation and achievements of this other contemporaneous liberation process to which we are linked in so many ways. And not the least of these links is the one between Israel and the apartheid regime. The solidarity that thus prevails between the Palestine and African liberation forces can only deepen as the struggle, in Africa and the Middle East, continues - to final victory.

However, there is one basic difference between the two liberation processes which it is vitally necessary for us all in Africa to recognize and acknowledge. Every independence movement, every liberation war in Africa against colonialism in the past, and against apartheid South Africa today, has been and is being carried out by Africans inside their own countries. Africans have had to fight for a return of their power over their own lands, never for a return of the

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very land itself. Their countries have never been taken away from them, only their rights and their lands. But the Palestinians have no homeland, let alone a base for their struggle. The Palestinians have had their country taken away from them and they themselves have been uprooted from their own homes. No Africa nation has known this deprivation. AFRICA therefore salutes the Palestinian fighters who have to fight not only for their freedom, but for the very earth beneath their feet.

These and other realities of the Palestinian people's just and noble struggle will feature in our deliberations here in Arusha. As we compare notes and consider the various recommendations to be adopted by our Regional Meeting it is important to bear in mind that the International Community and especially the United Nations has a great and inescapable responsibility to work uncompromisingly and without let for the redressing of the grave injustice done to the Palestinians more than 35 years ago.

The heroism of the Palestinian resistance, the martyrdom of some of its best sons and daughters as well as the compelling need for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East should bring home to us all the need for concerted international action. Let this African regional meeting, the first among the Regional Preparatory Meetings leave no stone unturned in making a contribution to that international action which we hope will be crystallized at the International Conference.

ANNEX III

STATEMENT BY SHAFIQ AL-HOUT, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

On behalf of Chairman Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and on behalf of the Palestinian people, I wish, at the outset of these very important African Regional Meetings in preparation for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, to salute you great African countries which are participating here today. We also welcome our brothers representing the Confrontation States who have just returned from their very important discussions in Lisbon, and extend to them our warmest greetings and solidarity in their struggle against the racist Apartheid regime in South Africa.

For us, it is significant that the convening of the African Regional Meeting be held here in Tanzania, a country with which we have had long-standing brotherly relations based on mutual cooperation and respect. We want to thank the government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania for their concern and for their dedication to the service of justice and peace. Let us salute now the great President Nyerere who, through his diligence, wisdom, vision and patriotism has developed this pluralistic society into a unified and progressive nation. And we view the inauguration by the Prime Minister as an augur to the success of this meeting. We want also to extend our warmest thanks to brother Minister Salim Salim, recognized as a longtime, devoted and principled friend of the Palestinian people.

At this time we would also like to recognize with profound appreciation, the hard work and dedication of Mrs. Lucille Mair, the Secretary-General for the International Conference, and the Secretariat who have been working with extreme concern and discipline to make the difficult tasks result fruitfully for all concerned. And, we would like to thank all those countries which have facilitated, in all ways the convening of these meetings.

We have looked forward to this meeting, both eagerly and solemnly. This is a time when we may examine with you more profoundly the roots of the, Palestine Question and its historic global relation to Africa. We thank the Secretariat for its preparation of documents which will be significant aids to understanding, in a principled and substantive manner, the plight of the Palestinian people. The documents prepared sepcifically for this meeting will reinforce and deepen the understanding of our brothers in Africa since they examine the question in contexts which are familiar to them; namely, in the context of decolonization, and with regard to South Africa.

One document compares liberation movements, and we believe this to be an extremely important topic, for there are many ways in which the struggle of African peoples and ours are the same. At the same time, it is valuable to examine the differences. In most countries, the liberation movement rises against the occupying imperialist power which seeks to exploit the native population, to harness the human and material resources for the benefit of the occupier. The Palestine Liberation Organization confronts an even greater

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challenge since the expressed aim of the Zionist colonizer is not to exploit the Palestinian people, but to completely eliminate him as a national, political and human entity.

Your have witnessed the genocidal aims of the Zionist movement. What happened this summer is the attempted fulfillment of the Israeli aim to liquidate the Palestinian people, to seize more land, and to disrupt the process of building regional unity and peace.

You have shared with us the cruelty and barbarity of the genocidal attacks against the Palestinian and Lebanese civilians this past summer. You have seen the false pretenses used by the Israelis to launch an unequalled invasion into the sovereign territory of a neighboring state. With American collusion and cooperation and all types of American support, the beautiful land of Lebanon became the testing ground of the most lethal, destructive and sophisticated instruments of death ever witnessed in the modern world. Palestinians and Lebanese suffered wounds heretofore unknown by any peoples in the world.

After 60,000 dead and wounded, 700,000 displaced, 17,000 prisoners taken and denied prisoner-of-war status, the United States has rewarded the Israelis for their inhumanity with a grant of 2.73 billion dollars for 1983 and an additional \$470,000,000 after the original grant. Over 7 1/2 million dollars per day will be bestowed upon the criminals to further expand their war machine. You, as African nations, resourceful and imaginative, understand your financial difficulties and realize what you could do with seven million dollars per day to increase the well-being and promote the cause of peace on your continent. The greed of the Zionist entity is unsurpassed in the modern world. They have recently requested a loan from South Africa to develop nuclear missiles, and that money was earned by the sweat and blood of our brothers in South Africa.

You have shared with us the horror of the Sabra and Shatila massacres. For many peoples of the world, this was the first time that they had witnessed such a cold-blooded massacre of the Palestinian people. For us, it was another, and undoubtedly one of the most extensive and gruesome, massacres against our people. The history of the Zionist movement is replete with the horrible details of massacres against the Palestinian people. In April 1948, the Stern gang perpetrated a massacre of 243 unarmed villagers in Dir Yassin, thereby instilling a panic and forcing Palestinians to flee their homeland. The Suez crisis began the same day as the Israeli massacre of villagers in Kafr Kassim. Whenever the Israelis fail to break the will of the Palestinian people, they resort to genocide.

If anyone of you has any doubt that the Question of Palestine has become a question of genocide of the Palestinian people, let us share with you the most recent horrifying news of the occupied homeland. From Jenin in the north to Hebron in the south, school children by the hundreds, have been poisoned - their water supply contaminated by Israeli settlers. Most shocking, and again remember genocide, medical tests taken on 250 schoolgirls suffering from this poison, have shown that this poison will permanently sterilize them.

We wish to stress again that it is a question of racism and denial of civil, political and human rights, including the right to life, vis-a-vis the Palestinian people, which is the basis of Zionism. And Zionism's historic and natural, though odious ally, is racism, best represented in political terms by apartheid in South Africa and military occupation and destabilization engineered by the regime in Pretoria, and blessed by the United States. The challenge is great, to Arab countries and to African countries to see that the decolonization process, that the struggle for liberation, that the creation of a world free of racism and repression does not stop at the borders of Namibia and South Africa nor at the ever expanding borders of the Zionist entity.

For that reason, and at this time especially, we wish to remind you of Chairman Yasser Arafat's statement to the Permanent Committee of Arab-African Cooperation wherein he recalled the objectives and resolutions of the Arab-African Summit Conference in Cairo, 1977. From this rostrum today we reaffirm the Palestine Liberation Organization's commitment to develop politically, scientifically and culturally sound and deep relations between our brotherly nations, and to fortify our joint economies so that we do not become prisoners of the powers that exploit. Only in this way can we develop a responsible stand for future generations.

As you know, the objectives of the Conference are two-fold. Firstly, it is designed to increase the awareness of the facts related to the Question of Palestine, and more importantly to win support for effective measures to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights to self-determination, to return to their homeland, and to establish an independent state. We have declared our acceptance of all UN resolutions related to the Question of Palestine. We have also declared our support for the unanimously adopted resolutions from the Fez Conference, embodied in the Arab Peace Plan, which we truly consider a basis for a just and comprehensive settlement of the problem. Careful reading of that plan reveals its feasibility, its fundamentally just basis, and its historical continuity and concurrence with the resolutions of the United Nations. We have enjoyed support given by the Non-Aligned nations to this plan and we are sure that these same members will solidify their support with concrete measures to facilitate the implementation of that plan, and here with you, brothers, we express our appreciation to all States represented here and make known our optimism that this meeting will serve in a very significant way to prepare all nations for assuming the tasks laid out for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine to be held this August in Paris.

ANNEX IV

MESSAGE TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE AFRICAN REGIONAL PREPARATORY
MEETING FROM MR. TARIQ AZIZ, VICE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

On the occasion of the convening of your meeting, it gives me pleasure to extend to you the best greeting, wishing your conference success, and to express to you our full solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people so that they may get their legitimate, national, inalienable rights.

The firm and principled position of Iraq under the leadership of militant President Saddam Hussein regarding the Palestinian cause characterized by the unlimited, complete support and backing to the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people for their legitimate rights as well as all the liberation movements in the world get the same support and backing.

The issue of the Palestinian people became a focus for interest of all peace and freedom-loving countries, and all good forces in the world as the catastrophe which the Palestinian Arab people faced and are still facing, as well as being threatened by genocide, gives evidence of the Zionist savagery and their inhumanitarian racism.

This meeting has been convened in the very complicated circumstances that the Palestinian question is going through, so after the admirable and heroic resistance of the Palestinian forces against the Zionist invasion of Lebanon and after the Zionists committed the massacre at the camps of Sabra and Shatila and causing tens of thousands of victims, still the Zionists are occupying Lebanese territories by clear support from the imperialists in an attempt to liquidate the Palestinian cause and strike the Arab struggle.

While we greatly appreciate your effective support for the Palestinian question and the struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of their legitimate sole representative (the PLO) against the racist Zionist entity, we emphasize that this struggle comes together and stress the struggle of the African people, against another savage racist regime, that is the southern African regime.

The victory will be at the end with the struggling people for their liberation and independence.

Finally, I would like to repeat my best wishes of success and welfare for your conference.

ANNEX V

MESSAGE FROM MR. ALHAJI YUSUFF MAITAMA-SULE, CHAIRMAN, SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

On behalf of the Special Committee, I wish the African Regional Preparatory Meeting success in contributing to the preparation of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine by highlighting the attachment of the African continent to the liberation struggles of the Palestinian people.

I am glad that the meeting will consider the collaboration between Israel and the racist regime of South Africa in all fields. The General Assembly has condemned this diabolical alliance which is directed against the peoples of the Middle East and southern Africa. The Special Committee has been following this subject for a long time and issued several reports on it.

The Special Committee has been following the collusion of Israel and South Africa with increasing concern. It regards the recent reports of agreements between Israel and the obnoxious regime in the so-called "independent" State of Ciskei as evidence of a new stage in this criminal collusion.

The Special Committee intends to organize an international conference this year for a thorough discussion of international action against Pretoria — Tel Aviv axis. It looks forward to effective participation in the International Conference on the Question of Palestine.

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ANNEX VI

MESSAGE FROM PROF. ADEBAYO ADEDEJI, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA, READ BY MR. MANIRAKIZA, DEPUTY EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA

It gives me great pleasure to address this august gathering at the Opening Session of the African Regional Preparatory Meeting on the Question of Palestine on behalf of Prof. Adebayo Adedeji, Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa.

Prof. Adedeji would have very much liked to attend this important Meeting in person. Prior and unavoidable commitments have denied him the pleasure of being among you today. May I, on his behalf, convey to you his warm greetings and sincere wishes that you will be able at the end of your deliberations to achieve the objectives of this Meeting fully.

I need not dwell here on the various aspects and the historical background to the issue nor on the need to find an urgent just solution to the problem of Palestine that would ensure the attainment of the inalienable legitimate rights of the Palestinian people including the right to self-determination and to establish an independent Palestinian State on the basis of United Nations resolutions. Your Regional Meeting, other Preparatory Meeting and the Internation Conference itself will deal with those issues in depth.

Significant, however, is the fact that at its thirty-seventh session, the General Assembly has adopted a host of important resolutions on the Question of Palestine and has decided through resolution 36/120 C of 10 December 1981 to convene the International Conference on the Question of Palestine in an effort to increase international awareness of the facts relating to the question, seek comprehensive ways and means to enable the Palestinian people to attain and to exercise their rights and set in motion agreed modalities for the implementation of agreed decisions. This is a clear cut demonstration of the positive role the United Nations is playing in ensuring a universal commitment by all member States to the achievement of a peaceful and just solution to the question within the framework of action adopted by the United Nations.

Your own meeting has been entrusted with the mandate of dealing with the political and juridical aspects which are at the very heart of the question, and your deliberations and final Report will have central significance for the Conference itself and its ability to arrive at feasible modalities for the solution of the question.

On behalf of the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for ifrica, the Commission and myself, I would like to wish you every success in your deliberations and a fruitful conclusion of the important and central tasks set before you.

I would like also to seize this opportunity, Mr. Chairman, to thank most heartily the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania and the people of this beautiful town Arusha for their kind hospitality.

ANNEX VII

MESSAGE FROM THE PANAFRICAN WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION

The Panafrican Women's Organization warmly greets the International Conference of Solidarity with the Palestinian People which will be held in Arusha from 29 March to 2 April 1983. On this occasion the Panafrican Women's Organization reiterates its unconditional support to the just struggle of the Palestinian people for the recovering of its inalienable rights. Wishes of success to the work of the Conference.

ANNEX VIII

MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, UNITED NATIONS, THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL, WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION AND SECRETARY-GENERAL, INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS COMMITTEE CONCERNING RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

The African Regional Preparatory Meeting of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, meeting in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, expresses its gravest concern at current developments in the Palestinian Arab territories illegally occupied by Israel.

Particular concern is felt regarding the report of the poisoning of schoolchildren in the Jenin and Hebron areas in the West Bank where some 300 schoolgirls have had to be hospitalized.

The African Regional Preparatory Meeting demands an immediate and impartial investigation into this incident by the World Health Organization and the International Red Cross.

The African Regional Preparatory Meeting considers such an urgent investigation necessary to establish the facts and to bring to an end a chain of events which could only exacerbate tensions and create a threat to peace and security.

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ANNEX IX

MESSAGE TO THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST <u>APARTHEID</u> ON THE OCCASION OF THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF ITS INCEPTION

On behalf of the African Regional Preparatory Meeting for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, meeting in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, we wish, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, to extend to you our warmest greetings and our appreciation for the outstanding role played by the Special Committee in discharging its responsibilities in defence of human dignity, freedom and equality for the people of South Africa.

The many activities undertaken to support the legitimate struggle of the South African people to eliminate the criminal system of <u>apartheid</u> and to exercise its inalienable rights have also helped to make the world aware of the horros of <u>apartheid</u>. These activities including in particular the Special Committee's support for the struggle of the South African national liberation movements have been crucial in the collective efforts of the international community to bring to an end the scourge of <u>apartheid</u> which the United Nations has rightly characterized as a crime against humanity.

We also wish to reaffirm the support of the participants in this African Regional Preparatory Meeting for the important efforts of the Special Committee Against Apartheid to bring about the implementation of fundamental rights of oppressed people in southern Africa.

The current Arusha meeting is considering the question of Palestine by highlighting the solidarity of the peoples and independent States of Africa to the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people. The participants are well aware of the collaboration that exists between the South African apartheid regime and Israel. Such collaboration is directed against the peoples of southern Africa and the Middle East.

The question of Palestine as well as the question of apartheid are of gravest concern to the international community because of the failure of all attempts made so far to bring about a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to the question of Palestine, the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict, as well as to bring about the end of apartheid. It is of critical importance to maintain and strengthen the unity of all members of the international community on these issues. With this in mind, we are looking forward to close co-operation with the Special Committee Against Apartheid in preparing for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine.

ANNEX X

MESSAGE TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE CONFERENCE ON NAMIBIA

The African Regional Preparatory Meeting for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, assembled at Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania from 29 March to 1 April 1983, being sensitive to the scars left on African states by colonialism and alien domination, convinced that any form of colonial oppression must be resisted by all available means, and cognizant of the fact that the struggles of the Palestinians and Namibians make them brothers-in-arms, asserts its profound and unwavering solidarity with the goals of the United Nations Conference on Namibia, scheduled to meet at the UNESCO Headquarters in Paris from 16 to 27 April 1983.

ANNEX XI

MOTION OF THANKS

The African Regional Preparatory Meeting, meeting in Arusha from 29 March to 1 April 1983,

- 1. Expresses its profound gratitude to the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania for hosting the meeting and for the excellent arrangements made for it, as well as for its generous hospitality.
- 2. Expresses particular appreciation to His Excellency E.M. Sokoine, Prime Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, for his personal concern and guidance.
- 3. Expresses its great appreciation for the contribution made by His Excellency, S.A. Salim, Foreign Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania in his capacity as Chairman of the Meeting.
- 4. Commends the Government and the people of the United Republic of Tanzania for their support of the struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of its authentic representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, for the exercise of its inalienable rights in Palestine.

ANNEX XII

CONCLUDING STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN, H.E. SALIM A. SALIM, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

We have now reached the last stage of this meeting, the concluding moments of three days of a most valuable and constructive interchange of ideas and experiences on the Question of Palestine, an interchange during which we have had the opportunity of listening to the first-hand and moving entributions of our Palestinian brothers. Let me, on your behalf, especially thank them for thus enriching our knowledge of their plight and strengthening our engagement to their cause.

This meeting has also been privileged in receiving at the outset of its deliberations the pertinent and thought-provoking inaugural address made by the Prime Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, Ndugu Sokoine. In particular, I feel that the urgency of the Prime Minister's appeal for the need for a just and immediate solution to the problem of Palestinian dispossession has exactly underscored the emphasis that we, in all the countries of our continent, now give to this subject. I also believe that the quality of our discussions and the seriousness of our contributions undoubtedly reflect this meeting's awareness of, and response to, the challenges that confront the international community on this question.

It is not a mere coincidence that the United Nations' first Regional Preparatory Meeting for the International Conference on the Question of Palestine has been held in Africa. We, in Africa, consider it significant and entirely appropriate that we have been called upon to initiate this series of meetings, for we are acutely aware of the responsibility that is ours, and that of the other Member States of the United Nations, to spare no effort in bringing justice and humanity and peace back to Palestine.

Africa understands the aspirations of the Palestinian people and shares their struggle for the recovery of their homeland because of her own burning experience — as yet incomplete — of similar subjugation and suffering. African people are linked in history to their Arab brothers inter alia because of this shared passage through political domination and cultural alienation. But Africa is also linked in destiny to the Arab world becuase of the dawn of freedom and renewal which awaits the struggling people of Palestine, Namibia and South Africa. They SHALL ALL OVERCOME because of the commitment and sacrifice that has been collectively made by the people of the African—Arab world for the liberation of their oppressed brethren. Justice to the Palestinians, justice to the Namibians and South Africans, cannot be denied — it can only be delayed and the longer that moment to final victory, the stronger the bonds of solidarity and affinity between them.

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And it is here, at this moment of our common history, our common struggle, that the Palestinian brothers have come to share with us the facts of their terrible suffering and the lessons of their historic resistance. It is vitally important for us, as African states and as African liberation movements standing behind them, to understand, exchange and make use of the combined experience of our two struggles.

Our deliberations here in Arusha have drawn on these experiences and on Recommendations to the International Conference to be held in August, therefore, reflect the preoccupation and priorities that we, together, consider must be satisfied in order to achieve the just resolution of the conflict of the Middle East region in general and of the Palestinian question in particular.

One of the most significant points of this process of sharing and exchanging continuing between the African and Arab struggles was witnessed by us all two days ago, at the solidarity rally organized by the people of Arusha under the leadership of the Youth Organization of CCM. The fact that citizens in their thousands came together to express their brotherly feelings of sympathy and solidarity for the cause of Palestine and in support of the PLO demonstrates in a most important way the unity of purpose that links not merely our governments but the people themselves in this struggle.

Distinguished Delegates, we have worked hard during the past days to elaborate relevant and action-oriented Recommendations for consideration in Paris later this year. However, I believe that some of these need not wait until August but can be given effect as soon as possible. And here I have in mind especially the recommendations to grant diplomatic status to PLO representatives in African countries and to establish Solidarity Committees at national levels so as to permit fruitful contacts between our students, youth movements, women, workers and their Palestinian counterparts.

At this point, I would like to mention a problem which has consistently been faced by both the African liberation movements and the PLO in connexion with the dissemination of information concerning the true facts of their struggles and their objectives. This problem has on occasions been referred to as the "conspiracy of silence" on the part of some sections of the media. It is the obvious that the role of the media is immensely vital in the propagation of the truth concerning the sufferings and the ultimate goals of these movements who have hardly any serious means of communication at their disposal.

In particular, the Department of Public Information should take specific steps in the preparation of the Managua and subsequent regional meetings, and above all the International Conference itself and do its utmost to inform regional and world media representatives as well as to sensitize public opinion in all aspects of the Palestine Question.

I would therefore like to recommend, Madam Secretary-General, that your Secretariat makes use of all the means at its disposal within the vast United Nations network itself - to publicize these meetings well in advance, to report on the specific events and activities taking place during the meetings and to make known in detail the deliberations and the recommendations arrived at.

Finally, allow me to express my sincere thanks to all of the delegates and observers who have come to Arusha to participate in this meeting. I wish also to thank my colleagues - the Vice-Chairmen, Ambassador Bouzarbia of Algeria, Ambassador Emanuel Ndahimana, Ambassador Liswaniso of Zambia as well as the Rapporteur, Ambassador Camara of Senegal for their co-operation and assistance in guiding our meeting. My special appreciation and gratitude goes to Mrs. Lucille Mair, the distinguished Secretary-General of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, the Committee Secretary, Mrs. Leonora Kracht and all the dedicated colleagues of the Secretariat who through their untiring efforts have contributed enormously to the success of our meeting. Last but not least, I want to thank all the other members of the Secretariat, the Conference Officer, Interpreters, Translators, as well as the local staff, for their contributions to the fruitful outcome of the first regional preparatory meeting of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine.

I wish those of us who are not travelling immediately a most pleasant stay in Arusha and a safe journey to you all.

ANNEX XIII

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

A. Participating States

ALGERIA

H.E. Mohammed-Tahar BOUZARBIA, Ambassador to the United Republic of Tanzania

COMOROS

Mr. Amin Ali MOUMIN, Director for Political Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

EGYPT

Dr. Taha FARNAWANY, Director, Palestine Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs H.E. Ahmed HAGGAG, Ambassador to Kenya

GUINEA

Mr. Falilou BAH, Counsellor, Embassy to the United Republic of Tanzania
KENYA

Mr. Francis KASINA, Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations Mr. James SIMANI, Senior Assistant Secretary

MADAGASCAR

Mr. Mdalson RABEFIARO, Chargé d'Affaires, Embassy to the United Republic of Tanzania

MOROCCO

Mr. Mohamed NACIRI

MAURITANIA

H.E. Aly KAMARA, Ambassador

NIGERIA

Mr. M. J. M. BRAIDE, Chargé d'Affaires a.i. Mr. Azu Chris ALIGBE, Second Secretary, Embassy to the United Republic of Tanzania Mr. G. O. AGAMAH, Third Secretary, Permanent Mission to the United Nations

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RWANDA

H.E. Emmanuel NDAHIMANA, Ambassador to the United Republic of Tanzania Mr. Jean-Barco BARAYAGWIZA, Director-General for Political Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

SENEGAL

H.E. Latyr KAMARA, Ambassador to Ethiopia

SOMALIA

Mr. Mohamed A. ALIM, Chargé d'Affaires, Embassy to the United Republic of Tanzania

SUDAN

H.E. Mustafa KAMAL, Ambassador to the United Republic of Tanzania Mr. Abd Alla Khidir BASHEIR, Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Mr. Mohamed Hassan AWAD, First Secretary, Embassy to the United Republic of Tanzania

TOGO

Mr. Koffi ESAW, Chargé d'Affaires, Embassy to Zimbabwe

UGANDA

Mr. Paul OTITI-OMULE, Liaison Office to the United Republic of Tanzania Mr. S. T. BICOMBE, Director, Africa Desk, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

H.E. Salim Ahmad SALIM, Minister for Foreign Affairs

Mr. James L. KATEKA, Minister Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. Peter NJIKU, Second Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. William M. C. MBATIA, Liaison Officer

Mr. Ali Amer MOHAMED

Mr. Makwaia KUHENGA

ZAMBIA

H.E. M. M. LISWANISO, High Commissioner to the United Republic of Tanzania Mr. N. H. B. CHIME, Defence Attaché

ZIMBABWE

Mr. Peter SIBANDA, High Commissioner to the United Republic of Tanzania

B. States represented by observers

CUBA

Mr. Joaquin GUERRA, Embassy to the United Republic of Tanzania
IRAQ

H.E. Abdul Wadood SHEKHLY, Ambassador to the United Republic of Tanzania
SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

Mr. Jamal JABER, Minister Plenipotentiary, Embassy to the United Republic of Tanzania

C. Palestine Liberation Organization

Mr. Shafik AL HOUT, Member of Central Council

Mr. Abdelaziz ABOUGOSH, Representative in the United Republic of Tanzania

Mr. Zehdi TERZI, Permanent Observer to the United Nations

Mr. Yousef ZAGLOOL, Second Secretary

Mr. Mohammed MAROUF

Ms. Deena ABU LUGHOD

D. United Nations Secretariat

United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)

Mr. Walid SHERIF

United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)

Mr. Saad K. HENEIN, Senior Industrial Development Adviser

E. United Nations bodies

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

Mr. Abdallah B. M. SAIED, Representative to Tanzania

F. United Nations councils, commissions and committees

Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People

Mr. M. J. M. BRAIDE, Nigeria

Mr. Falilou BAH, Guinea

Mr. Zehdi TERZI, PLO

G. Intergovernmental organizations

Organization of African Unity

Mr. Frank NZENGA, Director of Political Department

League of Arab States

Mr. Gamil MATTAR, Vice-Director for Palestinian Affairs

H. Liberation movements

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

Mr. Edmund JIYANE, Officer, Information Department

Non-governmental organizations

Palestine Solidarity Committee, United Republic of Tanzania

Dr. Haroub OTHMAN, Chairman

African Bar Association

- Mr. Lee Gacuiga MUTHOGA, Chairman
- Mr. Juma MAWALLA, Assistant Secretary-General
- Mr. Colman Mark NGALO, Executive Member

J. Secretariat of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine

Mrs. Lucille MAIR, Secretary-General of the Conference

Mrs. Rasil BASU, Principal Officer, Secretariat of the Conference

Mrs. Leonora KRACHT, Secretary of the Meeting

Mr. Yogaraj YOGASUNDRAM, Chief, Division for Palestinian Rights