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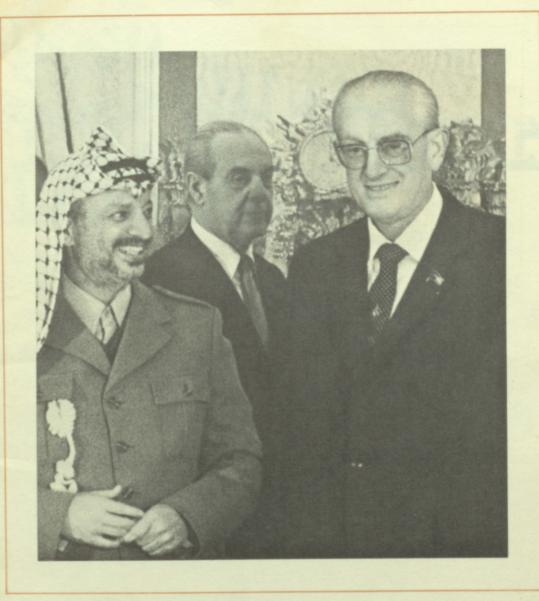


The Soviet Union will continue with all perseverance its struggle for a just and durable peace in the Middle East whereby the Palestinian people, under the leadership of its militant vanguard and sole legitimate representative—the Palestine Liberation Organisation—can exercise its inalienable right of self-determination and create its own state.

From a message of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation Yasser Arafat

November 29, 1982

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Frequent meetings and talks between Soviet and Palestinian leaders help strengthen Soviet-Palestinian friendship. Photo: A friendly meeting between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yuri Andropov and PLO leader Yasser Arafat in the Kremlin, Moscow, January 12, 1983.

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USSR SUPPORTFOR UMEAND PROPUE OF PAULSIINE

A TRAGEDY WHICH MUST BE ENDED

Genuine patriotism always inspires respect in those who have love for their own land. For Soviet people, patriots and internationalists, attachment to one's homeland, a deep feeling of having a homeland of one's own, is a sign of sincerity and thoughtfulness in a person, and evokes a sympathetic response.

The Soviet people, who experienced the horrors of the war against the Nazi invaders, and who lost 20 million fellow citizens in that war, share the feelings of the Palestinians, who have been robbed of their

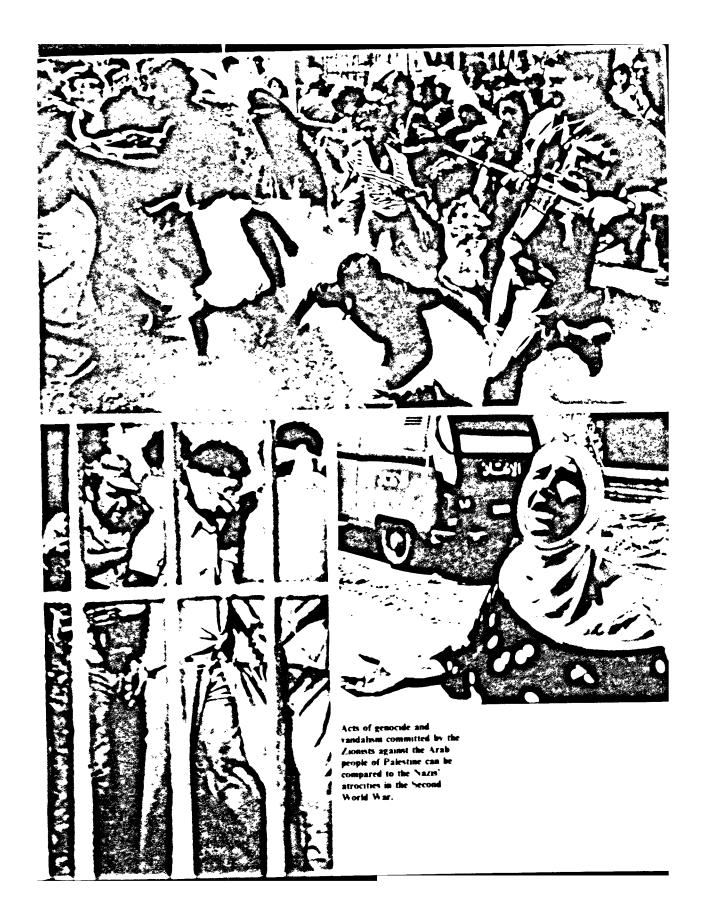
FATHERLAND, bathed in the sweat of their ancestors and now trodden by the boots of the Israeli invaders.

What the more than four-million-strong Arab people of Palestine is experiencing is a real tragedy, a tragedy lasting many years, unending and ever growing. There is already a generation of Palestinians who have never seen the citrus gardens and groves of Jericho and the holy places of Jerusalem. But it has become the difficult but noble mission of this generation to assert the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to self-determination and the establishment of their own state. To this day this right is denied to them by the Zionists and their accomplices in Washington, who contend that the Palestinians as such do not exist and that, moreover, with the establishment of Israel the word "Palestine" disappeared from the geographical and political vocabularies. This mendacious and chauvinist approach has nothing in common with the real state of affairs.

Last year was the 35th anniversary of the adoption by the United Nations of a decision

providing for the establishment on the former mandated territory of Palestine of two sovereign states -an Arab one and a Jewish one. This decision has never been annulled, nor has anyone the right to annul it. Last year was also the 35th anniversary of the beginning of the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for the establishment of their own state. It is only through the fault of the imperialists and Zionists that this state has not been established to this day. The Zionists, aided by US imperialism, evicted hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their land and launched a policy of veritable genocide whose bloody symbols were the massacres of defenceless old people, women and children perpetrated in the course of all these years—from Deir Yassin in 1948 to Sabra and Shatila in 1982. But the Palestinians have not been broken. The Palestinians fight on. The Palestinians will win!

The just cause of the Palestinians is gaining growing support in the world. The Palestine Liberation Organisation, recognized by the world community as the sole lawful representative of the Palestinian people, is enjoying ever greater respect and authority. More and more states, politicians and public figures believe that the solution of the Palestine problem on a just basis is the principal condition for normalisation of the situation in the Middle East, for the elimination there of a very dangerous seat of international tension. The voice of the international public demanding an end to the tragedy of the Arab people of Palestine rings out ever louder.

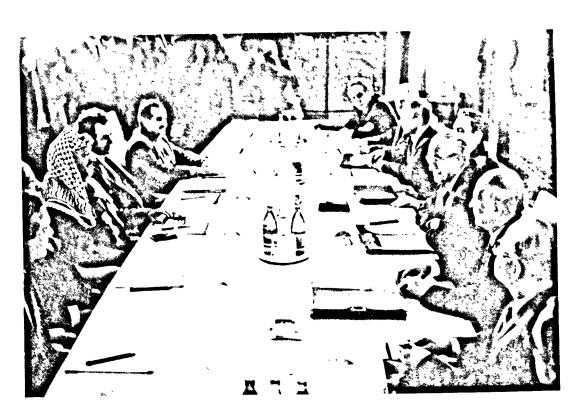






INVARIABLE SUPPORT FOR THE RIGHTFUL CAUSE OF THE PALESTINIANS

This expresses in brief the Soviet Union's principled position on the Palestine question. Its policy of giving every possible support to the just cause of the Palestinians and their right to the establishment of their own state



At the friendly meeting between Yuri Andropov and other Soviet leaders and a PLO delegation headed by Yasser Arafat on January 12, 1983, it was once again stated that the USSR would continue to support the Palestinian people's struggle for their inalienable rights.

has been repeatedly reaffirmed at congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in all Soviet official documents connected with the problem of a Middle East settlement. The Soviet Union holds that THERE CAN BE NO MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT WITHOUT THE SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINE PROBLEM, WHICH REQUIRES THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANISATION, THE SOLE LAWFUL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE.

The moral, political, economic and other support given by the USSR to the Arab people of Palestine is extensive and varied. It has been rendered in the course of many years and on a growing scale. This support is felt by the Palestinian representatives at the United Nations and at other international organisations, by the Palestinians studying in Soviet higher, secondary and military educational establishments, by the Palestinian women and children who know that the Soviet people are their friends and are always ready to help them with food, clothing and medicines, and by the combatants of the armed units of the Palestinian resistance movement, for they fight with Soviet-made weapons.

A spirit of genuine friendship characterises the relations between the Soviet and Palestinian peoples and their leaders. This friendship is neither accidental nor superficial. It rests not on transient interests, but on a mutual striving to assert the elementary rights of peoples to independence and national and social emancipation. An important contribution to the strengthening of Soviet-Palestinian friendship is made by meetings and talks between Soviet and Palestinian leaders, which have become a good tradition.

The principled policy of the USSR and the PLO of promoting friendship and cooperation was again reaffirmed in the course of

the friendly meeting between Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and a PLO delegation led by Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, which took place on January 12, 1983. The joint Soviet-Palestinian communique noted: "The Soviet side has stated that the USSR will in the future continue firmly to support the struggle of the Palestinian people to assert its inalienable national rights, to establish a just peace in the Middle East." For his part, Yasser Arafat expressed, on behalf of the Palestinian people and the PLO leadership, "deep gratitude to the Soviet Union for its unselfish support, which is an important factor in the struggle of Palestinian patriots against the Israeli aggressor".

THE SOVIET PROGRAMME FOR A JUST PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The USSR holds that a just and stable peace in the Middle East can and must be based on the following principles, which conform to both universal standards of international law and the concrete decisions of the UN Security Council and General Assembly on this problem.

1

The principle of the inadmissibility of the seizure of other people's land by means of aggression must be strictly observed. This means that all territories occupied by Israel since 1967—the Golan Heights, the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza Strip, and Lebanese lands—must be returned to the Arabs. The borders between Israel and its Arab neighbours must be declared inviolable.

2

The inalienable right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the creation of their own independent state on Palestinian lands freed from Israeli occupation—on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip—must be ensured in

practice. The Palestinian refugees must be given the opportunity, envisaged by decisions of the United Nations, of returning to their homes or receiving appropriate compensation for the property left behind by them.

3

The eastern part of Jerusalem, which was occupied by Israel in 1967 and is the site of one of the main Muslim sacred places, must be returned to the Arabs and become an inalienable part of the Palestinian state. The freedom of access of believers to the revered places of the three religions must be ensured throughout Jerusalem.

4

The right of all states of the region to safe and independent existence and development must be ensured—naturally, on the basis of complete reciprocity, for it is impossible to ensure the security of some peoples by trampling underfoot that of others.

5

The state of war must be terminated and peace established between the Arab states and Israel. This means that all the sides in the conflict, including Israel and the Palestinian state, must assume an obligation to respect each other's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and to solve disputes by peaceful means, through negotiations.

6

International guarantees of the settlement must be worked out and adopted. The role of guarantor could be assumed by the permanent members of the UN Security Council or by the Security Council as a whole.

Naturally, such an all-embracing, truly just and really lasting settlement can be worked out and implemented only through the collective efforts of all interested sides, which must unfailingly include the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the sole lawful representative of the Arab people of Palestine. This is precisely the settlement envisaged by the Soviet proposal on convening an international conference on the Middle East, which has received wide international support.

It should be noted that the Soviet programme for a just peace in the Middle East has been welcomed in the Arab world. On December 3, 1982, in Moscow Yuri Andropov and other Soviet leaders met an Arab delegation representing the Committee of Seven set up at the 12th conference of the heads of state and government of Arab countries in Fez to promote contacts with the permanent members of the UN Security Council (the dele-

gation included King Hussein Ibn Talal of Jordan, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Syria Abdel Halim Khaddam, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia Saoud Ibn Faysal, State Minister for Foreign Affairs of Morocco M. Ahmed Boucetta, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Jordan Marwan al-Oassem, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Tunisia Bedji Caid es-Sebsi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, member of the Executive Committee of the PLO M. Abbas, and General Secretary of the Arab League Sh. Klibi). At the meeting it was noted with satisfaction that the Soviet Union's approach to the problem of a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East was VIRTUALLY **IDENTICAL** with the principles of such a settlement endorsed by the conference in Fez. It should also be noted that the Soviet programme for a just peace in the Middle East also met with approval at the 16th session of the Palestine National Council held in February 1983. The political resolution adopted at that session pointed out, among other things, that the Palestine National Council thought highly of and supported the Soviet proposals on a Middle East settlement. All this provides solid ground for wideranging well-coordinated actions that will go a long way towards a genuine peace in this part of the world.

FRIENDS FOR BETTER AND FOR WORSE

A friend in need is a friend indeed, as the saying goes. A loyal friend of the Arab people of Palestine, the Soviet Union, in their most trying days did everything it could to help the Palestinian patriots. A good example of this is the stand taken by the Soviet Union on Israel's plunder in Lebanon.

Immediately when Israel invaded Lebanon, the Soviet Union denounced the action as criminal. The TASS Statement of June 8 and the Soviet Government's Statement of June 15, 1982, said that Tel Aviv had embarked upon a criminal path of genocide in an attempt to put a bloody end to the struggle of the Palestinian people for their freedom and independence. The statements pointed to Washington's complicity in the Israeli aggression and stressed that Israel's attack on a sovereign Arab nation was the product of the "strategic cooperation" between the US and Israel and also of the Camp David policy of separate deals. The Soviet Union demanded that the aggressor withdraw its troops to its own territory. It also insisted that urgent measures be taken to end the aggression in line with the relevant decisions of the UN Security Council. In one of its messages to the US President the Soviet government said that the tragedy of Lebanon would always remain an indelible stain on the conscience of those who could have stopped the aggression but did not do so.

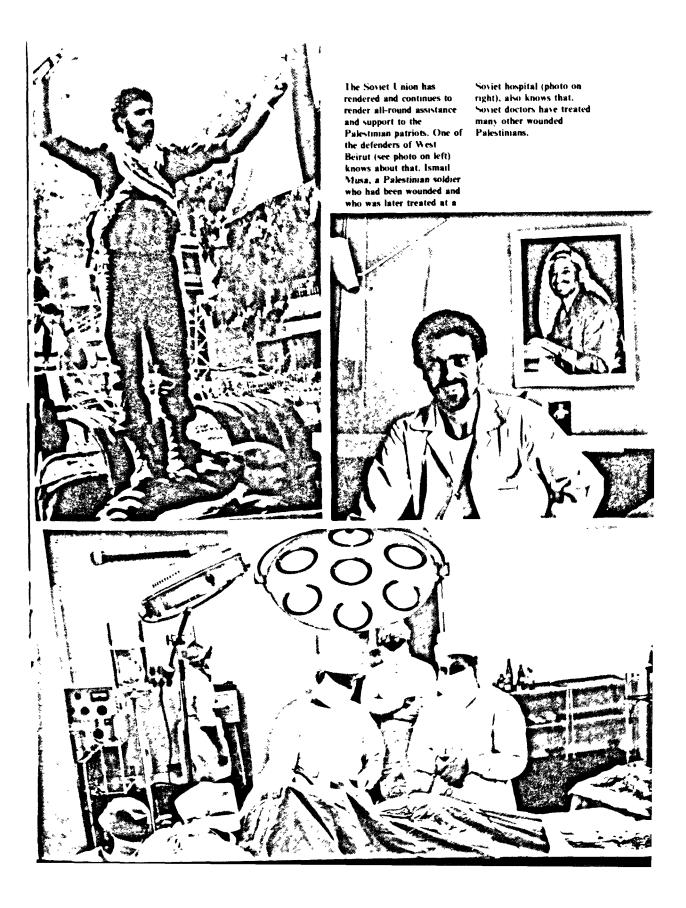
The Israeli military, however, with Washington's blessing, captured West Beirut, after the Palestinian soldiers had already left the city, and engineered a bloodbath which sent shudders through the whole world. The Soviet Union condemned these barbarous actions of the Zionist aggressor and proposed that THE POWERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, VESTED IN IT UNDER THE

UN CHARTER, BE EXERCISED IN FULL IN ORDER TO CURB THE AGGRESSOR, INCLUDING THE USE OF THE UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE AND SANCTIONS PROVIDED FOR BY THE SAME CHARTER.

Had it not been for these strongly worded statements of the Soviet Union against Israel's aggression and in support of a political settlement of the crisis, the situation in the Middle East would, undoubtedly, be still more critical and explosive. The Soviet Union's firm stand made it still more abundantly clear to the whole world that no stable and just Middle East settlement can be achieved by overt or covert connivance with the aggressor and by separate deals and machinations.

The Soviet Union's efforts to halt Israeli aggression, to support those who took up arms to repulse it, are well thought of by the Arab world and by the Palestinian patriots. In his message to the Soviet leaders, Yasser Arafat wrote that the Soviet Union is rendering this support in conditions which are very complicated for both the Palestinian revolution and the Palestinian nation. "Our people," he went on, "who are continuing their struggle, shall never forget this assistance..."

Israel's brazen aggression in Lebanon set off a storm of public indignation throughout the Soviet Union where people protested against the barbarity of the Israeli occupationists and against the hypocrisy of their protectors in Washington. The Soviet people followed up their words with deeds. At the most difficult time for the defenders of West Beirut, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. acting in accordance with the desire of all its 130 million members, sent a large consignment of medicines to the soldiers of the Palestine resistance movement. Guided by the principles of international solidarity with the Palestinian people suffering at the hands of the Israeli aggressors, the Soviet Red Cross Society, the Soviet Peace Fund and the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, sent





a medical team to Syria in the autumn of 1982. At the same time the Soviet Red Cross Society and the Ministry of Health of the USSR had a group of wounded Palestinians come to the Soviet Union for treatment. A warm welcome was extended in the Soviet Union to a group of Palestinian children and young people who went there to take

It would be no exaggeration to say that ALL SOVIET PEOPLE support the rightful cause of the Arab people of Palestine. Solidarity with the Palestinian patriots has been voiced by such large organisations in the USSR as the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the Soviet Women's Committee, the Committee of Youth Organisations of the USSR, the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, and others. An important contribution to the development of Soviet-Palestinian relations and to the expansion of the movement of solidarity with the Palestinian people has been made by the Committee of Friendship and Solidarity with the Arab People of Palestine. On the initiative of this committee (of which scientists and cultural figures, workers, office employees and students are members), numerous meetings of solidarity with the Palestinian patriots, public lectures, film shows and exhibitions are held. We would like to emphasise that such actions are just a small drop in the ocean of the much wider movement of the Soviet people in support of the just struggle of the Palestinians.

The movement of solidarity with the Palestinian patriots is growing to truly nationwide proportions. Thousands of letters and telegrams are sent to the Soviet Committee of Friendship and Solidarity with the Arab People of Palestine, other public organisations, the offices of newspapers and magazines from workers, office employees, school pupils and college students, from Soviet soldiers and pensioners. This is what they write:

"We workers and office employees at the machine-building plant in Mytishchi, together with all Soviet people, admire the heroism and courage of the soldiers of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in their struggle against Israeli aggression in Lebanon. It is no evaggeration to say that the Palestinian patriots, all those who defended Lebanon and West Beirut, have written one of the most glorious pages in the history of the Arab national liberation movement..."

(Excerpt from a letter to the newspaper Trud, September 1982)

"As a veteran of the Great Patriotic War I feel very keenly about the sorrows and sufferings of the Palestinian people. I saw for myself the brutality of the Nazi invaders. It makes one shudder to read newspaper reports of the Zionists mercilessly killing old folk, women and children, exterminating the whole Palestinian nation in cold blood. I firmly believe that the acts of genocide and vandalism committed by the Israeli soldiers in Lebanon, particularly the massacres at the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila, the imprisonment of thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese in Nazi-style camps where their captors refuse to treat them as POWs, are no different from the crimes committed by the Nazis during the Second World War."

> S Morozov, pensioner from the town of Shakhty (excerpt from his letter to the Soviet Committee of Friendship and Solidarity with the Arab People of Palestine)

"...It is high time Washington abandoned its fruitless attempts to impose upon the Arabs its separate deals, including the so-called Reagan plan aimed at preventing the creation of a Palestinian state and at keeping the PLO out of a Middle East settlement...

"We are convinced that the responsibility for the crimes committed by the Israeli barbarians in Lebanon should be shared in full by the United States, which is arming and financing the aggressor and providing political cover for it..."

(Excerpt from a letter sent by a group of students of Arab studies at the Institute of Asian and African Countries at Moscow University to the newspaper *Pravda*).

There are many more such letters and telegrams whose authors express their admiration for the heroism of the Palestinian patriots, their sincere feelings of solidarity with them, their belief and conviction that the Palestinian people, who are fighting for their rightful cause, are invincible, that their selfless struggle will be crowned with success, and that the Arab people of Palestine will regain their homeland. The Soviet Union, all Soviet people always support the heroic Palestinian people in this struggle.



The Soviet Union will continue with all perseverance its struggle for a just and durable peace in the Middle East whereby the Palestinian people, under the leadership of its militant vanguard and sole legitimate representative—the Palestine Liberation Organisation—can exercise its inalienable right of self-determination and create its own state.

From a message of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation Yasser Arafat

November 29, 1982

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From a message of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation Yasser Arafat November 29, 1982