

CHAPTER – IV

RIGHTS OF STATELESS PALESTINIAN REFUGEES

The host country themselves under developed and unable to provide jobs for their own people, simply could not cope up with hundred of thousand of refugees. The Palestinian did not wish to assimilate in the host countries. Agreements between UNRWA and Arab host countries could not be reached because of objection by the Palestinian refugees. Knowing that they were the victims of injustice, they insisted that they wanted to return to their country.

The 1948 refugees expected to return to their homes within the days or weeks. Many of them moved in with relatives or rented temporary accommodation in towns. Those who had nowhere to go squatted under trees in the country side or on the outskirts of towns as close as possible to their region of origin. Most of them were villagers, often clusters of relatives and neighbours, who camped together for mutual protection. As it became clear that the refugee would not return to their homes in foreseeable future, the emphasis gradually shifted towards rehabilitation. In this connection housing and education were the two areas of priority. Permanent houses would induce the refugee to settle in the new surroundings, while education would facilitate their integration in the local economy or elsewhere in the Arab world¹

In general, the rights of refugees are covered by the UN Convention of 1957 and 1967 on the Status of Refugees. But in case of Palestinians an

exception has been made. Those Palestinian refugees falling within the UNRWA mandate have been excluded from the jurisdiction of the UNHCR. In effect, this meant that UNHCR does not concern itself with Palestinian Refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, West Bank and Gaza Strip although; it may assist Palestinian refugees outside the UNRWA mandate. As a result, the Palestinian refugees under the jurisdiction of UNRWA and residing in its area of operation lack both the protection provided by the UN Convention and International Protection provided by the UNHCR.²

This exception proved a serious obstacle for Palestinian refugees who had resided in one of the UNRWA'S area of operation and then elsewhere attempted to seek asylum and protection as refugees. A number of Western countries, for instance, interpreted the article very restrictively, maintaining that Palestinian previously resident in one of UNRWA area of operation can not benefit from the 1951 Convention unless they on prove either that UNRWA had ceased to assist them or that they were no longer allowed to stay in the area concerned. Consequently, very few Palestinians have been able to obtain full refugee status in Europe or North America.³

The other instrument that deals with the rights of Palestinian refugees include the UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948), the Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons (1954), the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights (1966) and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966). These instruments clearly deals with the Human and Civil Rights of Palestinian and

other refugees. While most host governments have officially accepted these covenants, they have failed to abide by them and to integrate their national laws.⁴

Another instruments which deals with the basic rights of Palestinian refugees is the Casablanca Protocol, which the League of Arab States adopted in 1965. This protocol is relevant in particular to the rights of the Palestinian refugees to work to enjoy freedom of movement and full residency status. The Casablanca Protocol was followed by numerous collective and individual resolutions taken by Arab states reiterating the same positions. Most host Arab status including Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Iraq and more recently Yemen issued the Palestinians with Special Refugees Documents (RDs). Most of the Arab states do not appear to uphold this principle and many such as Lebanon and Gulf States never fully implemented the 1965. Protocol others such as Egypt, did so inconsistently.⁵ Between 1970 and 1973, the UN General Assembly adopted a number of resolutions in which Palestinian rights in the context of the charter were given in detail. They can be summed up as follows.

1. The Palestinian Arab refugees constitutes a people who have inalienable rights under the Charter and Declaration of Human Rights.⁶
2. The people of Palestinian are entitled to self-determination and equal rights.⁷
3. The rights of the newly displaced persons after 1967 to return immediately to their homes.⁸

4. The right of refugees to repatriation or compensation.⁹
5. The full respect of these rights and their realisation is a condition for the establishment of just and lasting peace in the Middle East.¹⁰

Residency Status of Palestinian Refugees:-

The Arab state do not grant to a foreigner full residency status which includes either naturalization or permission to remain indefinitely. As for the progeny of foreigner neither prolonged stay nor birth in the country is considered a valid basis for claiming residency status or nationality. In case of Palestinians most countries have special provisions prohibiting naturalization on political grounds and in accordance with Arab League Resolutions. Furthermore, marriage to a female citizen of a country does not constitute grounds for acquiring nationality or special residency rights either for husband who is not a national or the resulting children.¹¹ Jordan is only country which gave the refugees full residency status and full citizenship. Those who wanted to travel abroad could obtain Jordanian passport and the freedom of movement and employment is not restricted in the host countries.

Very small numbers of Palestinian in Syria, Egypt and Lebanon managed to acquire the residency status, and those who did were mainly from families who had settled there before 1948. In Syria, the government established its own organisation, the Palestine Arab Refugee Institute, which deals with the problems of Palestinian economically as well as politically.¹² In Lebanon, the Palestinian who took refuge lived in legal void. They were not longer enjoyed the residency status. A small number of Christian

Palestinians were able to acquire residency status in 1950 and 1960s through devious means such as producing forged birth certificate or a Christians Lebanese family connections¹³ In Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states, few families were granted nationality as acknowledgment of their long and special services to these countries¹⁴

The Palestinians remaining in the Occupied Territories after the 1967 war were registered in the Israeli census of 1967 as "Foreign residents" rather than citizens. An estimated 150,000 Palestinian have lost their residency rights since 1967 as a result of Israeli restrictions including time limit for reentry for Palestinian who leave the country¹⁵ Palestinians often do not travel abroad for fear of being denied re-entry to the Gaza strip or the West Bank. Israeli authorities do not permit adult Palestinians male traveling to Jordan to return within nine months, yet, forbid them from returning permanently if they spend more than three years abroad. The Arab states continue to insist on the unconditional return all displaced persons from the West Bank and Gaza Strip regardless of the particular circumstances of their displacement. The Israeli willingness to consider allowing the return of displaced persons is much narrower and Israeli officials are adamant in their refusal to consider re-admitting persons who had been expelled for political or security reasons¹⁶ Insecure residency status in the country of first refuge has become a major problem for those who left the Occupied Territories or Arab host countries for work in the Gulf States Libya or elsewhere¹⁷

Rights to return:

The right to return is regarded as the natural, inalienable rights of every Palestinian refugee to return to his home or if he wishes, to be compensated and remain elsewhere. Only in the case of criminals was its denial regarded as a justifiable punishment, exile or banishment being regarded as one of the more severe penalties. The right of individual to return home was taken as a corollary to the basic right of freedom of movement once this was established. In case where persons had been forced to leave their country because of '*force majeure*' such as war, the right of return could not be questioned. The right of return normally is a personal and individual right.

It is fact that the Palestinians are a people with national rights, among them the natural right to live in their ancestral homeland.¹⁸ The Palestinians right of return has been at the center of Palestinians position on the refugee issue throughout the post Madrid period. Palestinians claims in this regard are rooted in the principle of natural justice and historical experience of Palestinians dispossession.¹⁹

Count Bernadotte made it one of his first priorities to try to obtain from Israel the recognition of the right of return of the Palestinians. The mediator repeated this stand in his recommendation to the UN. He said that,

"The right of the Palestinian refugees, to return to their homes in Jewish controlled territory at the earliest possible date should be affirmed by the United Nations and their repatriation, resettlement

and economic and social rehabilitation and payment of adequate compensation for the property of those choosing not to return, should be supervised and assisted by the UN Conciliation Commission”²⁰

The UN General Assembly accepted his recommendation to establish formally the right of return of the Palestinians. On 11 December 1948 it passed resolution 194 (111) which in paragraph (II) categorically declared ²¹

“Refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for the loss of or damage to property which under the principles of international law or in equity should be made good by government or authorities responsible ”

This resolution also established the Conciliation Commission for instructing it “to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement, and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees and the payment of compensation”²²

This resolution has represented the consensus of international community on the subject since 1948. It has been reiterated every year in a new General Assembly with the support of United States and virtually every member nation of the UN except Israel ²³. The Arabs insisted on the “right of return” as proclaimed in UN resolution 194 (III) with its choice of either repatriation or compensation for those refugees not wishing to repatriate. The Israelis rejected UN resolution 194(III) as a basis of discussion saying that the “right of return” is incompatible with Israel’s right of self-determination.

Israel also insists that any discussion of compensation be based on the principle of reciprocity, taking into accounts Jews who were expelled from Arab countries as a result of the establishment of state of Israel.²⁴ Israel's unwillingness to accept this resolution has sometimes been explained in terms of "security". Israel does not wish to absorb Palestinians who might be hostile to her. But the wording of resolution refutes this argument. By not accepting it, Israel is rejecting in principle the Arab willing to "live at peace with their neighbours". The reason is clearly a desire on racial grounds to have a purely Jewish state free of Arabs.²⁵ To most of Israelis, Palestinian right to return is perceived as a code word for undermining the Jewish state. If accepted as a general principle, Israeli's fear the influx of large number of Palestinian could alter the country demography and lead to the "Lebanonization" of Israel a violent struggle between ethnic groups for political control.²⁶ Admitting that the refugees would be seen as security threat. Israel also maintains that since the number of Jews from Arab countries who were forced to leave the homes and property roughly equaled the Palestinian refugees from Israel, then it is for respective Arab States to absorb the Palestinian as Israel did the Jewish refugees.²⁷

Israel denies the legality of the Palestinian claim. If it recognizes the "right of return" it would also be admitting responsibility and perhaps even culpability for creating the problem. But Israel categorically denies any responsibility for the war of 1948.²⁸ On the contrary, the guilt and responsibility are all attributed to the Arabs. Israel also rejects return for

material reasons. There is no possibility of allowing the refugees to return to their original homes and lands without completely undermining the fabric of Israeli society.²⁹ According to Shimon Peres

*“A maxim list claim, if accepted it would wipe out the national Character of the state of Israel, making the Jewish majority into minority. Consequently, there is no chance that it will be accepted either now or in the future”.*³⁰

A number of influential Israelis, however, have been open to the “idea of return” to the Palestinian Authority (PA) areas provided that Palestinians explicitly abandon claims of a “right of return” to 1948 areas.³¹ According to Mark Heller has suggested that given the impossibilities of implementing any ‘right of return’ the refugees instead would be free to return to a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.³² This might be accompanied by the admission of some former Palestinian refugees to Israel on humanitarian grounds.³³ Shaloma Gazit also suggested that the refugee issue be resolved through the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in West Bank and Gaza and establishment of a Palestinian “Law of return” under which every Palestinian in the Diaspora who wishes would receive Palestinian citizenship carry a Palestinian passport that would grant him that would grant him international recognition and rights and if need be, the right to immigrate to the new state.³⁴ Certain Palestinian political organizations belonging to the extreme left have repudiated the resolution as illegal, being itself based upon the illegality of the state of Israel. According to this point of view, the issue is not whether Israel has a legal duty to repatriate the refugees but rather by

what right can the illegitimate Jewish state prevent the return of the rightful indigenous population. By contrast, overwhelming majority of Palestinian living in the refugee camps have always viewed Resolution 194 as an affirmation of their right to return to their homes within Israel. For their part, the Arabs state originally voted against the resolution, but by spring 1949, they began to revise their position and soon became its strongest advocates. They have since invoked paragraph II as authority for an immediate, unconditional and wholesale repatriation of the refugees.³⁵ While addressing the socialist members of the European Parliament in Strasbourg in Sept. 1988, PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat declared that General Assembly Resolution 194 called for repatriation of the Palestinian refugees or payment of compensation for the property of those choosing not to return. Arafat used identical language in his speech before the UN General Assembly in Geneva in December 1988 and added that the PNC called for the resettlement of the issue of the Palestinian refugees in accordance with the pertinent UN resolution.³⁶

Right to Compensation:

The Palestinian refugees have right to compensation under international law according to the principle of state responsibility. The right of individuals in Palestine to compensation was recognized by the United Nations well before the massive exodus of Palestinian Arabs in 1948. Under UN Resolution 181 of November 1947, expropriation of land was prohibited except for public purposes.³⁷

Following the expulsion and displacement of some 750000 Palestinians from their homes and lands, the right to compensation for Palestinian refugee was codified in UN Resolution 194 of December 1948. Resolution 194 affirms two types of compensation: for non-returnees and for damages. To implement the directives issued in Resolution 194, UN established the Palestine Conciliation Commission (PCC). In an effort to protect refugee properties and rights, the PCC called for the abrogation of the Absentees Property Law, the suspension of all measures of requisition and occupation of Arab houses and the unfreezing of *Waqf* property. The UN General Assembly, mean while, called for establishment of a Refugee Office to facilitate the work of PCC regarding both compensation and return. Legal expert like Donna Arzt notes that a "state that has committed... and internationally wrongful act is obligated to discontinue the act and restore the situation *status quo*. A state to which a claim is made must negotiate in good faith to resolve it".³⁸ But it practice compensation has been a difficult principle to raise with the international community. Until 1990s, only states were able to make compensation claims against other states. As there was no state to press claims for stateless persons, this situation meant that stateless persons such as Palestinians were unable to file claims for compensation.³⁹

Right to Self Determination:

The Palestinian people have the inherent right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty in Palestine. The right of self-determination issue is a central one in the Palestinian question. The right of

self-determination derives from the general principle that the people determine the destiny of a territory. According to UN, self-determination is the right of the majority to exercise power within political entity ⁴⁰. The basic rights of Palestinian people and their right to constitute a state of their own are based on customary law and the treaty law which together form the structure of the world legal order. The right of self-determination of people arises independently of grant and confer up on them the international law right to determine their political destiny without subjection to the control of any state. This was formulated in the UN Declaration on Principles of International law 1970, in these terms:

*“All people have right freely to determines without external interference of their political status. These establishment of sovereign and independent state, the free association or integration with an independent state or the emergence into any other political status freely determined by a people constitutes modes of implementing the right of self-determination by that people”.*⁴¹

The international law recognises the right of Palestinians to their homeland and it bestow upon them full and inalienable right to self-determination over pre- 1947 Palestine.

“Not withstanding Palestine failed to emerge as an independent state because Britain occupied it in the aftermath of the defeat of Turkish Empire in the World Wars, the fact remains that the Palestinian people enjoyed full sovereignty over their land since them, for according to the international law an occupying power does not legally acquire the sovereignty over the land it occupies. Besides Turkey after its defeat transferred its sovereignty over

*Palestine to none but the local inhabitants of the country as clearly specified in Article 10 of the Treaty of Lusane. July 24 1923, signed between Turkey and the Allied powers”.*⁴²

The Palestinian national rights have been developed by the Communities of States utilising multilateral action through the League of Nations and the United Nations over a considerable period of time. The Covenant of League of Nations also accept the Palestinians as the real and only claimant of sovereignty over Palestine. Article 22 (4) of the Covenant read as follows:

*“Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory”*⁴³

The Palestine Mandate was authorised by Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant that the provisional granting of “independence” of Palestine could not be withdrawn by the Mandate. In short, the purpose of Mandate like that of the Covenant was to lead Palestine to independence as an undivided whole.⁴⁴ The afore mentioned article authorised the Mandatory only to render “administrative advice and assistance” Furthermore, the Mandatory lacked permanency, the basic attribute of sovereignty, as it was only temporarily empowered with the task of supervising the mandate until such time when they (Palestinians) are able to stand alone. Since, there can

be no two sovereigns, it can also be ascertained from the language and spirit of this article that the Mandatory was merely the League of Nations appointed custodian of sovereignty of the mandated territories and real sovereign powers vested with the Palestinians.⁴⁵

U.N. and Palestinian Rights:

Some of the UN resolutions clearly speak about the establishment of sovereign state of Palestine. The right to establish a state and exercise sovereignty is based upon the right of self-determination and subject to its limitations. The UN General Assembly Resolution 1514(XV) and 2625 with regard to the obligation of an occupant and the right of the people of the occupied territory clarifies that 'an occupant is obliged to transfer all power to people... in accordance with their free will in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.'⁴⁶ The UN General Assembly Resolution 3236(XXIX) of November 22, 1974, includes the "right to national independence and sovereignty" among Palestinian peoples inalienable rights. In relevant part, its fifth pre-ambular paragraph recognised that "The Palestinian people is entitled to self-determination in accordance with the charter of the United Nations".⁴⁷

UN General Assembly Resolution 39/146 of the 14th December, 1984 reaffirmed Palestinians right to statehood as entitled in the UN General Assembly Resolution of 1977⁴⁸, UN General Assembly Resolution 31/120 1976 endorsed the recommendation of Palestinian Rights Committee constituted under the UN General Assembly Resolution 3376(XXX) 10,

November, 1975 regarding the establishment of the state of Palestine. The International Conference on the question of Palestine convened at the UN Office at Geneva from 20th August to 7, September, 1983 laid stress on the "attainment" by the Palestinian people of its legitimate and inalienable rights" and peaceful existence of all regional states within secure and internationally recognised boundaries" with justice and security for all people. It is pertinent here to note that with the UN approval of a sovereign state of Palestinians all alternative short of statehood like the ones achieved under bilateral agreements, for instance, the Camp David Accord, which envisages autonomy to Palestine within the state of Israel and which is cited as a solution justifiable under international law by many western scholars stand invalid. In this regard a UN General Assembly Resolution of 1979 declares all partial agreements and separate treaties which constitute the flagrant violation of the rights of the Palestinian people as illegal and invalid. The importance of this resolution is that for the first time a clear link is established between the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination and their right to return. The necessary legal linkage of return and self-determination is designed to assure Palestinians the practical exercise of national self-determination as a people. It is based on common sense conception that there can be no self-determination without return to the areas where self-determination may be exercised. The General Assembly clearly speaks that the "Palestinian Arab Refugees" are entitled to enjoy their "right to return to their homes and property" while the "people of Palestine is entitled to exercise,

“its right to self-determination” The use of Palestine Arab Refugees when referring to return is apparently meant to stand in contradistinction to the use of “People of Palestine” when reference is made to self-determination⁴⁹

Almost all resolutions on the subject passed by UN General Assembly as well as the specialised agencies refer in one way or another to legitimate and unalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence The Commission on Human Rights, in particular has recognised the importance of self-determination as a basic human rights and as the prerequisite for the exercise of all other human rights The Commission of 1978, resolutions entitled “The Rights of People to Self-determination and its Application to Peoples under Colonial or Alien Domination or Foreign Occupation”, affirmed the “inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination without external interference and the establishment of a fully independent and sovereign state in Palestine” Furthermore, it reaffirmed their right to return to their homes from which they have been displaced and uprooted and called for the return of all Palestinian refugees as a component of their right to self-determination⁵⁰

So far, the United Nations represents the only international forum to have extensively tackled the issue of Palestinian rights, defined them and placed them in their proper perspective It has done so with the express support of the international community which over whelming voted for General Assembly Resolutions Affecting Palestinian Rights The demand for

specific action regarding the issue of Palestinian rights has received consistent recognition and strong assertion by a pre-podrent majority of member states. The UN in defining the concept of Palestinian rights and in implementing practical steps towards their attainment has also evolved its own unique approach toward a settlement of the West Asian conflict.⁵¹

Notes and References

1. Emanuel Marx, "Palestinian Refugees Camps in the West Bank and Gaza Strip", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. No.2, April 1992 p.283.
2. UNHCR – Ref. World – Country Information 1997.
3. L. Takkenberg, "The protection on of Palestinian Refugees in Occupied by Palestine", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, No.3 1991, pp.414-35.
4. Ishtiyag Ahmad "Refugees and Human Rights", *The Radical Humanist* No.334, Mumbai, January 1998 p.25.
5. Abbas Shiblak, "Residency status and civil Rights of Palestinian Refugees in Arab Countries". *Journal of Palestine Studies*, XXV, No.3, Spring, 1996 p.38.
6. Resolution 2535B (XXIV) of December 10, 1969 and Resolution 2672 C (XXV) of December B, 1970.
7. Resolution on 2672C (XXV) of December 8, 1970, Resolution 2792D (XXVI) of December 6, 1971. Resolution 2963E (XXVII) of December 13, 1972 and Resolution 3089 D (XXVIII) of December 1973.
8. Resolution 2552 (ES-V) of July 4, 1967 and 3089 C (XXVIII) of December 7, 1973.
9. Resolution 194(III) December 1940 affirmed through 1973.
10. Resolution 3089D (XXVIII) of December, 1973
11. Abbas Shiblak, *op. cit.*, No.5, p.39.

12. Pamela Ann Smith, *Palestine and Palestinians, 1876-1983*, Australia, 1984, p.154.
13. James Cables, "How not to Show Dangerous Teeth: The Lebanon and Finland ", *International Relations*, May 1984, p.32.
14. Abbas Shiblak, *op.cit.*, no.5, p.39.
15. *Ibid.* p.40.
16. UNHCR – Ref world: Country information 1997.
17. Abbas Shiblak, *op.cit.*, no.5, p.40.
18. Rashid Khalid, "Observations on the Rights of Return" *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. XXI No.2, Winter 1992, pp31-32.
19. Rex Brynen "Imaging A Solution Final Status Arrangement and Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. XXVI, No.2, Winter 1997 p.44.
20. Official Records of the General Assembly, Third Session, Supplement No.11 Document A/648 Progress Report of the UN Mediator in Palestine pp.17-18.
21. Encyclopedia of Human Rights, 1997, p.1132
22. UN Official Records of the Third Session of General Assembly, Resolutions, 27 September, 22 December 1948 pp.21-25.
23. Rashid Khalid, *op. cit.*, 18, p.33.
24. UNCHR Ref–World: Country Information 1997.

25. Ghayth Armanazi. "The Rights of Palestinians: The International Definition" *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. III, No. 3. Spring 1974, p. 89.
26. Don Peretz, "Palestinian Since the Gulf War" *Current History*, Vol. 42, January 1993, p.35.
27. Avi Plascov, *Palestinian State? Examining the Alternative*, Adelphi Paper, 1982, p.37.
28. Economic and Social Council Resolution 1988 (LIV) of Many 1973.
29. Shalmo Gazit, *The Palestinian Refugees Problem Final Status Issues Study*, No.2, Tel. Aviv, Jafee Centre for Strategic Studies 1995, pp.7-8.
30. Shimon Peres, *The New Middle East*, New York, Henry Holt, 1993 pp.181-94.
31. See Doc. C in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 26, No.1 Autumn, 1996 pp.145-147.
32. Mark Hellers, *A Palestinian State: The Implication for Israel*, Cambridge MA Harvard University Press, 1983, p.83.
33. Mark Heller and Seri Nussibh, *No. Trumpet, No. Drums: A Two State Settlement of The Israeli Palestinian Conflict*, New York Hill and Wang, 1991, p.95.
34. Sholmo Gazit, *op. cit.*, No. 29, p.26.

35. Kurt Rane Radley" The Palestinian Refugees: The Right of Return in International Law". *American Journal of International Law*, Vol.72, 1978, p.600-602.
36. The text of speech can be found in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 18 No.3, Spring 1989 pp.161-71.
37. Terry, Rempel, "Compensation and Palestine Refugee", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, Autumn 1999, p. 37.
38. *Ibid*, p. 38.
39. *Ibid*, p. 39.
40. See For detail Michael Akehurst, A Modern Introduction to International Law, 5th ed., George Ellan and Unwin, London, 1984, pp. 251-254.
41. General Assembly Resolution 2625 (XXV) dated 24 October 1970, adopted without role
42. According to Article 10 of the Treaty of Lusane Turkey Transferred Sovereignty over Palestine
43. George Scot, *The Rise and Fall of League of Nations*, Hutchinsong and Co. Ltd., London, UK, 1973, p.416.
44. The text of Mandate of July 1922 in UNGAOR, Supp. 11p. 8-22.
45. Article 4 of the British Mandate.
46. *United Nations: The United Nations and Questions of Palestine*, September 1989, p.15.
47. UN General Assembly Resolution 39/146 of the 14th December 1984.
48. Ghayth Armanazi *op. cit.*, No. 25. p.93.

- 49.** UN Resolution 32/40B of December 319/1977 the Secretary General Established the special unit on Palestinian rights within the Secretariat in January 1978.
- 50.** General Assembly Resolutions, No. 2443(XXXIII) of Dec. 19, 1968.
- 51.** General Assembly Resolutions, No. 33/29.