

UNITED NATIONS

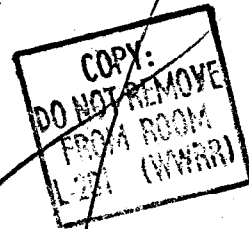


SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-FIFTH YEAR

2222nd MEETING: 20 MAY 1980

NEW YORK



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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2222nd MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 20 May 1980, at 12 noon.

President: Mr. Idé OUMAROU (Niger).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bangladesh, China, France, German Democratic Republic, Jamaica, Mexico, Niger, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zambia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2222)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
Letter dated 16 May 1980 from the Permanent Representative of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13941)

The meeting was called to order at 12.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the occupied Arab territories:

Letter dated 16 May 1980 from the Permanent Representative of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13941)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Israel and Jordan, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nuseibeh (Jordan) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Blum (Israel) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received a letter, dated 16 May, from the representative of Tunisia [S/13950], which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request that the Security Council extend an invitation to the Permanent Observer for the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the consideration of the item entitled 'The situation in the occupied Arab territories', in accordance with the Council's usual practice."

3. The proposal by the representative of Tunisia is not made pursuant to rule 37 or rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, but, if approved by the Council, the invitation to participate in the debate would confer on the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) the same rights of participation as those enjoyed by a Member State when invited to participate under rule 37.

4. Does any member of the Council wish to speak on this proposal?

5. Mr. vanden HEUVEL (United States of America): The United States delegation has repeatedly made clear our view that it is inappropriate for the Council to invite the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the debate on terms that some seek to interpret as conferring rights of participation as if it were a Member State. For this reason, we will vote against the manner in which this invitation is phrased.

6. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): If no other member of the Council wishes to speak at this stage, I shall take it that the Council is ready to vote on the proposal of Tunisia.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Bangladesh, China, German Democratic Republic, Jamaica, Mexico, Niger, Philippines, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Zambia

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: France, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The proposal was adopted by 10 votes to 1, with 4 abstentions.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

7. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should also like to inform members of the Council

that I have received a letter dated 16 May from the representative of Tunisia [S/13942], which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request that the Security Council invite Mr. Fahd Qawasma, Mayor of Al-Khalil, Mr. Mohamed Milhem, Mayor of Halhoul and Mr. Rajab Attamimi, Sharia Judge of Al-Khalil, to participate in the Council's consideration of the item entitled 'The situation in the occupied Arab territories', in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure."

Unless I hear any objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to this request.

It was so decided.

8. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council is meeting today in response to the letter dated 16 May from the representative of Jordan addressed to the President of the Council, which was circulated as document S/13941.

9. Members of the Council have before them document S/13938, which contains the text of the report by the Secretary-General under Council resolution 468 (1980). Members also have before them document S/13949, which contains the text of a draft resolution that has been prepared in the course of consultations.

10. The first speaker is the representative of Jordan, on whom I call.

11. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): Mr. President, I wish to take this occasion of speaking before the Council this month to express my sincere congratulations to you, the Ambassador of the friendly country of the Niger, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. Your wisdom, statesmanship and dedication are widely acknowledged.

12. It is my privilege also to commend in the highest terms Ambassador Muñoz Ledo of the friendly country of Mexico for the exemplary manner in which he had presided over the work of the Council during the month of April.

13. Over the past two months the Council has been seized of grave issues pertaining to the question of Palestine and the inextricably related problems, tragedies and aggressions arising therefrom: the relentless, massive and ongoing devouring of the remnants of the Palestinian people's national and ancestral homeland; the recurring aggressions similarly ongoing and destructive against the independent and sovereign State of Lebanon, our sister country; the non-restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, flagrantly usurped—a wrong unredressed after more than three decades; and, lastly, in an act of indiscriminate Zionist lawlessness and defiance, the brutal and hate-mongering abduction

and deportation, in the bleak darkness of one hour after midnight, of the Mayor of Al-Khalil, Fahd Qawasma, the Mayor of Halhoul, Mohamed Milhem, and Sheikh Rajab Bayyoud Attamimi, from their homes and homeland.

14. The Council has been seized of a proliferation of items which are neither disparate nor, indeed, all-embracing. They are symptomatic and an embodiment of a fiendish design being unravelled day in, day out, to achieve the total national obliteration of the Arab people of Palestine and to supplant them by an alien Zionist presence.

15. The deportation of the three Palestinian personages, in flagrant violation of all norms of international law and conventions, and in audacious defiance of a categorical Council decision adopted a mere 12 days ago, has made it more imperative than ever before that the Council should take stock of the full dimensions of a Zionist ideology and onslaught which are unquestionably unique in the post-war world and unparalleled since the inception of the United Nations.

16. The question is not the deportation of three Palestinian Arab leaders in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, grave as that is, for 1,600 other leaders had already been deported, including the Mayor of Arab Jerusalem, Mr. Rouhi Al-Khatib, as a prelude to the annexation of the Holy City of Jerusalem. They were all deported across uninhabited wastes at Wadi Araba in Jordan to face an encounter with death through thirst, hunger and exhaustion; or across the rugged mountains of our sister country Lebanon and, significantly, through the strip controlled by the renegade henchman and quisling of the Zionist entity, Haddad, in the earnest hope that some bullets or mines could achieve the murder of the deportees. I was told yesterday that, in the operation rooms from which all the violence in southern Lebanon erupts, Hebrew is the only language spoken, while that renegade Saad Haddad claims that he is fighting for the integrity of Lebanon. The deportees were also sent across the River Jordan, where their Jordanian brethren could and would only be expected to give them the tender embrace befitting their nearest kin.

17. And, at the grass-roots level, almost 300,000 people from both the Gaza Strip and the West Bank are, as a result of intimidation, force and the use of loudspeakers booming threats of genocide against anyone who remained home, at present displaced persons in the East Bank awaiting the implementation of United Nations resolutions which since 1967 have called for their return to their homes.

18. Last, but not least, there are the tens of thousands of boys and girls in the prime of their youth who have passed through the grim ordeal of the Zionist-Nazi torture chambers and tiny windowless cells, too small for a victim to stand upright or to stretch his legs. Thousands continue to languish thus and waste away unseen, and many of them have done so for 13 years.

19. This is what human rights are all about in the dehumanized Zionist world of beasts and wolves masquerading in transparent cloaks of assumed humanity.

20. Arab Jerusalem and the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are a dwarfed one fifth of what has been for 6,000 to 7,000 years of recorded history the inalienable homeland of the Palestinian people, who founded Jerusalem/Urusalem/Al-Quds (the Holy), Jaffa, Haifa, Al-Khalil, Ramleh, Lydda, Asqalan, Gaza, Nazareth, Bethlehem, Acre, Jericho and the countless other towns and villages, recurring conquests and intrusions, including the intrusions of the Hebrew tribes, notwithstanding. For this hallowed soil of milk and honey, of prophets, of venerable men and women, of culture and civilization—indeed, one of the great cradles of civilization—as the heartland and soul of Syriac civilization, had always had the fortitude and breadth to absorb all in its great amalgam.

21. It is the first time in these accumulated millennia that the Palestinian people have been massively uprooted, first in 1947-1948 and then after 1967, that they are being systematically uprooted and cannibalized. The monolithic, fanatical, racist Zionists find it inconceivable to coexist and amalgamate with what they regard as impure gentiles, even though their own scripts and history spell out elaborately to them who the Palestinian people are and how the ancient Hebrews obtained their short-lived presence and tutoring, including their religious experiences, at the hands and on the soil of their present-day Palestinian victims. Even the term Zion, which the racist Zionists have transformed into an instrument of savage persecution, is a name adopted from the Jebusite Arab inhabitants of Jerusalem, who had used the name for the Nabi Daoud Hill, where the prophet David had located his military garrison from which he temporarily subdued the indigenous founders and inhabitants of Jerusalem.

22. The illegitimate deportation of the Mayors of Al-Khalil and Halhoul and the Sharia Judge of Al-Khalil is the latest, but by no means the last, manifestation of the Zionist overall genocidal design against the Palestinian people.

23. In 1947-1948, the massive Zionist military machine was unleashed, a mere few days after the General Assembly had adopted resolution 181 (II) on the partition of Palestine. Under the Delep Plan—and I do not have to refer to any plans because I saw what was happening with my own eyes—the Israeli objective was to pre-empt the implementation of the resolution and to uproot the vast majority of the Palestinian people from four fifths of Palestine, while deceitfully paying lip-service to accepting the resolution. When the British Mandate came to an end, the Israelis were prevented from seizing the remaining one fifth of Palestine by the timely Arab intervention to thwart the Zionists' continued onslaught. The latter

accomplished their criminal feat by drenching their path with the innocent blood of unarmed Palestinians and destroying or confiscating the lands, farms, homes, towns and belongings of their victims.

24. The acid test came in 1949 at the Lausanne Conference, which could have ended the entire conflict more than three decades ago and done so on the basis of General Assembly resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III) on the repatriation of the Palestinian people to their homes and homeland. All the Arab parties directly involved initialled the agreement, as did the Israelis at first, tactically, in order to gain admission to the United Nations—only subsequently to renege, having fulfilled their aim.

25. Today, a brainwashed world calls a Palestinian a deadly extremist or terrorist for simply asking for his natural right of return to his home and for the reconstruction of his shattered homeland, a right sanctified by the United Nations itself, quite apart from elemental justice.

26. A similar *fait accompli* has been diligently created over the past 13 years in Arab Jerusalem, which is now unrecognizable, as well as in the West Bank of Jordan and the Gaza Strip. Colonization has reached 35 per cent of the total area of the occupied territories. Water resources have been sequestered and put at the service of the Zionist colonizers and a wave of intensified violence and atrocities is being ruthlessly dashed against the unarmed inhabitants of the occupied territories. Schools and colleges have been paralysed; curfews and collective punishment are being sadistically practised. Economic strangulation is being imposed—they even resorted to a poisonous defoliation of Arab land just before the crops matured—to induce our people to migrate. The 50,000 inhabitants of Al-Khalil (Hebron) were imprisoned in their homes, with a one- to two-hour period to obtain water and food. Yesterday, after 16 days, the day curfew was lifted, while the curfew from dusk to dawn has remained in effect. Halhoul suffered a similar fate last year. Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon as well as Lebanese towns and villages are being devastated on an almost daily basis from the sea, land and air. That has become such an accepted routine that even the media accord it the scantiest coverage, even though it involves the widespread destruction of ancient Phoenician towns and villages like Sidon and Sur (Tyre), with an accompanying loss of innocent civilian lives.

27. Notwithstanding our prolonged adversity, we shall never be cowed or subdued. It is simply against our nature. At the moment, the Palestinian people are the target and the Israelis wish to apply the *coup de grâce* to them. But the threshold of endurance of their victims, whether at home or in exile, is unbounded. The British are cognizant of this fact, as the Arabs of Palestine some 45 years ago were among the first in the third world, if not the first, to rise in an armed

rebellion for three full years and in a six-month total strike against the then super-Power of the world, on whose dominions the sun never set. It is ironical that the first liberation movement by armed struggle remains almost the only unredeemed cause.

28. The Palestinians seem to stand alone, but that is highly deceptive. More and more, the masses of our vast region recognize that any of them could be the next target when the national genocide of the Palestinians is completed. The real target, whether of conquest or economic imperialism, is the whole Arab world and the greater Islamic area of civilization. Our peoples in the region know that all too well. It is little wonder that the 40 Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Conference of Islamic States, currently meeting at Islamabad, have decided to establish a collective security agreement primarily to confront, in concert, Zionist expansionism and its misled supporters, foremost among which is a misguided United States. I was gratified to see a bright ray of light when I read in *The New York Times* today an advertisement signed by 50 American personages who condemned the brutal Israeli act of deporting our distinguished Mayors and the Sharia Judge of Hebron.

29. Indeed, the Knesset's process of legitimizing the annexation of Arab Jerusalem, which has already begun, strikes at the very roots of the region's spiritual values and legacy. The conversion of the 1,400-year-old Mosque of Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi Holy Sanctuary into a synagogue, leaving a cranny of a few square metres for Moslem worshippers—and we have here the Sharia Judge to tell you what has happened to this 1,400-year-old holy sanctuary—portends the true nature of Zionist plans for all Holy Places, Moslem and Christian alike—for the Israelis have played havoc with Christian places of worship as well. If the Jews had any reverence for this holy sanctuary, they would not have been dancing the debka within its halls, in addition to committing acts of unspeakable licence that are more proper to night clubs and cabarets. A decent people behaves decently when visiting an historic monument or museum, let alone a place of worship, a mosque going back 1,400 years. But what should anyone expect of an entity, which has declared and celebrated as its national hero a professional killer and human-hunter, Eli Hazeev, whose notorious record of criminality encompasses his acts in Viet Nam, the United States and our hallowed occupied lands?

30. We do not count events in days, months or years. Those are fleeting moments in history. But, for all who are concerned with world peace, security and the rule of law, the future will bear me out when I state that those who are depending on temporary disarrays and petty bickerings in our region are only deluding themselves in their myopic policy decisions.

31. The vast material resources, manpower, dedication and, above all, growing determination of all the

masses of our sprawling world will in the not too distant future be harnessed to redress an intolerable wrong and an impossible situation. If justice is eternal, so is the cause of the Palestinian Arab people.

32. If the Security Council is given an audacious slap in the face by a lawless, recalcitrant and ungrateful Member State, to which it owes its very birth, over the return of three Palestinian leaders unlawfully deported, what should the world think when it comes to redeeming a whole aggrieved people?

33. There can be no neutrality in cases of flagrant injustice. One is either for justice or acquiesces in injustice and forgets about *habeas corpus*, the Geneva Conventions and everything relating to international law. It can only mean a deliberate incapacitation of the Security Council and, hence, the whole United Nations system. The child given birth to over three decades ago has grown into a deadly dragon posing the most serious threat to world peace and security.

34. It is hardly recognized—at least publicly, or by more than a few—that the Zionist enterprise of endless aggression is directly and indirectly responsible for the serious economic ills which afflict the economies of the world, both developed and developing, directly and indirectly, in a chain reaction which started with the closure of the Suez Canal in 1967—and I know how many tens of billions have been lost by the Western world and everybody else using that Canal because of that closure—and the Israeli refusal to withdraw from the occupied territories, which led to the 1973 war and its economic consequences. And the end is by no means in sight. The tens of millions of unemployed throughout the world, the stunted growth of the developing world and the disastrous inflation which has deeply affected the lives of hundreds of millions of people are but part of the price which the world is made to pay in consequence of insatiable Zionist expansion. But what do the Israelis care, so long as they are assured that assistance to any other quarter will be cut off across the board, except the billions which flow every year to sustain their aggressive policies and the huge arsenals of destruction—they are really assembly plants provided to them by a super-Power—given generously to them to continue the pursuit of such policies? The price to all is devastating, and yet—what else can I say—timidity and mysticism are the only explanations for the lack of what should normally and rationally be a firm stand in defence of not only the aggrieved Palestinians but also humanity in its entirety.

35. The Sharia Judge of Al-Khalil (Hebron), the distinguished Mayor of Al-Khalil and the distinguished Mayor of Halhoul are right here amongst us and have come all the way to plead for the implementation of their right to return, as mandated by the Council 12 days ago. It is only just that they should narrate firsthand their ordeal and that of their fellow citizens.

36. I wish to express the most earnest hope of my Government that the Council will not allow itself to be foiled once again, with impunity for the aggressor and justice denied to the aggrieved.

37. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Israel. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

38. Mr. BLUM (Israel): Some 12 days ago the Council was summoned to play out its part in the first act of the latest charade being staged in the Council by Israel's enemies. The ground was then carefully laid for the second act; and today the Council is dutifully falling into line—I almost said the chorus line—as per the script which has been prepared for it.

39. "All the world's a stage"—perhaps. But surely the Security Council, with its primary responsibility for the preservation of international peace and security, was never meant to be a stage for a repetitive repertoire developed by those who have declared war on peace in our region.

40. The Council continues to be guided by a selective conscience and to be hampered by eclectic vision. In the process it is undermining the basis of what is still left of its moral authority.

41. When terrorists shed innocent blood, the Council does not see it. This is patently so when it is Jewish blood being shed by a gang of terrorists bent on destroying a Member State of the Organization.

42. Take, for example, what happened in the Council about a month ago. The Council adopted a totally unbalanced resolution at the conclusion of a debate which came in the wake of the despicable outrage perpetrated at Kibbutz Misgav Am by PLO terrorists on 7 April. But the resolution in question, resolution 467 (1980), did not note, let alone comment on, the fact that babies had been taken hostage and one of them had been murdered. Instead, it preferred for the most part to take Israel to task and to place blame on it.

43. Similarly, some 12 days ago a resolution was adopted in the wake of the brutal and cowardly murder of six Jews and the wounding of 16 others in Hebron. None the less, the resolution in question, resolution 468 (1980), made no mention whatsoever of that ugly and unforgivable outrage. Any reader of that resolution, unaware of the background of the events to which it refers, might be forgiven for coming to the wholly erroneous conclusion that one bright day in May the Israel Administration arbitrarily and irrationally decided to deport three Arab officials from Hebron and Halhoul. As everyone knows, nothing could be further from the truth.

44. The Council, which, with a view to assailing Israel, monitors in such detail every event in Judea,

Samaria and the Gaza district, does not react to many ominous threats to international peace and security throughout the globe. One such glaring example was the bloody suppression two weeks ago of student demonstrations throughout Afghanistan. Those demonstrations began with protest marches by high-school girls. They spread to the university campus at Kabul and were ruthlessly put down by the Soviet occupation forces, which strafed the demonstrators with helicopter fire and killed up to 200 students in the process. If the way the Council acts with regard to Judea and Samaria is any yardstick, one might reasonably have expected the Council to have reacted with some alacrity to this latest manifestation of Soviet brutality in Afghanistan. But, of course, such reasonable expectations are out of place, given the Council's totally eclectic vision.

45. As I said in my statement to the Council on 8 May [2221st meeting], the Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul and the Qadi of Hebron, over the last three months, on instructions from the PLO and the Arab rejectionist States, have been actively and systematically engaged in inciting the local Arab population to acts of violence and subversion against Israel and Israelis alike. In so doing, they have abused their public offices and even received and used PLO funds for these purposes. They have thus substantially contributed to the deterioration of public order in the Hebron region, which culminated in the abominable outrage of 2 May.

46. The three individuals concerned have made no secret of their views. They have made inflammatory statements at public gatherings and, in the case of the Qadi of Hebron, from the pulpit. They encouraged violent acts of protest and repeatedly called for what they termed "the translation of words into deeds". If anyone still entertains any doubts about their aims, he need only examine their statements and actions over the last two weeks.

47. Immediately on their arrival in Beirut, the three individuals concerned were given a hero's welcome by Yasser Arafat. Ever since then they have made highly incriminating statements to the press. In a vehement interview with the correspondent of the Saudi newspaper *Al-Riyad*, all three called for violent armed action against Israel. The Mayor of Halhoul, having proclaimed that they would struggle to the bitter end for the establishment of a Palestinian State, declared that, "We will not live in coexistence with the Jews".

48. A day later, the three gave a similar interview to the Kuwaiti News Agency, and announced that "the liberation of Palestine would be achieved by guns, not from New York and not from Washington".

49. The next day, on 13 May, the three met with members of the National Advisory Council of Jordan. The Mayor of Hebron, as reported in the Jordanian press on 14 May, reiterated this position. He called,

inter alia, for the massing of Arab forces against Israel, while the Qadi of Hebron called on the Arab and Moslem States to prepare for the day of battle and triumph and to use the oil weapon against the United States and Israel.

50. Let us not delude ourselves about what the three individuals concerned mean when they talk about the struggle and war against Israel. As I pointed out in my statement before the Council on 8 May, they have made no secret in recent months of what they mean.

51. For example, at a meeting on 24 March, the Qadi of Hebron called for a *Jihad*—a holy war—“in order to purge Palestine of foreign Jews and to restore all of Palestine to the army of Islam”. The Qadi was very explicit about what he meant by “all of Palestine”, and he went on to say that the Jews would have to vacate Jaffa, Haifa, Akko and Palestine as a whole. In other words, we are dealing here with a call for the destruction of the State of Israel. There is absolutely no other construction that can reasonably be put on the words and actions of the three individuals concerned, either while they were at their posts in Hebron and Halhoul or since their deportation on 3 May.

52. The Israel Administration repeatedly warned the three individuals concerned against persisting in their agitation and subversive activities. In deporting them after their words and actions had led to an extreme act of violence in Hebron, the Administration was acting within its legal authority and the deportations were carried out in accordance with the law. The deportations were based on the Defence (Emergency) Regulations of 1945, issued by the British Mandatory authorities. Article 112 authorizes deportation on grounds of certain activities against security. These regulations were in force in Judea and Samaria under the Jordanian Administration prior to 4 June 1967 and have remained in force since that date in accordance with the principles of article 43 of the Regulations annexed to The Hague Convention of 1907¹ and the first paragraph of article 64 of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949²—and that without prejudice to Israel’s well-known position of principle with regard to the non-applicability of the Geneva Convention in the present context.

53. According to article 112, paragraph 1, of the Defence Regulations, the area commander shall have power to make an order under his hand for the deportation of any person. Article 108 provides that a military commander may issue a deportation order if he is of the opinion that it is necessary or expedient for securing the public safety.

54. The Jordanian occupation authorities did not hesitate between 1948 and 1967 to invoke these regulations and to act under them both for the purposes of expulsion, exile and individual and mass forcible transfer of persons who were often merely engaged in

prohibited political activities such as membership in the Communist party, without being involved in incitement to violence as in the case of the Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul. I should like to cite several examples.

55. In 1955, Fuad Nasser, a leading Communist under the Jordanian occupation, was forcibly deported to Al-Jaafar, deep in the wilderness east of the Jordan River and then, in July 1956, he was expelled to Syria. On 9 October 1957, the Armenian Archbishop, Diran Narsuyan, was expelled to Lebanon for his political activities. Not only did this practice continue until the last days of the Jordanian occupation of Judea and Samaria, but there have also been expulsions from the East Bank in recent years. Thus, for example, in June 1971—some months after the “Black September” of 1970, when the Jordanians ruthlessly destroyed the PLO presence on their territory—the Jordanian authorities again began expelling those PLO terrorists who still remained in Jordan. On 21 August 1971, the then Prime Minister of Jordan, Wasfi Tal, disclosed that 2,500 PLO terrorists had been expelled from the areas of Jerash and Ajlun. In the midst of that operation, on 22 July 1971, another 47 terrorists were taken out of Jordanian prisons and expelled to Syria. Incidentally, it will be recalled that PLO terrorists subsequently assassinated Wasfi Tal and in an open display of their depravity they even drank his blood. And then, to give further examples, on 4 May 1976, two Palestinian Arabs, called Ibrahim Bakr and Izzat Al-Khattab, were expelled to Syria. The reason for their expulsion was not disclosed, but in all probability it was for subversive activity against the Kingdom of Jordan.

56. I am not aware of any Security Council meeting ever having been convened to discuss these and similar expulsions.

57. In its resolution 468 (1980), the Council recalls “the Geneva Convention of 1949”. Presumably this refers to the fourth Red Cross Convention of 12 August 1949, and not to the Geneva Convention on road traffic of the same year. While Israel, as is well known, does not recognize the formal application of the fourth Geneva Convention² in the administered areas, it nevertheless does apply, on a *de facto* basis, the humanitarian provisions of that Convention. That includes the principle enunciated in article 64, paragraph 1, which stresses the necessity to maintain the existing local penal law.

58. Those who seek to invoke in the present case article 49 of the fourth Geneva Convention choose to ignore the fact that, even if for some reason the Convention were to apply, the situation here under consideration is fundamentally different from the one envisaged by article 49. This difference is clearly attested to by the authoritative commentaries on that article, including the commentary by Pictet under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red

Cross. We have stated on more than one occasion the reasons for the irrelevance of article 49 in the present context, and I shall thus refrain from setting them out in detail once again.

59. But even those who wish to hold Israel to The Hague Regulations of 1907 with regard to its administration of Judea and Samaria must be aware that regulation 43 enables the administration to take all measures—and I stress: all measures—to restore and assure public order and safety. Israel would thus have been fully within its legal rights had it limited freedom of speech, assembly, expression and other basic freedoms. Despite severe provocation from within Judea and Samaria, and increasingly bellicose noises, particularly from Israel's Arab neighbours to the east, Israel has preferred to maintain a liberal administration in Judea and Samaria and the Gaza district. It has allowed free elections to be held in which mayors have been elected despite their open hostility to the State of Israel.

60. The Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul and the Qadi of Hebron were public officials entrusted to fulfil functions which include an essential element of responsibility for maintaining public order and peace within their respective municipal or religious communities. That element is not a pious desideratum, but a legal requirement laid down in the Jordanian Municipal Council Law, No. 29 of 1955, which stresses the obligation of a mayor to act for the municipal good and public order.

61. It goes without saying that when a mayor or a religious functionary deliberately goes out of his way to do the exact opposite, and incites his respective community to commit acts of violence, rioting, disorder and terror, he subverts the very source of the authority to fulfil various public functions. In the face of incitement to violence and terror, the administering authority—and this applies to any administration—is obliged to act within the frame of the existing law to put an end to such activities.

62. Israel took no such action against the three individuals concerned until their activities led to a blatant and bloody disruption of the public order. Only then did Israel move to restore and maintain public order, among other things with a view to preventing any recurrence of the kind of outrage which was perpetrated in Hebron on 2 May of this year.

63. As members of the Council know, proceedings have been initiated in the Israel Supreme Court on behalf of the Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul and the Qadi of Hebron with regard to their deportations. Today, the Supreme Court of Israel, sitting as a High Court of Justice, decided to grant the petition a hearing. Members of the Council know this full well, but they have deliberately chosen to ignore it, even though one would think that the institution of legal proceedings on behalf of the three persons concerned

was a highly pertinent fact. As members also know, the Israel courts and the Israel judicial system have established for themselves an enviable reputation. They certainly can match and in many cases are better than the courts in most of the countries represented in this Organization—including some on the Council.

64. Thus, those who have insisted on this meeting of the Council today have again demonstrated that it is not considerations of law, justice and good faith that guide them, but rather their well-known fixations, which they translate into a constant political manipulation of this Organization. But then, of course, the Council does not require that those appearing before it come with clean hands.

65. Since February the Council has been engaged almost continuously in debates concerning one or other aspect of the Arab-Israel conflict, invariably abstracted from its full and proper context. All of us know that, over and beyond whatever merits the Arab adversaries of peace may see in this tactic, the object has been—as I said at the beginning of my remarks—to prevent the Council from dealing with the major threats endangering international peace and security throughout the world today, and this tactic has been particularly convenient to the Soviet Union, which has encouraged it in order to divert attention from that country's ongoing aggression against and occupation of Afghanistan.

66. What the Council is doing today fits into the pattern of what has become an almost weekly exercise, motivated by the pathological obsession of Israel's enemies. All of us who have listened today to the statement made by the representative of the Palestinian Arab State of Jordan have again been reminded of the chronic and pathological nature of this obsession, which in his particular case manifests itself also in an utter inability to come to terms with truth, both historical and contemporary. Many Members of the Organization, including members of the Council, have long recognized that obsession for what it is, but for various reasons, such as battle fatigue and the vain hope that the Arab oil gods may be supplicated, they have chosen not to stand up to what amounts to a constant harassment of the Council by the Arab petro-hegemonists.

67. Indeed, only yesterday, *The New York Times* reported that Yasser Arafat had again threatened Western Europe that its interests would be gravely affected by any non-compliance with his demands.

68. The Mayor of Hebron and his two colleagues have been speaking in exactly the same terms for some time. On 12 May, these three individuals, in the interview which I have already mentioned with the Kuwait News Agency, made an explicit call for an oil boycott against the United States. A day later, in their meeting with the members of the National Advisory

Council of Jordan, the Mayor of Hebron repeated this call for the use of the oil weapon against the United States, as reported in the Jordanian press on 14 May.

69. The Council knows full well that it is being constantly harassed and manipulated. It therefore has resorted with increasing frequency to the strange technique of hastily adopting resolutions dictated from outside and lacking formal sponsorship—and, if at all possible, without any debate.

70. One would have hoped that the purpose of such expeditious treatment of secondary and tertiary aspects of the Arab-Israel conflict is aimed at clearing the way for the Council's early consideration of such real threats to international peace and security as Afghanistan, Iran, Cambodia, the two Yemens, the conflagrations all over Africa, including the Horn of Africa, Chad and the Western Sahara, or the Cuban refugees and international terrorism. But all of us know, of course, that such expectations are completely

unrealistic and unfounded. This only serves to highlight even further the hypocrisy inherent in the Council's treatment of the matter on its agenda.

71. In these circumstances, resolutions born out of hypocrisy, a selective conscience and eclectic vision can only be treated for what they are—the products of hypocrisy, a selective conscience and eclectic vision.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹ Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1915.

² United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, p. 287.



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