

UNITED NATIONS



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THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR

2128th

MEETING: 16 MARCH 1979

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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.

2128th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 16 March 1979, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Leslie O. HARRIMAN (Nigeria).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bangladesh, Bolivia, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria, Norway, Portugal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zambia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2128)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
Letter dated 23 February 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13115)

The meeting was called to order at 4.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
Letter dated 23 February 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13115)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings, I invite the representatives of Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Mauritania, Pakistan, Qatar, Senegal, Somalia, the Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Viet Nam, Yemen and Yugoslavia, as well as the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, to participate in the debate without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nuseibeh (Jordan), Mr. Cahana (Israel) and Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took places at the Council table and Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Florin (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Hollai (Hungary), Mr. Jaipal (India), Mr. Suwondo (Indonesia), Mr. Shemirani (Iran), Mr. Bafi (Iraq), Mr. Tuéni (Lebanon), Mr. Kane (Mauritania), Mr. Naik (Pakistan), Mr. Jamal (Qatar), Mr. Fall (Senegal), Mr. Hussen (Somalia), Mr. Sahloul (Sudan), Mr. El-Choufi (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Eralp (Turkey), Mr. Martynenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Mr. Ha Van

Lau (Viet Nam), Mr. Al-Haddad (Yemen) and Mr. Komatina (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Tunisia, in which he asks to be invited to participate in the discussion. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative 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. Mestiri (Tunisia) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: At this point I wish, on behalf of the Security Council, to welcome His Excellency M. Paul Lusaka, the new representative of Zambia, who is with us in the Council for the first time.

4. Members of the Council have before them, in document S/13171, the text of a draft resolution sponsored by Bangladesh, Kuwait, Nigeria and Zambia.

5. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): Even though the Zambian delegation has already had an opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council, I wish to express my personal compliments to you for the able and wise manner in which you are guiding our work and, in particular, for the dynamic leadership you gave the Council during its consideration of the question of Southern Rhodesia a few days ago. I wish also to acknowledge with thanks your words of welcome to me as I take up my duties as Permanent Representative of Zambia. I look forward to working with you closely, as indeed with my other colleagues on the Council, in the cause of freedom, justice and peace in the world.

6. I have been informed of the untimely death of Ambassador Jamil Baroody of Saudi Arabia. I wish on this occasion to express my delegation's deep sense of sorrow at his passing away. I pay a tribute to the late Ambassador Baroody for his outstanding contribution to the attainment of the ideals of the United Nations since it was founded, more than 30 years ago.

7. Once again the Security Council is considering the question of Israeli practices in the occupied territories, in

particular its deliberate and systematic attempts to erode the status of Jerusalem in utter defiance of United Nations resolutions and in flagrant violation of the norms of international law.

8. At the commencement of this debate [2123rd meeting], the representative of Jordan, at whose request we are meeting, gave us a succinct, detailed and well documented account of the situation. At the same meeting, the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization also gave us a clear and convincing account as well as an analysis of the actions of Israel in the occupied territories and against the Palestinian people. A large number of non-members of the Council have also participated in this debate and reinforced the arguments of the representatives of Jordan and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Thus, in the light of the facts available, the Council cannot be oblivious of the grave situation in the occupied territories, nor should it seek to minimize the implications of that situation for international peace and security.

9. Naturally, my Government cannot condone the current situation, and it therefore condemns the Israeli policy and practice of establishing settlements in the occupied territories and its persistent attempts to alter their natural, political, cultural, religious and demographic conditions. In the view of my Government, these Israeli attempts at a fait accompli are illegal, null and void. We also view the disturbing situation in the occupied territories and in the Holy City of Jerusalem as part and parcel of the entire Middle East conflict, the cause of which is the continued denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

10. The Israeli misdeeds in the occupied territories are certainly not conducive to the search for a just settlement of the conflict. They in fact constitute further aggression against the Palestinian and Arab peoples.

11. The Security Council has an inescapable duty to compel Israel to put an immediate end to its policies and practices in the occupied territories in conformity with United Nations resolutions and the norms of international law. Israel must be told in no uncertain terms that its stubborn persistence in seeking to alter the natural, political, cultural, religious and demographic conditions of the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, does not and cannot serve the cause of peace, which is attainable only on the basis of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict.

12. Indeed, Israel must be made to understand that the Middle East will continue to be characterized by conflict and war for as long as Israel does not withdraw from all occupied Arab territories and allow the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, including the right to establish their own State. One other reality Israel must accept is that the Palestine Liberation Organization is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, which of necessity should be included in the search for a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem.

13. Finally, Zambia will continue to uphold principles and the rule of law as the only realistic basis for the settlement of the problem of the Middle East. We will continue to stress the urgent need for a comprehensive and just settlement. With particular regard to the item on our agenda, my delegation will—as has, indeed, already, been clearly indicated—support any draft resolution which clearly expresses the Council's abhorrence and disapproval of Israeli practices in the occupied territories and demands an immediate end to them.

14. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The General Assembly and the Security Council have in recent years deliberated upon the situation in the occupied Arab territories on numerous occasions and adopted a number of resolutions thereon. However, the Israeli Zionists have not only failed to show the slightest restraint, but have stepped up their policy of aggression and expansion in the occupied territories, committing a new series of crimes against the population in these territories. Under these circumstances we consider it entirely necessary for the Jordanian Government to request the convening of the Council meetings for the consideration of this question. The Chinese delegation deeply sympathizes with the sufferings of the Arab and Palestinian people in the Israeli-occupied territories, and firmly supports the solemn position of the Arab countries in strong condemnation of Israeli zionism.

15. Over a long period, Israeli zionism has carried out one war of aggression after another, occupying large tracts of Arab land and enforcing the "zionization" schemes in the occupied territories in a deliberate attempt to change the legal status, geographic nature and demographic composition of these territories. There the Israeli aggressors have destroyed civilian houses, demolished buildings, and illegally confiscated large tracts of fertile land belonging to the Palestinian people. They plunder the natural resources in the occupied territories and carry out devastating exploitations. They have destroyed valuable Moslem historical relics, grossly trampling upon the freedom of religious belief. They carry out large scale arrests of inhabitants of these territories, inflict torture on them and execute them at will in a sanguinary and brutal repression. For several days running the Israeli authorities have again sent armed forces to shoot at the demonstrators on the West Bank. Israel's perversity has placed all the occupied territories under a rule of darkness and terror.

16. What warrants special attention is the fact that Israeli zionism has during the past year intensified its practice of colonization and zionization in a policy of aggression and expansion. Not only is it multiplying settlements and military installations on the West Bank and in other areas, but it is resorting to various schemes to formulate bills in an attempt to change the status of Jerusalem and of all the occupied territories and to perpetuate its occupation there. The military occupation and brutal repression practised by Israeli zionism have aroused firm resistance and heroic struggle on the part of the Arab and Palestinian people in the occupied territories, where they have dealt increasingly heavy blows to the Israeli aggressors.

17. We have consistently maintained that the question of the Israeli-occupied territories is an inseparable part of the whole Middle East question. In the final analysis, the dire miseries of the Arab and Palestinian people in the Israeli occupied territories are caused by Israel's policy of aggression and expansion and the super-Powers' rivalry in the region. Therefore, to achieve a fundamental solution of the question of the occupied territories and the whole Middle East question, it is imperative to do away firmly with super-Power interference and sabotage, regain the national rights of the Palestinian people and secure the complete withdrawal of the Israeli aggressors from all the occupied Arab territories.

18. We hold that the Security Council should adopt a resolution strongly condemning the various crimes committed by Israeli Zionism and voicing firm support to the just struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people. The Council should also adopt effective measures to put an end to the Israeli authorities' atrocities in the occupied territories. We are convinced that the heroic Arab and Palestinian people will continue to persevere in their struggle, redouble their efforts to strengthen their unity, and, with the support of the third world countries and peoples as well as that of all the countries and peoples that love peace and uphold justice, will win final victory in putting an end to Israeli aggression and expansion, recover their lost territories and regain their national rights.

19. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Once again the Security Council has been called upon to consider and assess facts pertaining to the occupation of Arab territories since the 1967 conflict.

20. On a number of occasions over the past few years, both here and in the General Assembly, my delegation has had occasion to state that it considers illegal and contrary to international law not only the creation of any settlements in those territories, but also any unilateral measure which might change their physical and demographic status or the character of their beliefs. In particular, we have always felt that such practices ran counter to the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.¹

21. Two kinds of consideration have prompted the French authorities to reaffirm that position today as clearly as possible. It has been clear over the past two years that the practices contrary to international law which we denounced at the Council meetings on the same subject towards the end of 1976 were not diminishing in scope. On the contrary, they have even been accompanied, at certain times and in certain cases, by political and legal claims which make them even more serious. Furthermore, and again during the same period, a number of initiatives, some of an all-encompassing nature, others of a more limited character, have been taken to promote a peace settlement in the Middle East.

22. All these efforts make it quite clear that States are more than ever aware of the major risks for the maintenance

of international peace and security involved in the situation in the Middle East. In the circumstances, it is astonishing and regrettable that such practices can have been continued and even developed, because they seem to some to run counter to the desires for peace that have been expressed and create new obstacles in the difficult peace-making process. In its resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) the Security Council has indicated clearly that peace would not be possible unless Israel withdrew from the territories it has occupied since 1967.

23. While on the subject of the practices in those territories, we would call today for respect for the provisions of international law and ask that an end be put to actions which can only perpetuate tension and violence and jeopardize the chances for a settlement in the area which the community of nations and the peoples of the region so ardently desire.

24. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): I should like very briefly to introduce the draft resolution contained in document S/13171 on behalf of the sponsors: Bangladesh, Kuwait, Nigeria and Zambia.

25. By way of introduction, I wish to state that the draft resolution consists of two sections: the first section is based on numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. It does not go beyond what has been stated and reaffirmed in previous resolutions, whether in this chamber or in the General Assembly hall: it simply reiterates the general principles which all Member States hold in high esteem and respect. These principles are reflected in the Charter of the United Nations and reinforced in various international covenants and conventions. The second section is different in a way, as, for the first time, it initiates action and calls for it. It is, in brief, action-oriented. The language of the draft is restrained, mild and, in my view, business-like. The sponsors have painstakingly avoided reiterating words or language which some members may have some difficulty with.

26. In the preambular part, the Council would reaffirm the applicability of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 to the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including, undoubtedly, Jerusalem. There is, in our view, no controversy over this.

27. In operative paragraph 1 the Council determines that Israel's policy and practices in the occupied territories are invalid. There is nothing new in this proposition, which has been continually reaffirmed in various resolutions. It is also true that such practices constitute an obstacle to the achievement of a durable peace. No one in this world believes that these practices are conducive to peace.

28. Operative paragraph 2 is an expression of a state of mind: it states the indignation of the Council at such a policy. The word "indignation" was very carefully selected to strike a balance between those who want stronger phraseology and those who prefer accentuation of principles to expressions of state of mind.

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, p. 287.

29. The failure of Israel to comply with the various resolutions of the Council and of the Assembly is deplorable, to say the least, and that is what operative paragraph 3 states. There is nothing new, again, in this paragraph; it only shows how Israel treats the Council's resolutions.

30. Operative paragraph 4 calls upon Israel to do three things: first, to apply the fourth Geneva Convention and to respect its provisions; secondly, to rescind previous measures that have been taken in contravention of international law and the Charter of the United Nations; thirdly, to desist forthwith from taking action that would result in changing the legal status of the occupied territories, as well as their geographical and demographic composition. We believe that there is no disagreement over this paragraph. Its tenor has been reaffirmed in various resolutions either by the Council or the Assembly. Its main elements have been emphasized in numerous resolutions.

31. The second section of the draft resolution is to be found in operative paragraph 5. It simply asks for the establishment of a commission of five members of the Council to investigate the situation in the occupied territories. Here there is action. Here there is a tangible step to be taken by the Council, a step which goes beyond the usual reaffirmation of principles.

32. The representative of Israel in the course of this debate has portrayed the situation in the occupied territories in rosy terms, so much so that one gets the impression that suddenly a new paradise has descended on the occupied territories. The best way to confirm whether it is a paradise or less than a paradise, or an inferno, or something that borders on an inferno, is to send a commission of the Security Council. It is the view of the sponsors that such a commission will be appointed by the President of the Council in consultation with its members and bearing in mind the usual principle of equitable geographical representation. The history of Palestine is replete with commissions and such a proposal is not a novel one in the history of the conflict, but its importance arises from the fact that the Council will be physically involved. The Council will not be satisfied with a repetition of general principles but will take action to ensure the observance of those principles. There is a time-frame within which the Commission will submit its report, and that is the end of May.

33. The final paragraph of the draft resolution is a decision by the Council to meet again in June in order to study the findings of the commission and in order to take appropriate action in the light of those findings.

34. That is all that the draft is about. I believe that it commends itself for adoption as soon as possible since the situation in the occupied territories is deteriorating. Two Palestinians were gunned down yesterday in the occupied territories.

35. Mr. KAISER (Bangladesh): Ambassador Bishara's eloquent introduction of the draft resolution contained in document S/13171 leaves very little for me to add. Ban-

ladesh has co-sponsored this draft resolution in its firm belief that the Security Council has a duty to move beyond mere reaffirmation of principles and past resolutions and take an effective and useful forward step which would directly involve the Council in the search for solutions.

36. I wish also to state in passing, with reference to remarks made by the Israeli representative yesterday [2127th meeting], that Bangladesh refuses to be drawn into the trap of diverting attention from the issue at hand. We shall not demean ourselves by replying to the Israeli representative's vituperation and abuse, the content and tone of which has served only to lower the prestige and authority of the Council. As they stand, his remarks against Bangladesh are irrelevant, false and distorted—a clear ploy to circumvent and camouflage Israel's long history of illegality and the immoral and inhuman measures it has taken in the Arab occupied territories. This is the heart of the item of which we are seized. This is the question on which we await Israel's response. This is the judgement of virtually all the speakers, from every nation and every continent in the world, who with singular unanimity, have exposed Israel's designs. Israel's blanket counter-allegations cannot detract from this fact. They merely serve to heighten Israel's isolation. In saying the above, I am sure I am echoing the sentiments of other representatives whose countries have been subjected to similar indignities.

37. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

38. Mr. MARTYNENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to congratulate you on your assumption of the Presidency of the Security Council for March and wishes you success in guiding the work of this important body and in resolving the complicated tasks facing it. I should also like to express our gratitude to you and through you to the other members of the Council for having allowed us to take part in this discussion.

39. Yet again the Security Council is discussing the question which is of primary importance for the elimination of the dangerous hotbed of tension in the Middle East. Raising the issue, as has already been noted, is quite justified, timely and relevant. The documents available to the Council show that Israel's continued policy of occupation in the territories appropriated by it is hampering a peaceful settlement in this region and is increasing the threat to international peace and security and the national existence of the Palestinian people.

40. By exploiting the failure to resolve the Middle East conflict and by taking refuge behind separate deals, the Israeli aggressors in recent times have actively increased their policy of expansion, colonization and annexation in the occupied Arab territories and are implementing in practice plans for creating a Greater Israel at the expense of the Arab lands.

41. The whole world is witness to the campaign of repression and mass terror perpetrated against the Arab population by the Israeli authorities in its planned mass expulsion of the Arab population from the occupied territories. The occupiers systematically destroy Arab villages and in their place create Israeli settlements. Having created more than 120 of these settlements in the occupied territories, Tel Aviv, despite decisive condemnation throughout the world and in violation of United Nations resolutions, has begun to implement a programme of mass infiltration by the Israeli colonists in the West Bank of the Jordan, thus creating an infrastructure which will ensure the further development and colonization of more and more expropriated Arab lands.

42. Those who have already spoken in this debate have already emphasized that the aggressors have confiscated and colonized 29 per cent of the territory of the West Bank, including the most fertile lands. In that expropriated territory the Israeli occupiers have deprived the local Arab population of their life-giving water resources. The seizure by the aggressors of the fertile lands, their irrigation sources and the water resources themselves have forced the Palestinians, when they are not expelled by force, to leave their homelands. All this leads to a change in the demographic structure of the territory for the purpose of creating the notorious "living space".

43. Other no less perfidious methods are used to create Israeli settlements and communications in the occupied territories which are planned and set up in such a way as to stake out "new borders" for Israel and break up what was once a unified territory into separate portions, isolated from each other by three belts of ever newer Israeli settlements.

44. As certain representatives have already pointed out, it is planned to settle about half a million Israeli colonists in that territory. It is not, then, merely a question of illegal occupation, mass repressions, violations of the rights of the Palestine people, expropriation of their property and natural resources and confiscation of their land. The policy of the Israeli aggressors aims at destroying the very national existence of the Arab people of Palestine. However, neither is it merely a question of violating the fourth Geneva Convention. Israel's policy aims at subverting a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East, which significantly adds to the explosive situation in that region.

45. Moreover, the representative of Israel has demonstrated during this debate utter contempt—which is typical of Tel Aviv—for the United Nations, its Members and the Security Council and resorted to hackneyed tactics of trying to justify Israel's policy of occupation. He has tried in an unseemly manner to lead the Security Council away from the real truth, making slanderous and indiscriminate attacks on all participants in the discussion and adducing completely irrelevant matters of simply imaginary issues in an attempt to divert attention from the substance of the question under discussion—the scandalous crimes against the Arab population in the occupied territories that are perpetrated every hour by the occupiers, crimes against the Arab people of Palestine and the cause of peace in the Middle East.

46. What is promoting that abnormal and dangerous situation in the Middle East is the support and connivance of the forces of imperialism and international reaction for the Israeli expansionists and colonizers, as well as the shameful separate deals at the expense of the legitimate rights, interests and aspirations of the Arab peoples, first and foremost the Arab people of Palestine. There are ever more obvious attempts—though sometimes hidden behind a screen of "autonomy" and "self-government"—to oust the Palestine Liberation Organization or simply to remove the Palestinian problem from the process of arriving at a Middle East settlement and to impose capitulatory and neo-colonialist conditions on the Arab peoples and the Palestinian people. This does not lead to a just and lasting peace but merely contributes to recarving the map of the Middle East in favour of Israeli expansionism, thus complicating the situation in the Middle East and sowing the seeds of a new armed conflict.

47. During the discussion of this question in the Security Council, many delegations have already pointed out the illegal activities of Israel at Jerusalem. In its resolutions the General Assembly has repeatedly emphasized the inadmissibility of Israel changing the status of occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem. However, flouting United Nations decisions, international law, and world public opinion, the Israeli aggressors have annexed Jerusalem by force and are at the present time taking feverish steps to legalize that illegal act.

48. Events in recent months have made it even clearer that the backing of the forces of imperialism and reaction is sharpening the insatiable appetite of the Israeli expansionists, who are unwilling to take any account of the rights of other peoples or international opinion and completely ignoring the realities of the Middle East.

49. All this must compel the Security Council to take most decisive measures under Chapter VII of the Charter in order to halt the expansionist, aggressive policy of expropriation by the Israeli leaders, and to defend, guarantee and implement the exercise of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

50. The Ukrainian SSR has always been strongly of the opinion that the way to peace and security in the Middle East does not lie through pandering to the aggressor but through halting aggression, eliminating its consequences and restoring the usurped rights of the Palestinian people who live under the heel of the occupiers. We are staunchly on the side of the Arab peoples, who are struggling for the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression, for freedom, independence and social progress, and we uphold their legitimate interests and rights. We demand a just and comprehensive political settlement in the Middle East.

51. That position of principle in support of the just struggle of the Arab peoples has been taken by the Ukrainian SSR in the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, of which it is a member. We should like once more to point out that

that Committee's recommendations, which have been endorsed by the General Assembly, emphasize that, unless the Palestinian problem is resolved, unless the national rights of the Palestinian people are restored, peace and security in that region will be unattainable.

52. Any further postponement of a solution of this problem is tantamount to connivance in the annexationist policy of Israel and its scorn for the fate of peace in the Middle East and throughout the world.

53. Only a comprehensive, just settlement can bring peace to the peoples of the Middle East and ensure the legitimate rights and interests of the people of that region. Such a settlement, as has been emphasized several times in United Nations resolutions, should first of all eliminate the reasons for the Middle East conflict and imply Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967. It should give the Palestinian people the opportunity fully to exercise their inalienable right to create their own national homeland and State. Finally, it should ensure the most stringent international security guarantees for all States of the region without exception. A comprehensive and radical settlement is possible, obviously, only with the participation on an equal footing of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

54. The interests of international security demand that this dangerous situation in the Middle East be eliminated as soon as possible and that all peoples of the region be allowed to live and work in conditions of a just and lasting peace.

55. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Jordan, on whom I now call.

56. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): It is my privilege and pleasure to extend a warm welcome to the new representative of brotherly Zambia, His Excellency Paul Lusaka. I am confident that this contribution will be wise, dedicated and exemplary.

57. I have been genuinely amused over the past week watching the representative of Israel—the twin brother of racist South Africa through Oppenheimer and his conglomerates—sitting in the dock, indicted, self-indicting and ostracized by every Member State which spoke in the Council. They represented every region, ideology and religious and political affiliation. These are great and proud nations which represent the rich and variegated heritage of humanity. Instead of heeding the voice of humanity and reporting it to his Government, the representative of Israel has prepared texts passed to him to read out—papers which were evidently stored in a computer—maliciously and abusing indiscriminately and viciously each and every State which dared speak according to its conscience and uphold the principles of the Charter. I am looking forward to hearing what the President will have in store for him and the wrath stored in the Israeli computer against friendly Nigeria. I think that this is the pathetic sight of a self-convicted entity, unable by its policies and undisguised deeds even to attempt a semblance of defence on the subject of the complaint, if only to

mitigate the almost universal and unequivocal condemnation.

58. The representative of Israel has consistently attempted to divert the Council's attention from the fundamental and substantive basis of our complaint, namely, the ruthless, systematic and accelerating process of Israeli colonization, expropriation, emasculation and desecration of Jerusalem and the other Palestinian and Arab occupied lands, the seizure of the water and other resources which have placed the very survival of the remnants of the Palestinian people in their ancestral homeland in the gravest jeopardy and seriously undermined the possibilities for a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East and beyond—which we all cherish, provided it is not such a deceptive and clear sham.

59. When South Africa pursued an identical policy towards the fate of Namibia and *apartheid*, the world community responded by ridding itself of that blood-sucking monster which adamantly refused to respect a decent international order or the millions of decent human beings enslaved in their own country.

60. Israel, legally and morally, has even less entitlement to membership in the United Nations, because its very admission was conditional upon its complying with two basic conditions, namely, the territorial settlements based on the United Nations partition plan in General Assembly resolution 181 (II). This plan specifically provided for the establishment of a Palestinian Arab State which included, in addition to the whole of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the greater part of new Jerusalem and the whole of old Jerusalem and Western Galilee, including Nazareth, almost all the fertile plains in Central Palestine, including Lydda—which Israel calls Lod—and Ramleh, with a corridor to 100 per cent of the city of Jaffa, a substantial strip of coastal area right up to the Askalan port—at present known as Israeli Ashqelon—parts of the Negev and other areas which the Council can see on United Nations maps.

61. Equally important was General Assembly resolution 194 (III), which laid down the second basic condition and provided for the inalienable right of every Palestinian refugee or displaced person to return to his ancestral home.

62. Having solemnly committed itself to implementing those two mandatory resolutions and having obtained admission to the United Nations, the Israelis reneged—and yet they still hold a seat in the council of nations. Not a single refugee has been repatriated, not a single inch returned. But, to compound the original sin and infamy, since 1967 they have been diligently devouring the tiny remnant that remained in the hands of the Palestinians with the eventual aim of obliterating their very existence.

63. The position of the Security Council, the General Assembly and other United Nations organs has been consistently forthright and they have shown themselves to be undaunted. But then the tantalizing questions arise: Are the Israelis above the law? Has the world been polarized into an omnipotent race and subservient Gentiles

born into this world to serve the aims of the "master race"? We, the Gentiles, are several billion human souls, and yet how much weight, I wonder, do we carry in the councils of some of the mighty?

64. Some time ago, *Time* magazine published a revealing story that every day a Mr. Rothschild meets with a cabal in London, behind closed doors, to decide on fixing the price of gold. A flash is sent out to agents around the world to observe the price. That, of course, extends to monetary and other financial manipulations. How can the billions of struggling human beings—and we are trying to build a new international economic order based on justice—compete with such awesome powers, except by their indomitable spirit and their unshakeable faith in justice, equality, goodness and the inherent worth of the individual?

65. I know that the representative of Israel will accuse me of anti-Semitism, even though we consider anti-Semitism as our greatest enemy, not only because it runs counter to our basic beliefs but also functionally because it triggers greater immigration that would hasten further dislodgement from our homeland and diminish our hopes—dim as they seem now—of our eventual redemption. Hitler's abominable behaviour, more than anything else, contributed to the innocent Palestinians' undoing.

66. But, notwithstanding, I have no doubt that the B'nai B'rith, the Gestapo of the Zionist movement, will put me on their long black list as anti-Semite—together with large segments of honourable American citizens, whom they place on their all-encompassing black list and blackmail—simply because I seek justice and redemption for my fellow countrymen in dispersal and agony.

67. If anyone doubts the truth of my statement let him throw a cursory glance at the Israelis' sordid record—and the list of their misdeeds is just the tip of the iceberg.

68. In the mid-1940s Lord Moyne, Minister of State and member of the British War Cabinet, was murdered in cold blood at Cairo, because the Zionist movement did not feel comfortable with his views. He was in charge of the British war effort in the entire Middle East.

69. Towards the end of the 1940s, one of the most patriotic and dedicated American statesmen and the first United States Secretary of Defense was dismissed and subjected to such ruthless harassment for almost six months that, in disgust and fury, he committed suicide. Of course, Mr. Truman, who dismissed him, became President of the United States—hardly a compensation for the loss of such a great man.

70. Count Bernadotte, the United Nations Mediator, was shot dead on the streets of Jerusalem because the Israelis did not like his views on the peaceful settlement of the conflict.

71. Mr. William Rogers, a man of great integrity and patriotism, was thrown out of office as Secretary of State because he dared present a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict based on the provisions of Security Council reso-

lution 242 (1967) and the repatriation of substantial numbers of Palestine refugees.

72. In 1967 the Sixth Fleet was held up for nine hours by Israeli air and naval forces and was prevented from coming to the rescue of one of the beleaguered United States sister ships that was under merciless attack, which resulted in numerous casualties among United States citizens, not to mention the damage to the prestige of the United States of America. One of the two Rostrow brothers, both ardent Zionists, prevailed upon the late President Johnson not to take any action, on political grounds.

73. Governor Scranton, former Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, after his return from a Middle East trip, committed the unforgivable sin of suggesting that the United States policy towards the Middle East should be "even-handed". What a crime! Those two words cost him his political career.

74. I think that all countries in the world, including ours, would cherish the most friendly and mutually beneficial relationships with the great American people, as we have always done. But we are forcibly prevented from having such relationships by the evident dominance of a Zionist Power which is bent on our destruction. Even normal and friendly relationships between the two super-Powers, upon which the survival of the human race hinges, are made hostage to this invisible—or, rather, visible—Power, which sees the American national interest only in proportion to the enhancement of Zionist goals.

75. I would be a happy man if I could find that the great American people had unshackled themselves from these narrow-gauged and selfish constraints. Then and only then would we see the dawn of a happy and peaceful future in which all of us would work in concert and amity. Gunboat diplomacy is no substitute for winning the hearts and minds of men and women everywhere—and without having to waste any bills, or even a single cent, which could be spent more usefully elsewhere, at least in the United States.

76. I had intended yesterday to read out a telex message from our Foreign Ministry which replies to the Israeli representative's gleeful information about the terrible situation in Yemen. That I thought would please him and give him a good night's rest. The telex message said that Mr. Hassan Ibrahim, the Jordan Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and member of the Arab mediation mission, had returned after conducting talks in both Sana and Aden, in implementation of the decision of the League of Arab States to resolve the dispute between the two parts of Yemen. The Minister declared that the mediation mission had succeeded in its efforts to ensure observance of the cease-fire and the withdrawal of the armed forces on both sides. He added that it had been agreed to stop the verbal attacks between the two countries and also to reopen communications. The message added that the mediation mission had succeeded in establishing an atmosphere propitious to the start of a brotherly dialogue between the two Yemens—although, really, there is only

one Yemen. The twentieth of this month has been agreed upon as a day of solidarity, coinciding with a meeting in Kuwait between the Presidents of North and South Yemen.

77. His Majesty King Hussein of Jordan presided over a special meeting of the Cabinet in the aftermath of the declaration pertaining to agreement on the conclusion of a bilateral peace between Egypt and Israel. An extensive review of the situation was carried out in relation to the consequences in the Arab world and on the international scene, and the dimensions of the challenge which confronts the Arab nation as a result of the conclusion of a separate peace between Israel and Egypt. His Majesty King Hussein stressed the grave responsibilities which devolve upon the entire Arab nation in confronting the dangers and acting collectively and in close concert to meet them. King Hussein asserted the imperative need to consolidate and augment collective Arab strength to enable our nation to safeguard and restore its rights.

78. King Hussein reiterated that Jordan's position had always been committed to the achievement of a just and comprehensive peace in which all parties participated and to the solution of all aspects of the conflict on the basis of total Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab lands, foremost of which is Holy Jerusalem, and to the restoration of all the national rights of the Palestinian people.

79. King Hussein emphasized the imperative need to mobilize all the components of the Arab nation's capabilities and resources. He also reiterated Jordan's abiding adherence to common Arab action in accordance with the resolutions of the Arab summit conference at Baghdad.

80. It will be seen from what I have said that Jordan, while striving, as it has always done, for a just, lasting and comprehensive peace, will never accede to a sham and humiliating peace imposed by Israeli diktat.

81. Resolution 242 (1967) is categorical and forthright in stating the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. We are now being asked, under the so-called self-rule project, to sanctify and legalize the military occupation indefinitely; we are being asked to forgo our glorious legacy and religious attachment to Holy Jerusalem and its environs, which extend from Bethlehem to the doorsteps of Ramallah. We are being asked not only to accept as a permanent feature the 80 settlements already established in Jerusalem and the West Bank—not to speak of the 60 or so settlements in the Gaza Strip and the Golan—but also to acquiesce in ongoing and relentless colonization, which has been given the green light. The refugees and the displaced are sidetracked by a conspiracy of silence. For who would invoke the wrath of emperor Begin by raising these elemental rights?

82. It might be illuminating to refer the Council to a report on provisional recommendations by an Israeli ministerial committee to the Israeli Cabinet, as to how the

Israelis visualize the self-rule project. That report contained the following:

—First, the self-rule would apply only to the Arab Palestinian residents, and not to the Israeli colonizers in the area, who would enjoy extraterritorial rights.

—Secondly, the ultimate authority in the self-rule areas, already largely vivisected and cut into bits and pieces, would reside in the Israeli army, and the centre of this ultimate authority would be vested in the specified locations of Israeli military presence, it being understood that the Palestinian inhabitants would never be given the jurisdiction that might enable them to establish their own State.

—Thirdly, the Israelis would enjoy unrestricted freedom of colonization and the freedom to buy and seize land in the civil-rule areas.

—Fourthly, the Israeli Government would retain control of what are called *miri*, or State domains, even though, as I explained earlier, these are the communal possession of the indigenous inhabitants.

—Fifthly, Israel would remain in control of the water resources and would strive to establish a common water authority.

—Sixthly, the Israeli army would remain in the military camps to be agreed upon during the period of talks on self-rule; it would also retain the right to conduct military exercises and manoeuvres in those areas earmarked for self-rule, as it sees fit.

—Seventhly, free movement of Jews and Arabs would be ensured in the self-rule areas.

—Eighthly, the law would remain as it is and a common higher judicial commission should be formed between the self-rule administration and Israel to add what Israel regards as other appropriate laws.

83. The Israeli ministerial committee has also recommended that the self-rule set-up should comprise the following:

1. An economic department, provided it has no authority to issue money or impose customs duties; its authority would be restricted to imposing direct taxation on the inhabitants;

2. A department of the interior which would have no power to issue passports; the Palestinian Arabs would have the choice of carrying either Israeli or Jordanian passports;

3. A cultural department which would be responsible for education and the issuing of books, but Israeli censorship would retain jurisdiction over the supervision of all publications in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip;

4. A department for agriculture;

5. A department for religious affairs which would handle *waqf* charitable foundations;

6. A department of labour which would be in charge of social affairs and trade unions;

7. A department of health in charge of health problems under the over-all supervision of Israel;

8. A department of transport which would apply Israeli rules and regulations;

9. An Arab police department which would handle crime and other offences, but the Israeli army and the Israeli internal security department would retain over-all authority for internal security.

84. Is the afore-mentioned consonant with the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions? Does it constitute the comprehensive, just and lasting peace about which we all talk? Or is it not a final liquidation of the rights of the Palestinian people in the homeland of their forefathers? When South Africa had the audacity to present its bantustan policy—and I think in many aspects it was much more charitable—the Assembly's first resolution two years ago was a resounding and scornful no. I am sure that the Council will be no less vehement in saying NO with capital letters.

85. The civil rule proposals which I have outlined do not, of course, include Jerusalem and its environs from Bethlehem to Ramallah, for Israel had already annexed the city by taking the following steps.

86. On 28 June 1967 the Knesset adopted a resolution to annex Arab Jerusalem to Israel and to apply Israeli laws therein as in an Israeli territory. Following that resolution a spurt of executive resolutions were put into effect:

—First, the dissolution of the municipal council at Arab Jerusalem and its replacement by the municipal council of the other part of occupied Jerusalem, headed by Teddy Kollek; it was accorded the duties of municipal services; in addition, Palestinian Arab employees were requested to work for the Israeli municipality.

—Secondly, the closing down of the Directorate of Education at Jerusalem, forcing the government schools to become branches of the Israeli municipality, and the forcible adoption of the Israeli education curricula in those schools, making the Palestinian teachers accountable to the Israeli municipality.

—Thirdly, the closing down of all the Arab banks as well as the branches of foreign banks at Arab Jerusalem.

—Fourthly, the application of Israeli customs duties on the borders of Arab Jerusalem with the rest of the West Bank, including the imposition of customs duties of all commodities coming from the West Bank.

—Fifthly, the carrying out of a special census of the Palestinian inhabitants of Arab Jerusalem different from the census carried out in the rest of the West Bank; Israeli identity cards, not passports, were issued to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, different from those given to the inhabitants of the West Bank, which are issued by the military governors; as a matter of fact, they are of two different colours.

—Sixthly, the Judaization of both the civil and the Shariah courts by the following method:

(a) Dismissing all the Arab judges and forcing them to submit new applications for employment as judges to apply Israeli law;

(b) The annexation of the Arab civil courts to the Israeli courts;

(c) Making the Shariah religious courts accountable to the Shariah court at Jaffa—there are only 5,000 to 10,000 Arabs at Jaffa, as far as I know—I may be wrong—and severing its links with the other Shariah courts in the rest of the West Bank;

(d) Severance of the civil courts at Jerusalem from the other civil courts in the rest of the West Bank;

(e) The transfer of the Arab Supreme Court from Jerusalem to Ramallah; the Arab legal profession, including the lawyers, have ever since, over the past 11 years, boycotted the courts in consequence of this resolution;

(f) The transfer of all Arab medical departments, including the blood bank, the anti-tuberculosis centre, laboratories and government pharmacies and all other employees to other locations in the West Bank;

(g) The linking of postal and other communications facilities to the Israeli network; the linkage included the Arab villages of Sur Baher, Shu'faat, Beit Hanina, Silwan, West Sahur, Um Tuba, Eissawiya, Tur and parts of Abu Dees and Eastern Sahur;

(h) The application of the law called "the present absent"; I am sure this is a jigsaw puzzle which takes time to work out and a very curious phenomenon for the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who did not happen to be at Jerusalem when the census was carried out in July 1967 even though they resided in other parts of the West Bank;

(i) Twenty Arab philanthropic societies were closed down, reducing the number of such societies in Arab Jerusalem from 100 to 80;

(j) Transfer of the headquarters of the Israeli police—and I mean the headquarters of the Israeli police of the State of Israel—to the Arab city of Jerusalem; they are now housed in a hospital building erected by the Jordan Government in the mid-1960;

(k) Transfer of the offices of the Histadrut—the Israeli labour union—to Jerusalem in 1977;

(l) Transfer of the offices of the World Jewish Congress to Jerusalem in 1979; during 1977 plans were made to transfer all Israeli government offices to Jerusalem in a period of two years, and work has started on the construction of 50,000 square metres for their offices;

(m) Transfer of the residence of the Israeli Prime Minister from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in June 1977;

(n) Transfer of the Supreme Court of Justice and the offices of the Israeli Ministry of Justice to Arab Jerusalem; on 17 November 1976 Teddy Kollek, the mayor of occupied Jerusalem, requested that the United States transfer its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and recognize Jerusalem as the capital of the State of Israel.

87. On 29 January 1979 the Israeli Parliament's governing coalition tabled a draft law which would make Jerusalem the seat of foreign diplomatic missions. According to this law Israel will request all States with diplomatic missions in Israel to transfer their offices to Jerusalem within a certain period of time and full diplomatic

immunities will be given to foreign embassies at Jerusalem only, while a minimum of diplomatic immunities will be given to embassies in Tel Aviv. Israeli ministries were instructed to deal with foreign ambassadors at Jerusalem.

88. In September 1978 Menachem Begin decided to transfer his office and the offices of the Minister for Foreign Affairs from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

89. As regards expropriation of land and forced Arab emigration, more than 1,654 homes and properties were demolished in the Arab quarter of Al-Sharaf alone. They constituted 1,215 homes, 427 commercial stores, 5 Islamic theological centres, 3 monasteries and 4 schools; 6,500 Arabs were forced to leave the city of Jerusalem during a period of five years after the occupation.

90. To force the Jewish character on the Arab city of Jerusalem by way of increasing its population to half a million people by 1975, the Israeli authorities carried out a crash programme of settling tens of thousands of Jews in the heart of the Arab city and its suburbs.

91. On 18 September 1968 the Israelis expropriated three Arab quarters—namely, Al-Magharbeh, Bab Al-Silsileh and parts of the Al-Sharaf quarter, from which 6,500 Arabs were evacuated to make room for 300 Jewish families. To name just a few Israeli colonies that stand witness to Israeli designs in the Holy City of Jerusalem: Ramat Eshkol, in the Sheikh Jarrah area, where 1,800 housing units were built to house 30,000 Israelis; Mount Scopus, the French Hill and the Mount of Olives, where 2,000 housing units were built up to 1973—this, of course, must be updated, because I looked it up in the old records—on land owned by 500 Arab citizens; and the Nabi Samuel colony, built on lands owned by the Arabs of Beit Hanina. An additional 8,000 apartments are under construction.

92. I could go on listing Israeli cannibalization of Holy Jerusalem district by district, but let me sum up the Israeli plan for Greater Jerusalem.

93. In its issue of 26 March 1969—that is almost a decade ago—the Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv* uncovered the details of the Israeli plan for Greater Jerusalem, since augmented, as the capital of Israel. *Ma'ariv* pointed out that drawings for the plan had begun in June 1967 and provided for increasing the population of the city eventually to 900,000, of which, of course, the overwhelming majority would be Jews. The plan is described as:

(a) The annexation of 400 to 500 square kilometres of Arab land surrounding Jerusalem, from Ramallah to Bethlehem.

(b) The evacuation of no less than 130,000 Arabs from that area by all means.

(c) The vivisection of the West Bank—and it is a known fact that the larger portion of this plan is being implemented in lands of Beit Jala, Anata, Jabal Tawil at Al-Bireh and land from Beit Sahur.

(d) Erasing the Arab and Islamic tradition and character. Digging operations are still being carried on by the Israeli authorities under the Al-Aqsa Mosque, under its western and southern walls, and under the Buraq Wall. These diggings have reached the point where they could cause large parts of the Mosque and other historic and religious sites to cave in in ruin. This includes 300 homes housing about 3,000 Arab citizens. I have heard from citizens living in that quarter that they have to walk, literally every day, over great mounds of debris just to move from their houses to some other destination, and of course they know that they are living in the shadow of death and collapse.

(e) The historical reminder of the burning of the Al-Aqsa Mosque on 21 August 1969.

(f) The usurpation of the Palestine Museum at Jerusalem and its being claimed as the property of the Israeli Government.

(g) The replacement of Arab and Islamic street names and the names of other historic Arab sites by Hebrew-Jewish names.

(h) The demolition of Mamilla Cemetery, the 1,000-year-old Islamic cemetery at occupied Jerusalem, since 1948 and its transformation into an Israeli park, as I have explained in an earlier statement.

(i) The expropriation of vast areas of Christian and Islamic land and property.

(j) The application of Israeli tax laws and customs to Arab industrial products in the city of Jerusalem, with preferential treatment to Israeli products.

(k) The application of Israeli commercial laws to Arab commercial activities to burden Arab businessmen with high taxation.

(l) In an attempt to force bankruptcy and liquidation on it, the forcing of the Arab Electric Company by the Israeli authorities to supply Israeli settlements around Jerusalem with power, without those settlements being forced to pay for it. The Arab Electric Company of Jerusalem was catering to a relatively small part of Jerusalem, so it is also beyond its physical capacity to service the expansion that has occurred in that part of Arab Jerusalem.

94. Is it at all surprising that for six days on end the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the rest of the West Bank have been demonstrating in anger over the ugly reality of their dumping and over the perpetuation of their capacity in the clutches of Israeli occupation? And is it at all surprising that the Baghdad Arab summit had vehemently rejected the proposed solution, not because it is against peace—on the contrary, it is for a just, comprehensive and lasting peace—but because of the substance of the peace proposed?

95. If illegality and occupation must continue, it is not required that we legalize it. There are limits beyond which enough is enough.

96. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, on whom I call.

97. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): The fourth Geneva Convention stipulates, *inter alia*, in article 49 that:

"The occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies."

Apparently the Supreme Court of Israel thinks otherwise. In its *Daily News Bulletin* of 16 March 1979 the Jewish Telegraphic Agency reports this item, datelined Jerusalem, 15 March:

"The Supreme Court ruled today that Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories are legal if their existence is necessary to the security of the State as long as a state of war exists. The unanimous ruling by the panel of five justices put an end to legal challenges to Israel's settlement policy and was seen as opening the way to the proliferation of settlements in the occupied areas.

"The court rendered its decision on an appeal by Arab residents of Bet El and Tubas on the West Bank against the seizure of their lands by the army for eventual settlement. They contended that this did not serve any military purpose and was in conflict with international law. But the court accepted the Government's contention that the lands seized were strategically sensitive and therefore important to security. It also claimed that the seizures were in accordance with article 53 of the Geneva Convention which permits the seizure of land for military purposes.

"A representative of the International Red Cross who attended the hearings said he would report to his headquarters in Geneva. Settlers in the Jordan Valley were relieved by the decision. They had feared that if the Arabs' appeal succeeded, Arab landowners in the Jordan Valley would be in a position to challenge the legitimacy of their own settlements.

"Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon, who heads the ministerial settlement committee and is a strong advocate of massive Israeli settlement in the occupied territories, told settlers in Bel El that the court ruling cleared the way for more settlements on hitherto disputed land."

98. That decision accords exactly with our position, namely, that these colonies are military installations erected by the occupying Power and consequently are legitimate military targets for legitimate action by the Palestinian freedom fighters in the exercise of their right to resist alien domination and foreign occupation. That right includes armed resistance.

99. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the German Democratic Republic has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

100. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President I am compelled to ask for the floor once more since the representative of Israel in his lies and slander has gone beyond all the bounds which even the representative of a State which

is an aggressor might have been expected to observe in the United Nations and in such a responsible body as the Security Council. First of all, I must point out that the State which goes by the name of East Germany does not exist. My State is called the German Democratic Republic but it seems that we could not even expect the elementary rules of politeness to be observed by the representative of a State whose attack on the 4-million-strong Arab people of Palestine has been condemned by the whole world.

101. I should like to take one example of his scornful lies to show how we should evaluate the statement made yesterday by that gentleman. It would seem from his statement that the German Democratic Republic is a country without a Jewish population. I have before me the bulletin of the Union of Jewish Communities of the German Democratic Republic, which is published periodically. This is the December issue for 1978. Under the heading "To all our anniversary celebrators we wish many more happy and healthy years" we read "The Jewish community of Berlin, the Jewish community of Dresden, the Jewish community of Halle, the Jewish community of Karl-Marx-Stadt, the Israeli religious community of Leipzig, the community of the Magdeburg Synagogue, Union of the Thuringia Jewish community". That issue tells us at what time sabbath music will be broadcast by Berlin radio, and about religious services for the Jewish communities and much more besides. The following words from the introductory article of that Jewish publication, the December issue, are I think significant. I shall quote:

"Foreigners often ask us whether Jews can live at all in a German State after all these difficult years. We who live in the German Democratic Republic would like to confirm that decisively. And here freedom of religious observance, guaranteed by our Constitution, social security and full integration in State and social life are only one side of the matter. The other side is our conviction that the historical birth of the State from the anti-Fascist and anti-democratic régime is becoming the heritage of the younger generation and is constantly being understood by them. The historical experience gained by the older generation is handed on to many young people who themselves did not live through those terrible events. The crimes of the National Socialist dictatorship, in particular the extermination of millions upon millions of people in Europe who were killed in the Fascist war and as a result of the deliberate extermination in death camps, are constantly being unmasked."

102. I should like to mention one more thing; during the fortieth anniversary of the so-called *Kristallnacht* of 1938 the President of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, sent a message to the President of the Union of Jewish Communities of the German Democratic Republic from which I quote the following:

"The pogroms perpetrated against people of Jewish descent four decades ago and which revealed the very essence of the Hitlerite régime in its most disgusting form should have shaken all anti-Fascists. In the state-

ment of November 1938 called 'Shame on the Jewish pogrom' the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany most resolutely condemned these bloody excesses. The aims of the joint struggle after the liberation of the people by the Soviet army have been implemented in the German Democratic Republic. Imperialism and militarism, racism and anti-Semitism have been completely eliminated. In building socialism our people is building a new life. In doing this citizens of the Jewish faith play an active part. In observing their religion and their traditions they can count on the full understanding of our State and our society."

103. These are the facts. One might ask why the representative of Israel is filled with such hatred for the German Democratic Republic, that anti-Fascist German State which in fact is not even thinking of halting its investigations of war criminals. It is not difficult to answer that question: he does this because the German Democratic Republic consistently rejects any imperialist deal with Israel which would serve the purposes of aggression and supports the just cause of the Arab peoples, particularly the Arab people of Palestine. In doing so we respect the right of each people in the Middle East to create its own State.

104. The German Democratic Republic is well known for its solidarity with all enslaved peoples fighting for their liberation. And we are proud of that solidarity.

105. My ambassador colleagues who have exercised the right of reply in this forum have repeatedly pointed out the tactics of the representative of Israel in the present deliberations. By slandering other States he attempts to divert attention from the shameless aggression and the colonial policies of the ruling circles of Israel.

106. My delegation is firmly convinced that distinguished members of the Security Council understand full well the intention of the representative of that aggressive State and that the Security Council will adopt decisions which respond to the just demands voiced by the distinguished representatives of Jordan and Kuwait.

107. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Pakistan has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I invite

him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

108. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): I have asked to exercise my right of reply to the statements made by the representative of Israel at the 2124th meeting. In referring to the statement I had made earlier in the same meeting, the representative of Israel made some totally irrelevant and incorrect remarks about my country. It is significant that he did not mention any of the arguments or facts presented in my statement on the actual issues before the Council, namely, the continued illegal occupation by Israel of Arab territories, the consistent, illegal measures by Israel to alter the legal status, geographical nature and demographic composition of the Holy City of Jerusalem and the continued denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and a sovereign State in their own homeland under the leadership of their sole representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization. Instead, he indulged in attempts to divert the attention of the Council by making disparaging observations about nearly every country whose representative has so far participated in this debate. He even assailed the United Nations for showing partiality to the Arab cause.

109. But, in doing so, the representative of Israel was only highlighting the total isolation in which Israel finds itself today. Moreover, he demonstrated his lack of knowledge of the developments in several countries, including my own. Above all, however, he displayed his ignorance of the glorious contribution of Islam in raising human values in all spheres of our endeavour. The introduction of Islamic laws in Pakistan, as indeed in several other Islamic countries, demonstrates our resolve to reorder our lives in accordance with the eternal tenets of Islam.

110. In conclusion, what the Israeli representative frivolously termed a "barren ritual" has been a fruitful and comprehensive debate. The international community has once again unanimously deplored Israel's indefensible conduct in the occupied Arab territories and its illegal measures to colonize and annex the Holy City of Jerusalem and has called upon it to halt its intransigence.

The meeting rose at 6.00 p.m.

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