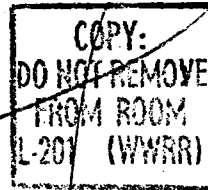


UNITED NATIONS



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-FIFTH YEAR

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**2226<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 5 JUNE 1980

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#### NOTE

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## 2226th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 5 June 1980, at 3 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Ole ÅLGÅRD (Norway).

*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/2226)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the occupied Arab territories:  
Letter dated 3 June 1980 from the Permanent Representative of Bahrain to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13977)

*The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### The situation in the occupied Arab territories:

Letter dated 3 June 1980 from the Permanent Representative of Bahrain to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13977)

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bahrain, Egypt, 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. Blum (Israel) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Al-Saffar (Bahrain), Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt) and Mr. Al-Zubi (Jordan) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like further to inform the members of the Council that I have received a

letter dated 4 June from the representative of Tunisia [S/13982], which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request that the Security Council invite 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 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. McHENRY (United States of America): The United States has made clear its 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 the right of participation as if it were a Member State. For this reason, we shall vote against the manner in which this invitation is phrased when it is put to a vote.

6. The PRESIDENT: 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 by 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: The Security Council is meeting today in response to the letter dated 3 June from the representative of Bahrain to the President of the Council, circulated under the symbol S/13977.

8. Members of the Council have before them document S/13984, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of consultations.

9. The first speaker is the representative of Bahrain, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman for the month of June of the Group of Arab States at the United Nations. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

10. Mr. AL-SAFFAR (Bahrain): Permit me first of all to thank you, Mr. President, as well as the other members of the Security Council, for having convened this urgent meeting. I should like at the same time to extend to you my sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and to wish you every success in your difficult task as President of the Council. I am confident that your wisdom, diplomacy and statesmanship will be dedicated to the successful outcome of this debate.

11. It is an honour for my delegation, in its capacity as Chairman of the Group of Arab States for this month, to speak on a question of great concern to the Arab world and to the world community as a whole. The gravity of the situation in the West Bank has led us to request the holding of this meeting. The recent alarming developments in the situation and the intolerable persecution of the Palestinian people at the hands of Israeli fanatics and illegal armed settlers encouraged and supported by Zionist authorities in the West Bank are the reasons for convening this debate.

12. Last month the Council met to consider the illegal deportation from the occupied West Bank of three Palestinian Arabs, two Mayors and a Judge, which was a violation of the principles of international law in general and of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949<sup>1</sup> in particular.

13. The criminal and barbaric acts committed against the Mayor of Nablus, Mr. Bassam Shaka'a, and the Mayor of Ramallah, Mr. Karim Khalaf, which were undoubtedly organized by Israeli racists and fanatics, had as their aim the uprooting and annihilation of the Palestinian people so that the occupied Arab territories might be forever kept in Israeli hands.

14. On every possible occasion Israeli officials declare that they would live with the Arabs in peace and harmony—on their terms, of course. Peace and harmony cannot be founded on violence against a people in its occupied homeland. The brutality of the Israeli acts in the occupied Palestinian Arab territories are clear proof of Israeli intentions.

15. The recent developments in the occupied West Bank are alarming and call urgently on the conscience of the international community for that community to act rapidly to end the Israeli violations of the human rights of the Palestinian people and also to put an end to the Israeli occupation of all Arab territories.

16. Israel has practised every possible inhuman act against the Palestinian people, whether the latter are living in lands under Israeli occupation or in exile. Israel has practised collective punishment, house arrest, imprisonment, torture and deportation and finally has even bombed the cars of the Palestinian Mayors. That includes the collective punishment of families or whole towns and the blowing up of houses.

17. According to *The Christian Science Monitor* of 30 May, young soldiers testified to Uri Avneri, member of the Israeli Parliament and newspaper publisher, that, after they had served for one week on the West Bank, they were given the following order by a senior military government officer. "Every person you catch outside his house [during the curfew] beat him on all parts of his body except for the head. Have no pity; break all their bones."

18. Everyone knows that since 1967 Israel has occupied vast Arab territories. The Israeli leadership has on many occasions claimed that Israel was ready to withdraw from the occupied Arab lands within the framework of a comprehensive settlement that guaranteed peace and security to all parties concerned. However, it is evident today that the Israeli leadership has no intention at all of withdrawing from the occupied territories or even desisting from its expansionist and aggressive policy in those territories.

19. The Israeli policy of establishing settlements in the occupied Arab territories has been condemned by the international community. Even the United States has considered those settlements illegal and an obstacle to peace. That policy in fact not only violates international law and the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949<sup>1</sup> but also constitutes a crime against unarmed and innocent people who have lived under occupation for the last 13 years up to this day.

20. The Palestinian people have always not only demonstrated their firm opposition to the settlement policy but also resisted the occupation of their homeland. Resistance to occupation is a sacred duty and a legal right of every citizen everywhere. Nobody can reproach a people for its resistance to military occupation. Resistance to the forces of occupation has always been glorified and considered a form of heroism in countries which have suffered from foreign occupation. The heroic resistance of the Norwegian people to the Nazi occupation during the Second World War is recorded in history and the Palestinian resistance in no way differs from that of other national resistance groups. We do not think that the Palestinian people

would be denied the right to resist the Israeli military occupation by all the means at their disposal.

21. We believe that there is no comparison between the acts of a people resisting foreign power and the violence committed by illegal, alien settlers, come to usurp the lands and the property of others. The resistance of the Palestinian people to the Israeli occupation and to the illegal Israeli settlements in Palestine will therefore continue until the Israeli forces and settlers withdraw from the occupied Arab territories.

22. The denial by Israel of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination is not new, but it is a constant source of concern to the international community, which now has serious doubts about the desire of the Israeli officials for peace. Indeed, the recent events in the occupied Palestinian territories have shocked international public opinion. The promotion of new settlements, the deportation and the attempted assassinations of Palestinian leaders are part of a series of systematic violations of the Charter of the United Nations and the fourth Geneva Convention. In fact, they are deliberate acts to destroy the identity of the Palestinian people and to deprive it of the most fundamental human rights.

23. In our opinion, the United States bears a great responsibility for the sufferings of the Palestinian people. The United States not only supplies Israel with conventional and sophisticated weapons and allows it to continue its occupation of the Palestinian homeland; it is also one of the signatories of the Camp David accord and a party to the negotiations which aim at perpetuating the occupation of Arab territories and legalizing the Israeli presence in the Palestinian homeland.

24. We have stated our opposition to the Camp David accord on many occasions. The Palestinian people and its leaders have rejected it. Most European countries have also expressed their doubts about the outcome of the accord and the negotiations for Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza, because that accord and the negotiations that are taking place do not deal with the core of the Middle East conflict—that is, Palestinian national rights.

25. We are certain that the present negotiations on Palestinian autonomy will not lead to stability and peace in the region. Since the signing of the Camp David accord, the situation in the occupied Arab territories has deteriorated. Today we are faced with the same methods and tactics as were used by the Zionist organizations and settlers before the inception of Israel, which led to the massacres of Palestinian civilians and the eventual expulsion of Palestinians from their homes and lands, and resulted in the present tragedy of the Palestinian people.

26. We believe that any settlement of the Middle East conflict must recognize the right of the Pal-

estinian people to self-determination and its national right to establish its own sovereign State in Palestine.

27. The Israeli persecution of the Palestinian people will not stop the Palestinians' struggle to regain their national rights and to return to their homeland. Occupation will not last forever; it will vanish because of the determination of the Palestinian people. This determination was spelled out by the Mayor of Nablus, Mr. Shaka'a, while he was under treatment in the hospital, in these words: "They can amputate my legs, but they cannot amputate my struggle."

28. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Israel, on whom I call.

29. Mr. BLUM (Israel): Mr. President, at the outset, let me present my compliments to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. We all recall the exemplary skill, wisdom, statesmanship, propriety and good humour with which you conducted the business of the Council in April of last year. It gives us special pleasure to see you, the representative of a country with which mine has the most cordial of relations, in the presidency for a second time in the course of Norway's membership in the Council, and we know that you will exhibit once again the outstanding qualities which have gained you the esteem of us all.

30. Last Monday, 2 June, three persons were seriously injured in explosions which took place in Judea and Samaria. Two were the Mayors of Nablus and Ramallah. The third was a bomb-disposal expert of the Israel Police Force who saved the life of the Mayor of Al-Bireh and lost his eyesight in the process. In addition, seven people were wounded on the same day in Hebron by a hand-grenade.

31. These acts of terror have met with outrage and revulsion on the part of the Government and people of Israel. They regard them with the utmost gravity. The Government is determined to stamp out terror, whatever its origin. It has ordered an intensive investigation into these acts of terror. As stated unambiguously by the Prime Minister of Israel in the Knesset a few hours after the attacks had occurred, the investigation will be carried through with firmness and determination until the criminals have been discovered, apprehended and brought to justice. The Government of Israel has made it perfectly clear that it will not tolerate any recurrence of this kind of criminal activity against anyone. The investigation is already under way. However, the identity of those who committed the crimes on 2 June is still unknown. So long as this is the case, we must refrain—and it is equally incumbent on the Council to refrain—from giving rein to suspicions and from casting blame. When the culprits are apprehended, they will be put on trial to answer for their crimes.

32. Our outrage at these acts of terror derives from our position of principle concerning terrorism in all its manifestations. Beyond that, it should be seen in the light of our experience as the targets of Arab terror for several decades, at the cost of thousands of Jewish and Arab lives. No one is more convinced than the Government of Israel that the use of terror not only hinders the cause of peace and the common good of all concerned, but also makes these objectives, which we hold so high, all the more difficult to attain.

33. Political assassination and attempts on the lives of political figures are, unfortunately, phenomena well known in other parts of the world, including Europe, but not least of all in the Arab world. Attempts to liquidate political rivals and opponents or to create provocations are commonplace in Arab countries. Over the past decade the plague of international terrorism has been spread to a decisive degree by the PLO, which has become the linchpin and quarter-master of the "terrorist international". The extent to which the PLO provides aid, training, logistic support and shelter to other terrorist organizations which operate in different parts of the globe is now common knowledge.

34. In recent years responsible Governments have taken measures, both individually and collectively, to cope with this scourge threatening the very fabric of society everywhere. They have not been successful in eradicating this despicable phenomenon in their own countries. Israel is one of those countries which have acted with firmness, determination and a high degree of effectiveness in combatting international terrorism, at considerable expense to our human and material resources. But, for all our efforts, it has been impossible to provide foolproof protection against incessant attacks by PLO terrorists.

35. In any event, Israel needs no lecturing about the need to combat terrorism. It certainly needs no hectoring from the Security Council, or any other organ of the United Nations. For the United Nations has failed miserably to provide any leadership in the struggle against this grave threat to international security and stability.

36. When it comes to the Arab-Israel conflict, the United Nations, rather than siding with the victims of Arab terror, has in fact, through manipulation by an arithmetical and tyrannical majority, provided support and encouragement to the terrorists themselves. One manifestation of this deplorable phenomenon is the granting of irregular rights and privileges within the United Nations to the terrorist PLO, in clear violation of the Charter.

37. The professed concern of the Council for the well-being and security of the residents of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district would be more credible had it not ignored the numerous PLO murders and attempted assassinations of Arabs in those areas

merely because they were not prepared to carry out the PLO's instructions, as in the case of the Imam of Gaza, Sheikh Hashem Khozander, who was brutally done to death by the PLO exactly a year ago. Could it be that the sudden surge of concern displayed here today derives from the fact that in the present case PLO involvement in the outrages of 2 June has not been established?

38. Let us recognize today's exercise for what it is —yet another display of the well-known double standard that has characterized the Council's dealings in everything bearing on the Arab-Israel conflict. In the last few months, particularly since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, a new dimension has been added to this phenomenon in the form of a war of attrition conducted by Arab representatives against the Council and designed to condition the Council to adopt resolutions with the minimum of scrutiny and if at all possible without debate.

39. If the Council were genuinely interested in the real causes fanning the flames of tension in the Arab-Israel conflict, it would have taken note of the shrill battle-cry sounded in Damascus a few days ago. I am of course referring to the so-called "political programme" and "resolutions" adopted at the fourth Congress of the Al-Fatah terrorist organization, headed by that well-known moderate, Yasser Arafat. As pointed out in my letter of yesterday, circulated as document S/13985, the call for the liquidation of the State of Israel appears three times in that "political programme." The aim of Al-Fatah, which is the largest single component in the terrorist PLO, is defined as: "the liquidation of the Zionist entity, politically, economically, militarily, culturally and ideologically".

40. This kind of criminal mentality has been likened here today to the resistance of the European peoples to Nazi occupation and oppression. There can be no greater desecration of the memory of these heroic resistance fighters who gave their lives in their struggle against the Nazi oppressors. Incidentally, the veterans of the European resistance movement have themselves denounced the vicious attempt to liken them to the PLO's terrorist criminals.

41. To come back to last week's meeting of Al-Fatah in Damascus: After the Congress, Yasser Arafat declared:

"The Al-Fatah organization will continue its armed struggle until it has achieved its basic aims . . . the complete liberation of all the land of Palestine, the destruction of the Zionist entity and the establishment of the democratic secular State of Palestine over all the territories of Palestine."

42. These pronouncements provide further proof, if such were necessary, of the true character and aims of the organization in question, and, *inter alia*, of the concrete purpose of its activities in the United Nations

system. These words speak for themselves, but the Council apparently has no time for such trivia.

43. In conclusion, I wish to emphasize again that the Government of Israel condemns outright any and all use of terror. The acts of terror against the Arab Mayors on 2 June have evoked widespread revulsion in Israel. From the President of the State and the Prime Minister downwards, there have been emphatic condemnations of those crimes. This widespread revulsion stands in stark contrast to the virtual absence of any similar condemnations by Arab Governments and public opinion whenever the PLO perpetrates acts of terror, whether against Jews or Arabs.

44. This debate may give some satisfaction to those who wish to exacerbate tension and friction in our area, with a view to obstructing the ongoing peace efforts, and to those who for one reason or another find it expedient to support them. Israel, for its part, remains firm in its quest for a comprehensive peace in our region. Israel is entitled to expect that the Council will refrain from adopting any positions which may be interpreted by the enemies of peace as encouragement to further violence.

45. The PRESIDENT: It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote now on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

46. I shall first call on the representative of the German Democratic Republic, who wishes to make a statement before the voting.

47. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, permit me to express to you our esteem for your performance of the important functions of the presidency of the Council. Your great diplomatic skill and your rich experience guarantee that there will be thorough discussion of the international questions on the agenda of the Council under your presidency.

48. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic at the same time would like to express its gratitude to the President of the Security Council for May, the representative of the Niger, Ambassador Idé Oumarou, for the exemplary way in which he performed his functions.

49. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic will vote for the draft resolution in document S/13984, which, in our view, contains the very minimum of what the Council should do in this situation.

50. The indignation of the whole world has been aroused by these fresh crimes against the Palestinian people in the Arab territories illegally occupied by Israel. The new bloody crimes against the Mayors of Nablus, Ramallah and Al-Bireh and also against

students in Ramallah are a consequence of the occupation and expansionist policy of Israel. Governing circles in Israel bear responsibility for this policy and its consequences. Here in the Council there has already been repeated reference to the responsibility also of those who give military, political and economic support to Israel's policy of expansion. This particularly relates to those imperialist circles which, in spite of the total failure of the separatist policy of Camp David, even now encourage Israel to continue its policy of flouting international law and disregarding the decisions of the United Nations. This increases the danger to the Arab peoples.

51. It is time now for the Council to take urgent measures to put an end to Israel's continued expansionist policy. If this is not done, then acts of violence against the Palestinian people—acts such as those which today are being condemned by the Council—will become ever more frequent. The most recent events in the Arab territories illegally occupied by Israel give one an idea of what awaits the Arab people of Palestine in circumstances of the so-called autonomy of the population. There is no other recourse for that people but to wage a struggle for its own independent State until final victory.

52. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic with the utmost vigour stresses the need for a comprehensive and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict. The fundamental elements for such a solution are well known. They have been indicated in numerous documents of the United Nations. The draft resolution contained in document S/13911, which was recently discussed in the Security Council in connexion with the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, contains these basic elements. They are the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to the creation of their own independent State, and a guarantee of the security of all States of the region. Such a radical solution to the Middle East conflict was supported by two thirds of the members of the Council. Only one permanent member impeded the adoption of that draft resolution, and this once again demonstrates the lack of real interest in a comprehensive peaceful settlement of the problem of the Middle East.

53. A few days ago the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic once again expressed their view on this question in a joint declaration, contained in document S/13948. Everyone can see the constructive nature of this viewpoint of the socialist States, which is in keeping with the fundamental provisions of so many resolutions of the United Nations.

54. The German Democratic Republic will support any step towards a comprehensive and lasting political settlement of the Middle East conflict.

55. I should like once again to give earnest assurance of the fact that the German Democratic Republic will in all solidarity support the Arab people of Palestine in the difficult struggle it is waging under the leadership of its only legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, for the implementation of its right to self-determination and, in particular, the creation of its own independent State.

56. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put the draft resolution in document S/13984 to the vote.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:* 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, Zambia

*Against:* None

*Abstaining:* United States of America

*The draft resolution was adopted by 14 votes to none, with 1 abstention (resolution 471 (1980)).*

57. Mr. McHENRY (United States of America): Mr. President, I wish at the outset to extend the good wishes of the United States Government to you as you assume the challenging duties of the presidency of the Council and to thank your predecessor for the diligence and skill with which he presided over the Council's meetings during the past month.

58. A brutal crime has been perpetrated on the West Bank. On 2 June, the official spokesman of the Department of State expressed the distress of the people of the United States and their Government when he said:

"We are deeply saddened by these terrible acts. Our profound sympathy goes out to Mayor Shaka'a, Mayor Khalaf, those who have been injured in Hebron, and their families. I would note there has been at least one Israeli injury as well. Nothing can justify such senseless violence. We condemn those responsible and hope that they will be brought swiftly to justice. In the interest of the welfare of the peoples of the area, we urge everyone to exercise maximum restraint."

59. We have convened today to adopt a resolution which focuses on these cowardly acts, the latest in a spiral of acts which has brought more distress to the West Bank than it has suffered at any time since the occupation began. This sad situation and the equally sad murder of Israeli citizens at Hebron are of course

part of a broader tragedy—the continuing Arab-Israeli conflict. The Council has the responsibility to keep in mind in its actions the full range of these events and other factors bearing on the dispute, which regrettably has not been done in the present resolution. I might add that the resolution contains a number of provisions that we cannot support or which are at best incomplete.

60. For our own part we continue to believe that resolution 242 (1967) provides the basis for a just settlement of the conflict, and we would oppose any change. It is on the basis of resolution 242 (1967), which is not modified in any way by the resolution which is before us, that the United States has pursued a peaceful settlement through the Camp David accords.

61. An accelerating cycle of violence, of actions and counter-actions born of fear and insecurity, erodes the shared vision of an equitable peace from which any negotiation must draw its sustenance. Instead of a steady advance towards the mutually beneficial resolution of problems, more grievances are created which require redress, and historic suspicions are reinforced. Solutions become more complicated as belief in the very possibility of a prosperous and secure coexistence is perceived to recede.

62. Further, as violence proliferates, many may conclude that violence is inevitable, and brave men dedicated to bridging gaps of mutual suspicion in the delicate early stage of a search for peace will find their reasoned appeals are no longer heard. Fear radicalizes by undermining the sense of the possible and the willingness to compromise and show compassion. As a minimum, the law must be upheld. There must be absolute certainty in every mind that criminals will be brought to justice and the law scrupulously observed. If, instead, the law—which on the West Bank includes the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention—is flouted, or conceived to be flouted, the voices of moderation, of reflection and of good will may be stifled. The fear of ever-increasing violence will come to dominate life of all. Many will conclude that active self-defence must be their first priority, with a concomitant loss of interest in understanding the fears of the other side.

63. Let no one doubt the result. The historic result of this kind of radicalization is tragically clear. The emotion and, ultimately, intolerance of immoderate minorities wins not only adherents but a controlling hand in a deteriorating atmosphere where one violent act is assumed to guarantee another. A distorted sense of self-preservation in individuals and groups will cause them to give undue credence to those who preach force, and will insidiously discredit those who argue for a conscious effort first to understand and then to work to allay the concerns of the other side.

64. On behalf of my Government and the people of the United States, I appeal most earnestly to those



with influence and authority to exercise leadership and restraint. No provocation can justify terror, intolerance or disrespect for the law. There must be an end to the fear engendered by the horrors of recent events so that the people of the area can turn constructively and creatively to the urgent task of building a peaceful and equitable framework within which to live their daily lives. Where wrongs can be righted, those in authority should act to that end. Where a wrong cannot be reversed, we hope the perpetrators can be promptly discovered and delivered to the appropriate courts of justice.

65. Mr. WHYTE (United Kingdom): Before I explain the vote of my delegation on the resolution that we have just adopted, allow me on behalf of the United Kingdom to express to the representative of the Niger felicitations and gratitude for the admirable way in which he conducted the affairs of the Council during the month of May and to extend to you, Mr. President, felicitations and good wishes on the assumption of your high office.

66. My delegation voted for the resolution just adopted. We condemn unreservedly the assassination attempts on the Mayors. But, shocking as they are, they are but the latest link in the chain of violence. My Government therefore wishes to make it clear that we deplore and wish to see an end to all violence in the area. We call for restraint by all concerned. We believe that recent events only underline the need for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, which must involve, among other things, Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories.

67. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, you are exercising your function on the occasion of a very difficult and important debate. I should like to associate myself with the tributes already paid to you by preceding speakers. We are all aware of your experience in the United Nations, your skill as a diplomat and your qualities as an individual, and we are therefore convinced that you will guide our discussion in a masterly way and will do so successfully.

68. Before turning to the subject before us, we should also like to address to your predecessor in the presidency, Mr. Idé Oumarou, our sincere congratulations on the way that he directed our work during the month of May. We recall not only his smiling authority but also the wisdom of his judgement and his very effective work.

69. My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution which the Council has just adopted. We wish to express, on this occasion as we have so often in the past, our deep concern at all the acts of violence that have taken place in the region in recent months.

70. As regards the issue on which the Council has just reached a decision, I should like to quote here the

declaration of the French Government in this connexion:

"The French Government expresses its deep concern at the assassination attempts against two West Bank Mayors. It condemns the acts of violence now taking place, which make more necessary than ever the quest for and implementation of a just and lasting peace settlement. The Government wishes to express its profound sympathy to the victims and their families."

71. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (*interpretation from Russian*)): Mr. President, first of all I should like to welcome you, the representative of Norway, to the presidency of the Council. I should like to state that the peoples of our two countries are bound traditionally by ties of good-neighbourliness and aspirations to mutually advantageous co-operation. I should also like to express the hope that in the near future the links and contacts between our two countries will be further developed for the benefit of détente, peace and stability in Europe. We are sure that your diplomatic skills will be of assistance in solving the problems which the Council has to consider in the course of June.

72. I wish also to express my sincere gratitude to the representative of the Niger, Mr. Idé Oumarou, who so skilfully and efficiently conducted the Council's proceedings last month and to wish him further success in his work for the attainment of the noble ideals and aims of the United Nations.

73. The Soviet delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution submitted for the consideration of the Council as a resolution that reflected in some degree the profound indignation and anger with which the international community learned of the criminal attempts on the lives of the Mayors of the Palestinian towns on the West Bank of the Jordan and of the grievous injuries that were caused as a result of those attempts to the Mayors of Nablus and Ramallah. I take this opportunity, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, to request the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to convey to the victims our sincere sympathy and condolences.

74. In this regard, we should like to confirm once again the unswerving solidarity of the Soviet Union with the Palestinian people in their just struggle for the implementation of their inalienable rights, including the right to establish their own independent State. We would also recall that the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, in a declaration they adopted on 15 May this year in Warsaw, once again called for an all-embracing peace settlement in the Middle East and stressed that

"Such a settlement requires the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, the restoration of the right of the Arab

people of Palestine to self-determination, including the establishment of its own independent State, and the safeguarding of the sovereignty and security of all States of the region." [S/13948, annex II, section III.]

75. The barbarous acts committed with the clear-cut connivance of the Israeli authorities and directed against the distinguished elected Palestinian officials are the direct extension of the campaign of terror, violence and intimidation that has been conducted by the Israeli authorities for 13 years in order to force the indigenous Arab population to resign themselves to the military occupation régime. Israel has striven by every possible means to suppress the resistance of the Palestinian people and to impose, in the guise of "autonomy", the final annexation of their ancestral lands. As a result of the terroristic actions of the Israeli authorities, the situation in the West Bank of the Jordan has recently deteriorated sharply. The constant imposition of a curfew, the destruction of the dwellings and properties of the Palestinians, the illegal expulsion of the Palestinians from their homes, the acts of violence directed against peaceful inhabitants and the bloody brutalities inflicted upon them have led to the brink of an explosion, and the situation is fraught with the most serious consequences for the cause of peace.

76. However, in spite of all the repression and terror, the Palestinians have unanimously and determinedly rebuffed all attempts on the part of the United States, Israel, and Egypt to entrench the occupation régime in the occupied Arab territories and are demanding that they be accorded unconditionally their right to self-determination and to the creation of an independent national State. Without the satisfaction of these just demands of the Palestinians there can be no lasting peace or stability in the Middle East.

77. However, the efforts to stifle this manifest truth are still continuing. We quite often hear allegations that events in the Middle East constitute a kind of "vicious circle of violence". These assertions are entirely devoid of foundation. There is no such "vicious circle". Violence in the Middle East is the occupation by Israel of ancestral Arab lands and the expulsion from those lands of the indigenous Arab population; it is the terrorism that is constantly being practised by the occupiers. We must put an end precisely to these manifestations of violence, which are actually the true source of tension in the Middle East. And there is only one way of eliminating that violence—that is, by the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in June 1967. Only in this way will it be possible to bring about a just and lasting peace in that region.

78. The Soviet delegation agrees entirely with the statements of the Arab representatives to the effect that responsibility for the attempts on the lives of the Palestinian Mayors must be borne not only by Israel

but by the United States Administration, which provides Israel with broad political and financial support. We support the appeal in the resolution to all States not to provide Israel with any assistance to be used specifically in connexion with settlements in the occupied territories. Can one view the repeated statements by leaders in the United States in support of the Israeli Government as anything but indulgence of Israel regarding its continued occupation of the Arab territories and repression of the indigenous Palestinian population?

79. At the same time the delegation of the Soviet Union considers that the Council should be even more vigorous in its condemnation of Israel's terrorist acts against the Palestinian population of the occupied West Bank and Gaza and demand the immediate cessation of those acts and unswerving compliance with the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

80. The Soviet delegation believes that there is an ever more urgent need for the Council not to confine itself to condemnation of individual criminal acts by the Israeli authorities but in the most serious way to consider the question of what Israel's aggressive policy will ultimately lead to and where the Israeli leadership and its supporters are pushing developments in the Middle East situation, and to take all necessary measures to call a halt to this dangerous turn of events.

81. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

82. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt): At the outset, I should like to express our thanks and appreciation for the contribution of our colleague and friend Ambassador Oumarou of the Niger, who presided over the Council during the month of May.

83. I should like also to express my delegation's sincere congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. You represent a country which is firmly committed to world peace and has throughout the years maintained a distinguished record of defending liberty, freedom, justice and human rights. Egypt is fortunate to enjoy close and friendly ties with Norway. With your outstanding diplomatic skills, vast knowledge and experience, the Council's deliberations have reached a fruitful conclusion with the adoption of the draft resolution before it. We sincerely hope that provisions of the resolution will be respected and fully implemented.

84. Today the Council has been asked to deal with an issue of the utmost gravity. The dastardly assassination attempts on the lives of the lawfully elected Palestinian Mayors will certainly have far-reaching repercussions inside and outside the region. The international community cannot afford to stand idle and

allow this dangerous situation to continue unchecked. The situation stems from one cardinal fact: continued Israeli occupation that is 13 years old today, 5 June.

85. As a general rule, all forms of military occupation are ruthless, cruel and indiscriminate and reflect an utter disregard for the peace and security of mankind. Military occupations have the same effects, whether in the Middle East, Asia, Africa, Europe or elsewhere. The assassination attempts prove once more and without a shadow of doubt that military occupation entails repression and oppression. Oppression breeds resistance, which is the only natural response to occupation; therefore, it should be realized that violence and bloodshed are but direct consequences of the Israeli occupation.

86. As the occupying Power, Israel is bound by the relevant provisions of The Hague Regulations and the Geneva Conventions. Its authority in the occupied territories is restricted to the functions permitted under the aforementioned binding international legal instruments. To ensure that Israel scrupulously respects those provisions is an international responsibility which the international community cannot escape. The General Assembly and the Security Council have repeatedly reaffirmed the applicability of the fourth Geneva Convention to the occupied Arab territories. Suffice it to mention General Assembly resolution 34/90 B and the unanimously adopted Security Council resolution 446 (1979), which strongly deplored Israel's failure to abide by the Council resolutions and called once more upon Israel, as the occupying Power, to abide scrupulously by the provisions of the aforementioned convention.

87. Egypt strongly condemns the recent criminal acts against prominent Palestinian leaders. On 2 June, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Cairo issued a statement in this connexion, circulated under the symbol S/13979. Furthermore, the Egyptian people's Assembly has expressed the indignation of the people of Egypt at these barbaric acts.

88. These criminal and barbaric acts are a resounding and incriminating testimony to the evils of the Israeli military occupation to which the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza are subjected. These acts provide further evidence of the necessity and urgency of terminating the Israeli occupation and of bringing to an end the terrorist practices pursued by the military administration. Moreover, they unequivocally attest to the falseness of the Israeli settlements policy with regard to Palestinian lands, a policy that not only undermines the basis for coexistence between the Palestinian people and the people of Israel but also fuels the vicious cycle of violence, bitterness and hatred at a time when there is an urgent need for a propitious climate to effect a historic reconciliation based on strict respect of law, justice and good-neighbourliness.

89. The Government and people of the Arab Republic of Egypt, in condemning these brutal criminal acts, call upon the Government of Israel, as the occupying Power, to shoulder its responsibilities by taking all necessary measures to punish the terrorist groups that have committed this atrocity and to ensure the protection of the people of the occupied territories in accordance with the fourth Geneva Convention, which governs the status of the legitimate Arab owners of the lands under Israeli occupation.

90. I should like to emphasize that it is the considered opinion of the Government of Egypt that the assassination attempts and all the other repressive measures in the occupied territories have destroyed all the Israeli arguments that the maintenance of security in the occupied territories should remain the exclusive responsibility of Israel. Under the Israeli military administration, Palestinians have been denied their rights, their security has been endangered, their homes have been destroyed and their lives have been threatened. It is therefore imperative that the Palestinians themselves should now be responsible for security affairs in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, within the framework of transitional full self-Government, so that the lives of Palestinians can be protected, their safety ensured and their security safeguarded. The Palestinian people should be enabled to exercise their inalienable rights, including their right to self-determination. Those, in our view, are the steps essential for the creation of the necessary conditions conducive to the achievement of a just, comprehensive and lasting settlement. Egypt, meanwhile, will spare no effort to safeguard the legitimate rights of the brotherly people of Palestine on the path to a just and comprehensive peace.

91. Genuine peace can never prevail as long as military occupation exists. In 1967, the Council called solemnly and unanimously for the termination of the Israeli occupation, yet, regrettably, the Council's injunction has not yet been obeyed in the West Bank and Gaza. The termination of the Israeli occupation is long overdue and should be the paramount responsibility of all peace-loving nations. In Egypt we consider it our sacred duty, and we are determined to make every possible effort, to effectuate Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied territories and to facilitate the establishment of a just, comprehensive and durable peace. All responsible Governments should join in a meaningful, constructive and genuine attempt to achieve peace in our region.

92. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Jordan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

93. Mr. AL-ZUBI (Jordan): May I, on behalf of my Government and on my own behalf, extend our warmest congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. We are confident that under your

wise leadership the Council will be able to discharge its responsibilities effectively and with dispatch.

94. I wish also to take this opportunity to express our grateful thanks to your predecessor, Ambassador Idé Oumarou of the Niger, who so efficiently and ably presided over the Council's affairs in the month of May.

95. We are meeting at a very critical time. We are meeting to resume our deliberations on one of the greatest tragedies and injustices facing any people in the contemporary world—that is, the tragedy of the Palestinian people, who for more than 30 years have been deprived of their birthright and dispossessed of their land, and are now facing physical uprooting and extermination.

96. This sad reality has been a matter of great concern to my country for more than 30 years, as stated in the Council and in other international forums. We believe that the Israeli authorities are eager not only flagrantly to intensify their expropriation of land and property but also to eliminate the national leadership of the people in the occupied Arab territories, especially now, after having been frustrated by the failure of the autonomy talks.

97. The attempt to assassinate Mr. Bassam Shaka'a, Mayor of the city of Nablus, Mr. Karim Khalaf, Mayor of the city of Ramallah, and Mr. Ibrahim Al-Tawil, Mayor of the city of Al-Bireh, and the deportation of Mr. Mohamed Milhem, Mayor of the city of Halhoul, Mr. Fahd Qawasma, Mayor of the city of Al-Khalil and the Sharia Judge, Rajab Attamimi, three weeks ago, are grave and serious events. They reveal the brutal and ugly face of the Zionist entity in Palestine as a colonialist, Fascist and racist entity. They also reveal that these criminal acts will not end but will form part of a series of malicious acts aimed at destroying the spiritual and national aspirations of and demoralizing the Palestinian people, who stand heroically against suppression, terror and inhuman treatment. They also reveal that peace and security, which represent an international commitment, have neither pertinence nor relevance to the Israeli intentions of territorial acquisition and expansion.

98. The Government of Jordan would like to state clearly its condemnation of those extremely ruthless acts. The Government of Jordan would like to reiterate the conviction shared by all decent and peace-loving people that the security and safety of the civilian people in the occupied Arab territories are the responsibility of Israel as the belligerent occupying Power. What has been planned and executed by the Israeli authorities is in flagrant violation of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, and in particular of articles 5, 9, 10, 27 and 47, which completely prohibit acts of terrorism, inhuman treatment, arbitrary arrest and exile.

99. Unless and until the Council shoulders its responsibility by taking the necessary measures provided for in the Charter—especially since the resolution just adopted does not contain the necessary provisions against the criminal acts committed by Israel—peace and security in the Middle East will be in jeopardy and the situation will deteriorate seriously.

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

101. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): It is with great pleasure that we express our conviction, Mr. President, that your wise presidency will lead the work of the Council to constructive and positive results. You have manifested your wisdom in a very concrete manner in the past. You represent a country that has mobilized its resources in the defence of peace by contributing effectively to peace-keeping forces and to other humanitarian endeavours. The role of the Scandinavian countries in the defence of those who struggle for their human rights is very well known. It is not without significance that you are presiding over deliberations dealing with racist and racial discrimination by racist régimes in southern Africa and in occupied Palestine. It might be accidental, but it is very significant to us. The fights against *apartheid* and *zionism* are linked. The elimination of all forms of racism and racial discrimination is the task, the accepted task, of the United Nations. Consequently, the elimination of *apartheid* and *zionism* is the task of the United Nations.

102. We wish to express our thanks and gratitude to Ambassador Oumarou of the Niger for his excellent leadership of the Council during the month of May.

103. I wish also to thank the representative of the Soviet Union for the condolences he expressed. I shall convey them to the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

104. The Secretary-General immediately expressed his concern and indignation when he condemned the assassination attempts on the Mayors of the occupied Palestinian towns, Mayors who had been elected by their own people to perform specific duties. Those crimes against the Mayors and other civilians give cause for indignation and condemnation. The crime committed against two students of the Bir Zeit University, Walid Qashmar and Riad Enaya, and the crime committed against the people of Hebron when they went shopping on that fateful day, are not just crimes of murder: they are criminal acts of genocide.

105. It is an established fact that the occupying Power has responsibilities under the Geneva Convention, and one of those responsibilities is to protect the public, especially against all acts of violence or threats thereof. In our opinion, that protection is ever more necessary when the perpetrator of violence and crimes is the Government itself.

106. There has been an emergence of organized Israeli terrorism in the occupied Palestinian territories. This is quite obvious. Armed vigilantes have acted as though they had a licence to kill and maim and to destroy property whenever and wherever they choose, be it in Jerusalem, Gaza, Hebron, Nablus, Ramallah, Al-Bireh or elsewhere. If the population of a village stands in their way, they go in the still of the night and tear down its vineyards—its means of livelihood; they break windows, they destroy cars, and we have another *Kristallnacht*. If the youth of a village are particularly proud to be Palestinians and refuse to bow down to the occupying forces, these vigilantes, these marauders, these Israeli terrorists, carrying arms which the Palestinians are prevented from carrying, give themselves the licence to kill and maim at random.

107. The stories of the events that have taken place in the past year of this expanding pattern of terrorism against the defenceless, unarmed, unprotected civilian population of the Palestinian territories under Israeli occupation, are ominous indeed. These are not mere acts of irresponsible individuals: they are acts that have been encouraged, that have been aided and abetted, by a climate of licentiousness created by the authorities through their leniency to convicted criminals in the occupied territories. These acts have been encouraged by arbitrary legislation for the requisitioning of property; these acts have been permitted and encouraged by financing from the State; these acts have been encouraged by the deployment of the Israeli army to defend the illegal settlements.

108. The Chief of Staff of the Israeli occupation army has earned himself the dubious distinction of exercising such leniency whenever the death of Arabs at the hands of criminals under his command has been involved. Lieutenant Pinto, Lieutenant-Colonel Sabeh and Private Lederman—murderers convicted by the courts—had their sentences reduced to ridiculous lengths by the Chief of Staff. A murderer of four prisoners by strangulation following torture had his sentence reduced to two years and, after time off for good behaviour, he was released after 17 months—four months and one week for each human life he took by torture and strangulation. As *The Jerusalem Post* reported last summer:

“This period of two years to which one after the other of these criminals had their sentences reduced is the same judgement imposed on a Bat Tam civilian for selling bogus car insurance certificates.”

That is the value of human life, the human life of a Palestinian. That is the value of human life, as long as it is the lives of Palestinians that are concerned, in the eyes of the Chief of Staff.

109. When the terrorists of the Gush Emunim or those who are led by the American Kahane see that this is the attitude of the authorities, when they see

that the Chief of Staff was vindicated by the Defence Minister, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet and Parliament—those criminals, those Israeli terrorists, become emboldened and encouraged to persist in their deeds.

110. There are many stories of this leniency on the part of the authorities, which show their complicity in these acts of terror. I quote the following from a story that appeared in *The Jerusalem Post* international edition for the week of 19 to 25 August 1979:

“The police last week released two Elon Moreh girls arrested at Television House in Jerusalem the previous day when they arrived armed with an unlicensed assault rifle demanding to speak to TV reporter Rafik Halavy. Halavy was recently reprimanded by the Minister of Agriculture, Ariel Sharon, for his coverage of the establishment of the controversial Gush Emunim settlement, where the girls lived. A police spokesman told *The Jerusalem Post* the police were convinced that neither a 10-year-old, Mazal Kohan, who carried the rifle, nor 16-year-old Michal Mishor, who carried the loaded magazine, intended to threaten or to harm Halavy, but only to speak to him.”

111. I wonder what would happen to a Palestinian who went to the television director with a gun. Or why should I go that far? I wonder what would happen to a Palestinian student who hurled a stone at the car of the Military Commander. We all are aware of the fate that befell a 17-year-old boy recently: he was trampled on by soldiers and collective punishment was meted out to his parents; his 60-year-old father was banished to Jericho. That is colonial, racist discrimination.

112. We know that the racist doctrine of Zionism is based on the concept of Herzl—that the indigenous population should be “spirited across”. That concept appears in Herzl’s diaries. Spiriting a population across its homeland is a form of genocide. Only a few years ago, the Governor of Galilee, a certain Mr. Koenig, developed this theory of “spiriting the population across” into the theory of “thinning away” the Arab population. And thinning away a population is another form of genocide. Mr. Koenig, a racist, merely took the expression from another racist, Eichmann, who proposed that the Jewish population in Vienna should be thinned away. We hear about a new system, suggested by a certain Mr. Sharon, an expert advising Begin on his dealings with the Arab population. This system provides for the positive segregation of the population. So what we are facing is a racist doctrine aimed at the elimination of a race—the Arab race of Palestine.

113. Well, they tried to spirit us across. They failed. They will fail again, because we insist on remaining at home. They tried these things in the past. They were supported by Great Britain during those infamous days of the Mandate. They tried every means

to root out the Palestinians in Palestine. They did not succeed. Then came Begin and the other Zionists. Begin thought that there was a very effective way to achieve success—that is, physical annihilation. He tried it in Deir Yassin. Let us see what he said about the effectiveness of such methods. After Deir Yassin, where 254 men, women and children—all innocent civilians—were butchered, there was a mass flight. This is what Begin had to say: “This mass flight soon developed into a maddened, uncontrollable stampede. Of the about 800,000 Arabs who lived on the present territory of the State of Israel, only some 165,000 are still there. The political and economic significance of this development can hardly be overestimated.” So we can see that physical annihilation is a process in the racist Zionist mentality and *modus operandi*.

114. We know very well that since the Zionist occupation of Palestinian territory that followed 1967, the Zionists have wanted a *Judenreich*. They want the Palestinians to get out of the area. But the Palestinians do not want to get out. So the method that has been adopted has been expulsion of leaders. More than 1,600 Palestinians have been expelled since 1967. There is also the method of administrative detention. Thousands and thousands of Palestinians are arbitrarily detained. But that has not led the Palestinians to abandon their cause and their struggle. So physical elimination is now the order of the day. That is exactly what the blowing up of the cars of the elected Mayors boils down to.

115. The policy of the Zionists is very clear. Begin has announced it on several occasions. The Labour alignment has also announced it on several occasions. Indeed, Begin made it clear on the eve of his assumption of power, when he said—and I quote this from a report in *L'Express* of Paris, the issue of 23 May 1977:

“The term ‘the West Bank’ means nothing. It is Judea and Samaria. It is Israeli land belonging to the Jewish people. It is no longer necessary to establish colonies, since the future Government of Israel will ask the Jewish people to establish themselves on their own land. It is a paradox that the Jews can settle in Tel Aviv, London or Paris and are forbidden to settle in Judea or Samaria.”

When Begin was asked about the annexation, he said:

“One can only annex foreign land. This is liberated land. I do not see any reason preventing the coexistence of a Jewish community with an Arab community on this land. I repeat: this is Judea and Samaria.”

116. Knowing that to be the aim, we know exactly what the policy of the Zionists will be. The Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979) gave us full evidence concerning the Zionist plan in the occupied Palestinian territories. It referred to the Drobles plan. Very recently, on 13 April, Begin

provided this formula: “Israel shall act to secure the future of Israeli settlements and shall be concerned with solving the problem of land shortage in the occupied territories which weighs heavily on those settlements”. On the same day, Sharon, the Minister of Agriculture, proposed to “allow requisitioning of private land in”—as he called it—“Judea and Samaria in case of need only”. Does that not ring a bell? Does it not make us think of the *Lebensraum*? Are we going back to the late 1930s? Are we preparing for another holocaust—this time against the Palestinian Arabs?

117. Another method was adopted recently—again, in April—after the signature of what is known as the Washington pact. It has been reported that the military government authorities have arbitrarily decided to confiscate the funds of the municipalities of the West Bank. Why? Because of non-payment of taxes. What a poor excuse that is. These are territories under illegal occupation. Yet, arbitrarily, the authorities confiscate the taxes. We know that most of the municipalities are receiving subsidies and not paying taxes. But, of course, the Palestinian municipalities have to pay taxes.

118. Those are some of the actions taken by the Israeli occupation forces. But let us now turn to what happened on 2 June.

119. We watched television and we heard the news. We saw someone who claimed that he was proud to be involved. According to *The Christian Science Monitor*, a certain Yossi Dayan said: “It is 30 days since the bombing of Hebron, so somebody has to pay for this. This was done with co-ordination in the three main cities of the West Bank”. So here we have someone presenting himself and claiming responsibility for the crime. Another fellow appeared on American television and said: “There is room for only one people—the Jewish people”. Yet another said: “The Arabs must learn how to respect their masters”. And yet we are told here that the investigation is already under way, that the identity of those who committed the crimes is still unknown and that, so long as that is the case, we must refrain from giving rein to suspicions and from casting blame.

120. In May the Council met twice because the Mayors had been expelled and they did not claim responsibility for whatever had happened in Hebron and Halhoul. What is more, the military administrator absolved them of any responsibility. Yet action was taken against those Mayors; they were arbitrarily expelled. They appeared before the Council and the Council decided that they should be enabled to return to their homes. The Israeli authorities simply ignored the Council’s resolution on the subject, Article 25 of the Charter notwithstanding. And yet we are told that no action should be taken because we do not know who the perpetrators of the crime are.



121. We know very well why this suppression and oppression have been escalated. It is because the struggle of our people has also escalated. It is because our people has denounced, opposed and rejected the Camp David conspiracy and the autonomy talks. And what do these autonomy talks envisage? Abba Eban, who might perhaps be the next Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel, wrote the following:

“Mr. Begin envisages an Israeli monopoly of sovereignty and power in the whole of Eretz Yisrael. After a few years of autonomy, interpreted by the Likud as the delegation of a few paramunicipal powers under the overriding authority of the military administration, the Likud is committed to seek the application of Israeli sovereignty to the whole of Eretz Yisrael. An Israeli Government that aspires to Israeli sovereignty five years from now is not likely to make any substantial transfer of power to a countrywide Arab authority today.”

122. That statement by Abba Eban and one by a certain Mrs. Weitz, who lives in the occupied territories, to the effect that “You must come and conquer it by settlement, not by war” make one believe that it is only the members of the Herut and Likud parties or Begin’s friends who adopt this policy. But we cannot forget that the policy of illegally establishing settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories was started by the Labour alignment, that more than 1,600 Palestinians were expelled not by Begin but by the Labour alignment, by Abba Eban and his friends, Peres and so on. So this is the Drobles plan, also for the settlements, which was adopted by the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency—the two powers controlling the State of Israel. It is the Labour alignment which confiscated thousands of acres.

123. Furthermore, last November, the General Assembly was seized of the question of the expulsion or deportation of the Mayor of Nablus, Bassam Shaka’a. The General Assembly voted almost unanimously to ask Israel to rescind the order of deportation, and Bassam Shaka’a returned to assume his responsibilities. His car was blown up and he lost both legs. He could not be treated in Nablus and this morning he was carried by helicopter to a hospital in Amman. Last November, that same Bassam Shaka’a was warned by Weizman, the then Defence Minister, who told him: “Listen, Bassam, if you continue with your political agitation, I shall personally see to your physical liquidation”. So those things are not accidents but premeditated and planned actions.

124. The people under occupation were supposed to go to the polls and elect their municipal representatives. Israel delayed that; Israel was scared that it could not really face the results of such elections.

125. Now, what is Begin’s aim in his latest move? According to *Ha’aretz*, Begin sent a letter on 23 April

to President Carter in which he said that “Israeli settlers shall not be subject to the autonomy but to Israeli jurisdiction only”. Are they really aiming at establishing ghettos or reservations? I do not know which, but those settlements scattered in the occupied Palestinian territories will just be patches in the area that will either be ghettos for the settlers or reservations for the indigenous population.

126. In his letter to President Carter, Begin says that “Elections for the autonomy institutions shall be held on a functional basis”. I really do not know what that means. But there is another stipulation that only 13 portfolios will constitute the Administrative Council. Worst of all, and the most dangerous of all, is that Israel shall be free to decide on taking all measures to guarantee its security. So the territories under occupation will only be another colony or a military base for the Zionist forces.

127. The world is shocked by these crimes. The criminals are known; they are not arrested. Who knows, perhaps when they are arrested, they will get four months and one week each?

128. Chairman Yasser Arafat addressed a letter immediately to the Secretary-General, which was circulated under the symbol S/13983, in which he wrote:

“The ongoing escalation of the crimes being committed by the Zionist occupation authorities against our unarmed Palestinian people and their national leadership is proof of the failure of those authorities to overcome our people’s heroic resistance to the Zionist occupation, the Camp David conspiracy and the autonomy talks.”

129. We take exception to and we protest against statements made in the Council by parties to those Camp David accords and the Washington pact, because what is happening now is to confront the opposition of our people to that pact and to those accords. Our people know their friends and will not be fooled by certain statements made in the Council.

130. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Israel has asked to speak, and I now call on him.

131. Mr. BLUM (Israel): The Council has just adopted another one-sided, unbalanced, hostile resolution against Israel. It is cluttered with pieces of old lumber. But it also contains a series of new aberrations.

132. The resolution reaffirms the applicability of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 to “the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem”. Israel’s consistent position on the non-applicability of that Convention to the territories in question is well known. I mentioned it in my statements to the Council on 8 and 20 May [22/1st and

2222nd meetings], and I need not spell it out again. The references to Jerusalem in the resolution are totally unacceptable to Israel. Also in this case we have stated our position repeatedly and unequivocally, and there is no need for me to repeat it now.

133. The resolution recalls resolution 469 (1980). That resolution was a conscious attempt to interfere in the judicial process of Israel. The Israel Supreme Court, sitting as the High Court of Justice, is at present seized of a petition made on behalf of the Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul and the Qadi of Hebron, and thus the matter is *sub judice*. The Supreme Court will not be swayed or affected by undisguised attempts by this or any other political organ to interfere in the due process of law as exercised in Israel in a manner which many Members of the Organization, and several members of the Council, would do well to emulate.

134. The resolution expresses shock at the attempts on the lives of the Mayors of Nablus, Ramallah and Al-Bireh on 2 June. That is all very well. The Government and the people of Israel have also expressed shock, indignation and revulsion at those acts of terror.

135. But when, let me ask, has the Council ever expressed shock, revulsion and indignation at any of the hundreds upon hundreds of Arab acts of terror against Israel over the last three decades, and in particular at PLO outrages, which since 1967 alone have cost the lives of over 640 Jews and some 360 Arabs, not to mention the maiming, wounding and disfiguring, in many cases for life, of well over 5,000 Arabs and Jews alike?

136. Perhaps the Council is less aware of Arab terror against Arabs in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. This violent phenomenon goes back decades, at least to the inter-war period under the British Mandate and to the days of Haj Amin Al-Husseini, the notorious Mufti of Jerusalem, a war criminal wanted after 1945 by the Allies to stand trial in Nuremberg. Since 1967 the PLO, the direct disciples of the infamous Hussein, have assassinated and threatened, terrorized and intimidated Arab mayors, heads of local councils, mukhtars—that is, heads of villages—and local leaders in other walks of life, like commerce and journalism, throughout Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. As early as in the years 1968 and 1969, several members of the Milhem family of Halhoul—the family of the same Mr. Milhem who appeared before the Council last month—were murdered. Mr. Qawasma's predecessor as Mayor of Hebron, Sheikh Mohamed Ali Al-Ja'abari, was frequently subjected to PLO pressure, and repeated assassination threats were made against his life. In 1973, an attack was made on the life of Rashad Al-Shawwa, the Mayor of Gaza, and once again he has become a declared target of PLO agents operating in the area.

137. Let me give a few more recent examples. In 1976, Joe Nasser, the editor of the Jerusalem Arabic newspaper *Al-Fajr* was abducted and neither he nor his body has ever been found. On 26 December 1977, Hamdi Al-Qadi, the Director of Education in Ramallah, was assassinated, and the man who masquerades here in the Organization as the observer for the terrorist PLO was not inhibited from justifying that political murder on NBC News later the same day. On 8 February 1978, Abd Al-Nur Janho, a member of the Ramallah Municipality and a prominent businessman, was assassinated. Exactly a year ago to the day, Na'if Hawatmeh, of the PLO's so-called Democratic Front, announced that the Mayor of Gaza was at the top of a list of 15 leading figures who had been marked for elimination. And only three weeks ago, on 15 May, *Al-Hadaf*, a bulletin put out by the PLO's so-called Popular Front, referred to an explosion which had occurred in the car of Muhammad Abu-Zallaf, the editor of the Jerusalem Arab newspaper *Al-Quds*. *Al-Hadaf* said that the bomb had been planted because Abu-Zallaf had co-operated with United States representatives with regard to the autonomy talks and that the action was a warning to all other Arabs who did not toe the PLO line.

138. Where was the voice of the Security Council on all those occasions? Where was its shock? Where was its indignation? And where is its integrity?

139. Never mind Jews and Arabs. Where was the Security Council when the PLO perpetrated acts of international terror? Where was the Council when Yasser Arafat gave the order to murder United States and Belgian diplomats in Khartoum? Where was the Council when the PLO killed a United States diplomat in Beirut? Where was the Council when PLO terrorists and those working in conjunction with them struck at Israel targets abroad and killed innocent bystanders in Athens, in Brussels and in London, to mention but a few? Where was the Council when the PLO blew up commercial airliners in mid-flight, such as the Swissair disaster on 21 February 1970, which resulted in the deaths of all 38 of the passengers and crew? But never mind international terror perpetrated by the PLO and its supporters.

140. When has the Security Council expressed shock and indignation at any of the political assassinations, guerrilla outrages and urban terror which horrifically have become part and parcel of life today on every continent? Let us just take today's newspaper. Perhaps some members of the Council will have the curiosity to glance in the privacy of their own offices at page A5 of today's *The New York Times* and here are the headlines: "Protestant politician is slain in Northern Ireland ambush"; "Bombs damage union halls in eastern Bolivian city"; "Opposition party protests executions in Bangladesh"; "Two are killed in Turkey in new political violence"; "Two hurt as Philippine leftists attack provincial building".



141. Is there no limit to the Council's hypocrisy? When has the Council ever expressed its shock at the Libyan hatchet-men ploughing their way through France, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States?

142. Let us take that thought a little further. The resolution expresses "deep concern" that Israel "has failed to provide adequate security" to the civilian population for which it is responsible. When has the Council ever dreamed of expressing "deep concern" about the failure of certain countries in Europe and elsewhere to provide "adequate protection" for the civilian populations for which they are responsible? I am sure that all members of the Council can think of numerous instances, without the need for me to mention them, of countries where political assassinations are running rampant and where attempts are made on the lives of national leaders of all colours and persuasions. Where, might I ask, has the Council's voice been in these cases? And what gives the Council a special prerogative to apply such a blatant double standard to Israel?

143. In the resolution the Council calls on Israel to provide the victims of the attacks of 2 June with "adequate compensation". This, too, is all very well. But when did this Council ever call for "adequate compensation" to be paid to the victims of PLO outrages at the Munich Olympics, at Avivim, at Kiryat Shmona, at Ma'alot, at Nahariya, at Netanya or, less than two months ago, at Kibbutz Misgav Am? And what about "adequate compensation" for all the innocent victims of the PLO's international terror, the families not only of dead diplomats but of ordinary folk, brutally and tragically cut down by PLO terror in third countries? The Council has never called for compensation to the victims of any one of these PLO atrocities. Instead, it has preferred to pass a series of resolutions in which it consciously and deliberately refused even to refer to the perpetrators of those abominable crimes and to the pain of the victims.

144. The resolution talks about "the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem". How frail and fickle political memories are. Every member of the Council knows full well how the Council failed to act in May and June 1967, so that Israel was left with no alternative but to repel the Arab aggressors and at the end of six days found itself, *inter alia*, in Judea and Samaria and the Gaza District. The Council can pretend, if it wishes, that it has forgotten the horrifying events of those days when the whole of the Arab world—the whole of the Arab world—was roused into a vicious and violent mood to the battle charge of "driving the Jews into the sea".

145. In the face of growing Arab bellicosity, in the face of an escalating series of threats, blockades and military movements, Israel appealed to the United Nations and Governments throughout the world to

act to prevent the impending all-out Arab aggression. But in vain.

146. As regards Jordan, the then Prime Minister of Israel sent on the morning of 5 June 1967, through the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), a message to King Hussein asking that Jordan refrain from joining the hostilities that had just begun. King Hussein received that message. He spurned it. He opened fire on Jerusalem and all along the 1949 Armistice Lines with Israel, bringing every major town and city in Israel under direct fire from his army's long guns; and let it not be forgotten that Jordan's occupation of Judea and Samaria was illegal in the first place. It was the outcome of Jordan's joining other Arab armies in marching against the State of Israel on the very day it was established in May 1948. As in 1948, Israel again in 1967 acted legally in repelling the Jordanian aggression, in exercise of its right of self-defence and in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

147. That was exactly 13 years ago to the day, scarcely a long time by the yardstick of international affairs. But the Council, with its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, which did nothing at the time to prevent the war of 1967, chooses today to turn a blind eye to the facts it finds unpleasant to recall.

148. Thirteen years ago the Security Council adopted resolution 242 (1967), which remains to date the only agreed basis for a negotiated peace settlement in the Middle East. Any attempt to tamper with that resolution, either directly or indirectly, can only harm the cause of peace in the Middle East and the delicate balance of the current peace efforts which are based on that resolution. This caveat applies with equal force to any attempts to twist and misrepresent the provisions of that resolution, such as we have witnessed here today.

149. Today, with the adoption of this sanctimonious resolution, the Council has stooped to new depths of cynicism. And the cynicism displayed here by the Council cannot but breed distrust in the hearts and minds of hundreds of millions of young people around the world who have watched the steady deterioration of the United Nations with utter disgust and disbelief. Performances of this kind make people question not merely the usefulness of an Organization that has been perverted to such a degree; what is worse, people around the world have increasingly started to ask themselves, as a result of this kind of behaviour, questions regarding the very validity of the noble principles on which the Organization is founded. Of the many sins committed here and in other organs of the United Nations against the Charter, this is perhaps the most grave. And it is one that will not and cannot be lightly forgiven.

150. The Council's resolution reeks with hypocrisy. It does not advance the cause of peace; it impedes it. It does not enhance the stature of the Council; it can only further diminish it. The resolution does not add to the resonance of the world Organization; it stifles it.

151. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization wishes to make a statement in reply. I call on him.

152. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): The representative of Tel Aviv was carried away by his emotions, to the extent that he almost gave himself away and told the Council that he knew exactly who the terrorists and murderers were.

153. It still seems that Tel Aviv maintains that the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention are not applicable, despite the unanimous consensus of the international community. Naturally, the Palestinian people being under foreign occupation, sometimes quislings show up and the people execute them. That is a fact of life, and we Palestinians are not at all different from other peoples under foreign domination which have executed quislings.

154. But in a series of crimes, the Zionist movement started planting bombs in the souks all the way back in the 1930s; the Zionist movement blew up the civilian administration of the British Mandate at the King David Hotel, not a military but a civilian administration; the Zionist movement, in the form of the State

of Israel, forced down civilian aircraft and dropped cluster bombs on children; and the Zionist movement still denies the right and prevents and prohibits the return of Palestinians to their homes, which is the only way to peace, not the Camp David accords, the Washington pact, or even resolution 242 (1967).

155. The United Nations has a Charter, proclaimed by the peoples of the world, in which are set forth the methods and means of securing peace for the world. The Zionist movement and the United States of America, which finances that movement, are the obstacles to peace.

156. With reference to our people under illegal occupation, I have only one thing to say. Why have they been denied the right to elect even their municipal councils? I think that in the reply to that can be found the answer to all the allegations.

157. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council has concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.*

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NOTE

<sup>1</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, p. 287.



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