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**2401<sup>st</sup>** MEETING: 12 NOVEMBER 1982

NEW YORK

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## CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2401) .....	1
Tribute to the memory of Mr. Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union .....	1
Expression of thanks to the retiring President .....	1
Expression of congratulations to the representative of Zaire .....	1
Adoption of the agenda .....	1
The situation in the occupied Arab territories: Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);	
Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483) .....	1

#### NOTE

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## 2401st MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 12 November 1982, at 3.30 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Carlos OZORES TYPALDOS  
(Panama).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Panama, Poland, Spain, Togo, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2401)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in the occupied Arab territories:

Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);

Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483)

*The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.*

**Tribute to the memory of Mr. Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union**

1. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from Spanish*): It was with deep sorrow that we all learned yesterday of the passing of an outstanding statesman of our time, Mr. Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I should like to reiterate that this is a great loss, not only to the Soviet people but to the world community as a whole, because Leonid Brezhnev was one of the great leaders of the world, who, in our turbulent and dangerous time, exerted unswerving efforts towards the preservation of world peace and the development of peaceful co-operation among nations.

2. President Brezhnev's name was and will be for years to come linked with the furtherance of international détente, the cause of disarmament, the prevention of nuclear catastrophe and the promotion of social progress.

3. As was stated by a number of speakers during the commemorative meeting of the General Assembly yesterday,<sup>1</sup> Leonid Brezhnev was a strong supporter of the United Nations. As we mourn his death, we should rededicate ourselves to the noble goals of peace and co-operation among nations enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

4. I should like, as President of the Security Council and on behalf of the members of the Council, to convey to the representative of the Soviet Union and through him to the Government of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and the family of the deceased our sincere condolences.

5. I now invite the members of the Council to stand and observe a minute of silence.

*The members of the Security Council observed a minute of silence.*

### Expression of thanks to the retiring President

6. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like, on behalf of the Council, to pay a tribute to Mr. Hazem Nuseibeh, representative of Jordan, for his service as President of the Council during the month of October. I am sure I speak for all the members of the Council in expressing to Mr. Nuseibeh deep gratitude for the great diplomatic skill, tact and courtesy with which he guided the Council's work last month.

### Expression of congratulations to the representative of Zaire

7. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the fact that Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda was recently appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs of his country, Zaire. On behalf of the members of the Council and on my own behalf, I congratulate him most warmly.

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation in the occupied Arab territories:**

Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);

**Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483)**

8. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Morocco, Niger and Senegal in which they request to be allowed 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 conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mrani Zentar (Morocco) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Oumarou (Niger) and Mr. Sarré (Senegal) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

9. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 12 November from the representative of Jordan [S/15490] which reads as follows:

“I have the honour to request the Security Council to extend an invitation to the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the Council’s consideration of the item entitled ‘The situation in the occupied Arab territories’, in accordance with the Council’s usual practice.”

10. The proposal by Jordan is not made pursuant to rule 37 or rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, but if approved by the Council the invitation to participate in the debate would confer on the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) the same rights of participation as those conferred on Member States pursuant to rule 37.

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

12. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): May I take this opportunity to congratulate you warmly, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Council and also to express the gratitude of my Government to the representative of Jordan for his exemplary conduct of the presidency during the previous month.

13. As recently as 18 October, when the Council considered the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, I, as representative of the United States, explained once again in some detail why the United States has opposed the special procedure used to invite the PLO to participate in our debate [2400th meeting, para. 7]. Accordingly, I will be somewhat briefer this afternoon.

14. The essential difficulty is not that the Council should wish to invite the PLO to participate in the debate. The United States has never opposed extending an appropriate invitation to a representative of a political group that has a stake in matters before the Council. Our objection is to the political attempt to bestow upon the PLO some purportedly higher status than the facts warrant.

15. The terms of the proposed invitation seek to convey the appearance that the Council regards the PLO as the representative of the Government of a State. But each of us knows the fact that, whatever its aspirations, the PLO is, as I have said before, a collectivity whose members live under various political jurisdictions. Therefore, we will once again vote against an invitation that has the appearance of treating PLO spokesmen as if they represented the Government of a State.

16. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): 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 Jordan.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:* China, Guyana, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Panama, Poland, Spain, Togo, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Zaire

*Against:* United States of America

*Abstentions:* France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

*The proposal was adopted by 12 votes to 1, with 2 abstentions.*

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took the place reserved for him at the Council table.*

17. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 12 November from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People which reads as follows:

“I have the honour to request that I be allowed to participate in the Council’s consideration of the item entitled ‘The situation in the occupied Arab territories’, in accordance with the provisions of rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, in my capacity as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.”

18. On previous occasions, the Council has extended invitations to representatives of other United Nations bodies in connection with the consideration of matters

on its agenda. In accordance with past practice in this matter, I propose that the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

*It was so decided.*

19. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Council is meeting today in response to requests contained in a letter dated 6 November from the representative of Morocco addressed to the President of the Council [S/15481] and a letter dated 9 November from the representative of Niger addressed to the President of the Council [S/15483].

20. The first speaker is the representative of Morocco, on whom I now call.

21. Mr. MRANI ZENTAR (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I myself and the whole Group of Arab States would like to associate ourselves with your reference to the memory of President Leonid Brezhnev and also with your request to the representative of the Soviet Union to transmit to the bereaved family and to the whole Soviet people our heartfelt condolences and our sympathy.

22. My delegation is particularly grateful to you, Sir, as well as to the other members of the Council both for having responded so quickly to the request for a meeting of the Council—a request which I addressed to you on behalf of the Group of Arab States, of which Morocco is Chairman during November—and also for having permitted me to speak in the Council in this debate on the continuation by Israel of its policy of illegally establishing settlements in the occupied Arab territories and, in particular, most recently in the Palestinian territory of the West Bank of the Jordan.

23. Your presence, Sir, in the presidential chair this month is most gratifying to my delegation, both because of your diplomatic acumen, which is well known within the United Nations, and because of the international position of your country, Panama, in support of justice and peace.

24. I should also like to pay a tribute to our brother, Mr. Hazem Nuseibeh, of the Kingdom of Jordan, for the brilliant and splendid way he discharged his duties as President last month.

25. I have also noted, as all members will have, the presence among us of the Foreign Minister of Zaire, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, and, on behalf of my delegation and of the group that I represent, I should like to convey to him our warm congratulations and best wishes for success in the important and delicate tasks that lie ahead.

26. How often are we going to have to deplore without acting and condemn without punishing the

conduct of the Israeli leaders in power in the occupied Arab territories, in Gaza, in the West Bank, in the Golan Heights, in Lebanon, in Beirut and in the Holy City of Jerusalem?

27. How many times have we advanced argument after argument in this body and offered testimony after testimony to prove that the objectives of the Israeli Government are openly expansionist and unashamedly annexationist?

28. What happened to the Holy City of Jerusalem, an Arab city and Arab territory occupied by force and today wrongfully declared to be the eternal capital of Israel?

29. What happened to the possessions, the properties and the land in the city that were historically preponderantly Arab and Islamic? What was the fate reserved for the *waqf* Muslim possessions, whose pre-eminently cultural purpose should have kept them safe from grasping hands?

30. What was the fate reserved for the Hay al-Maghariba in Jerusalem, the Maghreb quarter, the original purpose of which was steeped in faith and piety but which the Israeli administration has confiscated for the benefit of its policy of systematic Judaization of the Holy City?

31. In other parts of occupied Palestine, the forcible transfer of Arab lands to public and private Israeli institutions has reached an alarming level, a fact of which the international community is not yet sufficiently aware.

32. It is "five minutes to midnight," as the author of a very instructive article recently published in the well-informed *New York Times* has written. It is five to twelve as far as the total control by Israel of age-old Arab lands is concerned—control by enticement, by iron-bound conviction, by outright acts of force. It is five minutes to midnight thanks to the implacable law of the occupier, and the rest of the world looks on with indifference or in ignorance as crimes are committed every day to destroy a people and confiscate its riches.

33. The Islamic holy places have not been spared. The Israeli troops fire outside mosques and sanctuaries while pseudo-archaeologists are undermining their foundations in the vain search for vestiges of that Temple which imagination rather than actual knowledge has so conveniently located.

34. The pure and simple annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights has shown the lengths to which arbitrariness and the intoxication of military power can lead its adepts in violating the elementary rights of properly constituted States whose international frontiers are the subject of unanimously recognized and respected legal protection.

35. The Israeli expedition into Lebanon and the hideous massacres that accompanied it provoked healthy revulsion throughout the world and enormous compassion for a people so often driven from its homeland but which continues nevertheless to cling to whatever vestiges of life are left to it—the Palestinian people.

36. The same compassion was felt for the Lebanese people, which for so long has been paying the highest price for its willing and noble action of brotherly solidarity with the struggling, martyred Palestinian people.

37. The continued policy of the illegal establishment of armed settlements in the occupied Arab territories, in the Syrian Golan Heights and the West Bank of the Jordan is not only a flagrant violation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council but also constitutes an intolerable provocation directed against the feelings, interests and rights of the legitimate inhabitants of those areas.

38. The continuance of such a policy and its recent acceleration, at the very moment when the reign of colonization is drawing to an end on every continent, is a glaring anachronism that no longer has a place in the contemporary world.

39. Efforts have been undertaken in the United Nations to ensure respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and to safeguard their national rights over their territories. The Palestinian people, fighting under the banner of its sole representative, the PLO, is no exception.

40. The United Nations has continuously and constantly recognized that the Palestinian people is the legitimate possessor of inalienable rights over its national territory and that it is entitled to create a sovereign State in that territory.

41. The creation of Israeli settlements in occupied Palestine is therefore contrary to international decisions and illegally creates regrettable conditions of instability and contention which are a source of danger for the future. The irresponsible conduct of Israel runs counter to the praiseworthy and courageous efforts for peace and justice in the Middle East that are being undertaken in various quarters by those of good will.

42. The blindness of the policy of the Israeli Government destroys one after the other any unexpected opportunity that may arise to render justice at last to the martyred Palestinian people by restoring its fundamental rights and by peacefully and legally returning to neighbouring Arab countries the occupied parts of their national territories.

43. The reckless and heedless conduct of the Israeli Government in the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, is the most negative and devastating obstacle to the just and lasting peace in the Middle East

which most of the international community so earnestly desires.

44. The Council must recall with firmness its unanimous decisions calling for respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and must unambiguously condemn Israel's violations of those principles and of international decisions guaranteeing the fundamental rights of individuals and peoples in the still-troubled region of the Middle East.

45. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): I wish to take this opportunity to express, on behalf of the Jordanian delegation, the deep sorrow of the Government and people of Jordan and our heartfelt condolences to the friendly people of the Soviet Union at the passing of one of the great leaders of our time, President Leonid Brezhnev. He was a leader deeply dedicated to the preservation of world peace, security, peaceful co-existence and détente among nations of varying ideologies in a world which lives literally in the shadow of a nuclear holocaust. During the Second World War, his great country suffered indescribable devastation and staggering loss of life, amounting to 25 million of its citizens. I request the representative of the Soviet Union to convey to the Government and people of the Soviet Union the most profound condolences of the Government and people of Jordan.

46. As this is the first time I have spoken at a formal meeting of the Council this month, I wish at the outset to express the sincere congratulations of my delegation to Mr. Carlos Ozores Typaldos, of friendly Panama, on his assumption of the presidency for this month. We are confident that, under his wise, dedicated and most able guidance, the Council will shoulder its solemn responsibilities fully and forcefully.

47. I also wish to express my deep appreciation to the President for the very kind words he addressed to me.

48. I should like to take this opportunity to express my congratulations to my colleague, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, for his well-deserved appointment as Minister for Foreign Affairs of friendly Zaire.

49. We are meeting today to consider once again one of the most alarming and explosive issues of which the Council has been seized since Israel's occupation of Palestinian and Arab lands in 1967. A prolonged 15-year occupation is in itself appalling, brutal and insufferable. But what is far more alarming is the systematic, relentless and ill-disguised policy which the Israeli occupation aggressors have been pursuing in the process of incarcerating the Palestinian people by illegal confiscations, massive colonization and blatant devouring of the meagre lands, water and resources of the tiny West Bank, including Jerusalem, and also the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. Indeed, this criminal process of incarceration has almost reached a point of no return, with incalculable con-

sequences for regional, as well as world, peace and security.

50. What initially used to be called creeping annexation—and we have been discussing this matter since as long ago as 1967—is now admittedly and openly described as leaping annexation, to which the Israeli occupation authorities are allocating huge financial, as well as human, resources in a frantic race against time, with a view to foreclosing any possibility of achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East in accordance with Council resolutions on the occupied territories and other United Nations resolutions on the rights of the Palestinian people.

51. By any criteria, the facts are staggering, conclusive and incontrovertible. In this brief and preliminary presentation, on which I shall have occasion to elaborate later on, I shall quote from an article published by *The Christian Science Monitor* on Wednesday, 10 November, in which, under the heading, "Israel gobbles up West Bank land with suburbs", its correspondent, Trudy Rubin, stated:

"Large chunks of the occupied West Bank—home to 800,000 Palestinians—are in the process of becoming suburbs of Israel's metropolitan areas.

"Israelis are being encouraged by the government and private developers to build their 'dream house' at bargain prices on West Bank sites within commuting distance of Israel proper."

The correspondent added:

"This process of 'suburbanization' makes irrelevant United States concern with freezing the number of Jewish settlements within the West Bank."

52. The well-known columnist Anthony Lewis wrote an article in *The New York Times* on 1 November under the ominous and yet totally accurate heading "5 Minutes to Midnight", in which he sounded the alarm on a basic issue which spells the difference between the possibility of peace, as enunciated on 9 September by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez (Morocco), and perpetual conflict, whose ultimate and disastrous consequences would be inevitable. Anthony Lewis was commenting on a study carried out by Mr. Meron Benvenisti, the former Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem, a copy of which I have here with me and which is now being prepared for publication. In late October, Mr. Benvenisti gave a briefing at the American Enterprise Institute on a study which he and other Israeli social scientists had prepared on the occupied territories. The authors of the study ascertained that the Israeli occupation authorities had already seized 55 to 60 per cent of the total area of the tiny West Bank and will have implanted 100,000 Israeli colonizers by 1987. This is in addition to the more than 125,000 Israeli colonizers already settled in expanded Jerusalem—which is usually

never taken into account whenever anyone talks about Israeli settlements—and the rest of the West Bank.

53. Information available to my Government indicates that, by October 1982, Israel has seized a total of 2,407,131 square donums—one donum being equal to one quarter of an acre. The total area of the occupied West Bank is just over 5.5 million square donums. The process is continuing unabated.

54. The Jordanian Government's information is that the number of settlements already established and inhabited by August 1982, including those in and around occupied Arab Jerusalem, was 139 settlements and townships. This is in addition to 20 new settlements under construction, which was announced officially four months ago.

55. We have to add to these figures the conversion of four military encampments—one near Hebron (Al-Khalil), one on Mount Jerzim, overlooking Nablus, and the other two in the vicinity of the town of Jenin—into civilian settlements and the "thickening" of 19 additional Israeli settlements already in existence. "Thickening" usually means converting settlements into townships and urban centres, all of which are closely connected by three major belts of highways and lateral roads criss-crossing the length and breadth of the entire West Bank and Gaza. This has made any delineation between the demarcation lines of 1948 and 1967 blurred and invisible. All these settlements bring the number of existing Israeli settlements and townships to over 163, including the four military encampments which are to be converted into civilian settlements.

56. A high Israeli official announced over Israeli radio on 6 November that the 20 new settlements to which I have referred will be completed before the end of this year.

57. The Israeli colonization has been perpetrated so massively, not only around heavily populated areas but also between them and in the deepest hinterland, to ensure total vivisection of the occupied territories and to render it well-nigh impossible not only to implement Council resolution 242 (1967) or to establish a self-governing Palestinian authority, let alone a State, but even to preclude the possibility of having infamous bantustans of the type which South Africa has established and is continuing to establish. Indeed, the plan is to reduce the status of the suffocating Palestinian population to temporary existence.

58. As a matter of fact, the Israelis refer to that population as temporary guests, pending their passing away. The Palestinian people will have nothing more than localized municipal services for the sake of convenience until such time as the lawful inhabitants of the land, deprived of land, water and other resources, and through the process of natural attrition, are left with no alternative but to leave or starve. As Meir Kahane

has said—he was not echoing the views of a small minority, but was reflecting the official policy of the Israeli Government, as we are seeing it implemented—if they insist on staying, in spite of all the oppression and deprivation, they will be forcibly expelled by State- and settler-organized terrorism, including massacres and the kidnapping of children, which have been going on throughout the past two years and in which the Israeli Zionists have been foremost experts from 1947 to this day.

59. I have available to me a detailed map which, though incomplete, portrays the magnitude of Israeli colonization up to July 1982. It was prepared and printed by the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency and the Settlement Division of the World Zionist Organization. I had requested that copies of the map be distributed urgently to the members of the Council as an official document of the Council. Unfortunately, technical considerations have prevented the printing of the map. In the meantime, my colleague, Mr. Abdulla Hamadneh, who has just arrived from Amman especially for this meeting, will, with your permission, Mr. President, briefly describe the pervasive, overall implications of what is shown on the map, copies of which I hope will be distributed to members of the Council in due course [S/15488, annex II].

60. I shall supply a written statement incorporating what Mr. Hamadneh has said [*ibid.*, annex I].

61. It is now all too clear for all to see that the Zionist-Israeli design is the expulsion of the remnants of the Palestinian people from the remnants of their Palestinian ancestral homeland. This brings me to a very forthright article by Joseph Harsch, the well-known columnist, which appeared in *The Christian Science Monitor* on Tuesday, 9 November—three days ago. The article is under the heading "Begin vs. Reagan, Nov. 19", referring to the date when Begin is scheduled to meet President Reagan at the White House. The columnist writes:

"On October 28, Trudy Rubin, this newspaper's special correspondent in Israel, stood in the street in Hebron and watched Israeli bulldozers smash down Arab houses to make way for a Jewish settlement in the heart of that ancient city of cities".

Hebron is over 5,000 years old, millennia before any Israeli ever set foot on that land of the Amorites, who gave a plot of land to the father of all prophets, Abraham, for burial. It is one of the holiest Islamic cities and has an urban population of over 80,000 Palestinians.

62. I wish to read out a copy of a cablegram from the Mayor of Hebron. He is referring only to the beginning of more intensive settlement in the heart of Hebron, which is already ringed and encircled by Kiryat Arba and other large settlements. It reads as follows:

"In accordance with an Israeli governmental decision taken in 1980, Israeli military authorities have begun demolishing houses and stores in the centre of our town, Hebron, to replace them with new buildings for Israeli settlers.

"The following names are owners and occupiers of the demolished houses"—

although, of course, adjacent and contiguous houses have had their foundations very seriously undermined by the acts of demolition—

- "(1) Yousef Sharabati
- "(2) Abdol Sami Sharabati
- "(3) Salah Eid Zeitoun
- "(4) Mohammed Amin Bader
- "(5) Rashad Bashir Sharabati."

It is signed by the acting Mayor of Hebron, Mustafa Alnatcha. The Mayor of Hebron, as the Council is well aware, was expelled from his homeland in the West Bank and appeared before the Council two years ago.

63. Mr. Harsch acidly comments, and reveals awesome facts. He states that such an act is a direct challenge to the President of the United States and his policies. The challenge, Mr. Harsch continues, comes in double form. There is an announcement of further plans for more settlements which, in his words,

"avowedly aim at a time when the number of Jews in the occupied territories will push many Arabs out of their ancestral homes".

The columnist continues:

"On the day after Mr. Levi's announcement, a spokesman for the World Zionist Organization, Mr. Zeez Ben Youssef, said the purpose is 400,000 Jews in the next five years and 1.4 million Jews in the area in 30 years."

64. The West Bank and Gaza are not big enough to hold both 1.4 million Jews and the 1.2 million Arabs who live there now. When President Reagan announced his plan for a new start towards peace in the Middle East, including an immediate adoption of a settlement freeze, Begin denounced the entire plan, including the requested freeze.

65. Mr. Harsch comments:

"Mr. Begin will come to Washington with more than defiance of the President. He also wants the President to add an extra billion dollars to the usual annual U.S. subsidy to Israel. It has been running somewhat under \$3 billion a year, depending on how you figure it. Israel's costs have skyrocketed due to the invasion of Lebanon—another act of defiance of the wishes of President Reagan.



“... Mr. Begin comes both in defiance of the President and with a request for more subsidy.”

The columnist concludes:

“The future shape of the Middle East depends on which way the President plays the hand.”

66. I should have started my statement by expressing the profound appreciation of my Government to Mr. Mathias, of Portugal, as Chairman, and to Mr. de Zavala, of Bolivia, and Mr. Mutukwa, of Zambia, as members of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979), for the report prepared by the Commission pursuant to paragraph 9 of resolution 465 (1980).

67. The report, which is contained in document S/14268, of 25 November 1980, is a most authoritative, objective and comprehensive study on the subject before us today. Regrettably, the report has been lying in abeyance for reasons beyond our control. Because of the turnover in the membership of the Council, it was always difficult to muster more than two of the three members necessary to reconstitute the Commission. It is most telling that, while the report a mere two years ago found colonization to be around 33 per cent of the occupied West Bank, its conclusions, though superseded by further settlements in the interim, did foresee the trends and policies of Israeli aggression and occupation, which has today reached the magnitude of 55 to 60 per cent because of Israeli licence and highway robbery, on the one hand, and Council inaction, on the other. I wish to express to the members of the Security Council Commission at that time and to their Governments our most sincere appreciation and gratitude. I hope that the Council will acknowledge, discuss and adopt the report. At the same time, my delegation requests that the Commission, composed of three members of the Council, be reconstituted and reactivated at the earliest possible time to keep the Council up to date on developments—and they have been enormous, beyond our wildest nightmares.

68. As far as the Council is concerned, it has repeatedly stated its unalterable position that Israeli settlements in the occupied territories since 1967 are null and void and have no legal validity whatsoever. It has resolved that all settlements must be rescinded because they are flagrant violations of international law, in particular the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949,<sup>2</sup> apart from being blatant aggression threatening the very survival and future of the Palestinian people.

69. As I have been repeating, like my predecessors since 1967, the issue of Israeli colonization is one upon which hinges the fate of peace or war in the Middle East and beyond. No matter how many *faits accomplis* the Israeli expansionists create, all their illegalities will, as the future will show, be of no avail.

70. This represents lawlessness, highway robbery and the rule of the jungle in their worst forms. The Palestinian people and the overwhelming majority of mankind will ensure that this unprecedented act of the uprooting of an ancient people from their ancestral homeland will be rejected and that justice, right and law will prevail. This requires decisive mandatory action by the Council.

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

72. Mr. OUMAROU (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): This meeting of the Council is being held at a time when one of its permanent and most influential members is in mourning for a leader who had been untiringly at the helm for 18 years. I should like, therefore, to begin by conveying my condolences to the members of the Soviet Mission and to assure them of the deep sympathy of my own delegation and of the Group of States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which I represent here, on the death of Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. By his action in the international arena and his prestige and work inside the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Leonid Brezhnev has greatly contributed to the building of the contemporary world.

73. I wish most sincerely to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for allowing me to take part in this debate. You may rest assured that the Group of States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference will be profoundly grateful for your very kind and generous invitation. For my part, having already had the privilege and pleasure of working closely with you in this prestigious body, I know that the presidency that you assume for this month of November will be marked by wisdom and dedication. I am acquainted, too, with the clear-cut and courageous positions of your country, Panama, on the various problems of the Middle East with which we are dealing at present. I need hardly say that I am well aware that I am speaking to someone who will lend an attentive ear and who is an advocate of justice and law.

74. I should also like to express my congratulations to your predecessor, Mr. Nuseibeh, of Jordan, for the work accomplished during his presidency in the month of October.

75. Lastly, I should like to express my pleasure at the well-deserved promotion of our brother and friend, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, of Zaire, who has been sitting in our midst for a year and has done so with brilliance, efficiency and dedication. I congratulate him sincerely and feel sure that his appointment to the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation of his country will be a great

contribution to the defence of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

76. It is not with pleasure that we note that if there is one constant to which Israel has accustomed us it is undoubtedly its policy of *fait accompli*, a policy that it has been following in particular since 1967 in the West Bank, in the Gaza Strip, on the Golan Heights and in Jerusalem—to confine myself to the area of the unbridled colonization in which that notoriously aggressive and arrogant State is engaged.

77. This meeting today is, on the Council's part, no more than the customary continuation—and a compulsory one—of a long series of responses to the Israeli settlements policy, which the Council has always denounced and condemned but which, for their part, the Israeli occupation authorities do not cease to pursue, together with a bold programme of strategic encirclement of areas where the Palestinians are concentrated and of appropriation by the Zionist settlers of all the agricultural and water resources of the occupied territories.

78. It is, moreover, symptomatic that the news of recent Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza should have reached us at a time when, responding to the anguish of the world and the mounting suffering of the Palestinian people, the Arab world, the leadership of the PLO, peace organizations in many countries and men of goodwill try to stabilize the region by first injecting into it a spirit of peacefulness, mutual confidence and dialogue. This new undertaking of the occupation authorities means that Israel is still determined to persist in its refusal to freeze its settlements policy in the occupied Arab territories. Indeed, although the economic and social problems of Israel continue to grow and worsen, Israel agrees to invest in those territories millions of dollars and grants financial and fiscal facilities to those who settle there. Where, then, is the logical connection between the desire for peace and the undertaking of illegal and costly operations in particularly sensitive areas in respect of which the least one can say is that they represent a determining factor in the quest for peace?

79. Thus, this meeting, which the Group of Arab States has requested, and which the Group of States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference has supported, is on an extremely serious undertaking by Israel at a time when the search for a solution to the question of the Middle East enters into one of the most active and promising but also delicate and critical phases it has ever known. That is why, while we request the Council unanimously to express its strong disapproval of this new Israeli adventure, we also urge each of its members, and particularly those among them which have the greatest influence and bear the greatest responsibility for the maintenance of peace, to ponder the gravity of this affair and to consider the beneficial implementation of specific measures of deterrence against the Hebrew State. In

this instance, the latter cannot offer any justification for its action, the only effect of which will be to plunge the world into disarray and unduly jeopardize efforts at settling the question.

80. When I speak of settlement of the Middle East question, I am sure that representatives understand full well that I have in mind the settlement of the Palestinian question, because the Organization of the Islamic Conference has repeatedly stated and reaffirmed that that problem is at the heart of the conflict in that region of the world endemically disrupted for the last 30 years. Israel, by its policy of repeated provocations, unceasing acts of aggression and active colonization, may attempt to gain time, continue to defy the international community and flout the principles of international law and the Charter. However, it will never, I am convinced, affect the inevitable triumph of justice and law, and by that I mean its withdrawal from all the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, including the Holy City of Al-Quds; the right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland, Palestine; the right of that people to establish an independent Palestinian State in Palestine, under the leadership of the PLO; and, lastly, the right of the Palestinian people thus rehabilitated to determine its own future without outside interference.

81. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is Mr. Massamba Sarré, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

82. Mr. SARRÉ (Senegal) (Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, just a few moments ago you paid a well-deserved tribute, in most appropriate terms, to a great world leader, Leonid Brezhnev. I should like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and on my own behalf, to join in that tribute and to request the Soviet delegation to convey these sentiments to the Soviet high authorities and assure them of our sympathy in their loss. We, also, bow our heads respectfully.

83. It is a pleasure for me to congratulate a friend and a distinguished member of the Council, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, on his appointment to the important post of Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation of Zaire, a country with which Senegal enjoys particularly close relations. We wish him every success in his new post.

84. I wish also warmly and sincerely to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. Your brilliant diplomatic career and your profound knowledge of international relations, your

objectivity and your devotion to the purposes and principles of the United Nations guarantee that you will conduct the proceedings of the Council successfully, in the interests of the triumph of peace, understanding and justice in international relations.

85. On behalf of the members of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian people and on my own behalf, I should like to express our gratitude to the members of the Council for having been good enough to permit me to take part in the debate, which, to some extent, affects the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

86. The question we are considering today is a source of profound concern to the Committee because it seriously affects not only the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people but also international peace and security.

87. In the course of the year, the Council has met on several occasions to consider the question of Palestine and recent events in Lebanon and to take appropriate measures. Each of those meetings has been made necessary by the policy and practices of the Israeli Government. The Security Council and the General Assembly have taken appropriate measures to meet the situation. The fact that the Council and the Assembly have met so often confirms the profound concern of the international community. It is well known that resolutions have been adopted to thwart Israel's policy, but, unfortunately, so far to no avail. This shows quite clearly the attitude of Israel towards the United Nations and the international community.

88. This year the expansionist policy of Israel has been seen at its peak. In this chamber we have examined in detail the tragic results of the invasion of Lebanon by Israel. The international community reacted firmly with an almost unanimous vote in the General Assembly a few weeks ago, on 24 September [*resolution ES-7/9*]. That vote was important because it expressed the growing irritation of the international community at the consequences of Israel's policy.

89. Today we have to deal with a rather different aspect of the same question, but one directly connected with it. Over the last few months, the Committee over which it is my honour to preside has on more than one occasion expressed the fear that, under the cover of the tragic events in Lebanon, Israel, profiting from the fact that the troubles it has created in that country were monopolizing the attention of the whole world, might be emboldened to put into effect its plans for the illegal annexation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to satisfy its ambitions based on considerations of its policy of security. There has been overwhelming proof to justify our fears.

90. The most recent events in the Middle East have drawn even more attention to the region. This has led to a number of proposals to find a just, equitable and

comprehensive solution to the Middle East question. Although at times those proposals have had different objectives, they have had a common approach in many respects.

91. That was, for example, the case with the problem of the settlements in the illegally occupied Arab territories. All the proposals in that regard have called unanimously for an end to this policy of establishing illegal settlements in those Arab territories, the objective of which is to change the demographic nature of the region, in violation of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.<sup>2</sup> All of the proposals recognized that a policy of this kind constitutes an insurmountable obstacle to peace. It is obvious that any State committed to peace would subscribe to this conclusion, which is the conclusion of the international community as a whole.

92. However, Israel's reaction has been contrary to that universal approach. In defiance of international public opinion and international law, Israel not only has continued to strengthen its existing settlements but has dared to announce that several new settlements will be created in the region. One really wonders whether this kind of conduct is that of a State that aspires to co-operation and peace.

93. It has now been estimated by trustworthy sources that there are about 25,000 Jewish settlers in 103 settlements in the West Bank, compared to 3,500 in 1977. *The New York Times* recently reported a statement by a spokesman of the World Zionist Organization to the effect that Israel was actively continuing to carry out a plan providing for the settlement of 400,000 Jews in the West Bank over a period of five years and 1.4 million Jews in the same area over a period of 30 years. This plan is now actually being carried out by means of the new process of illegally confiscating land at the expense of the Arab inhabitants. I should also like to stress that changing the nature of the settlements, which are by no means any longer just small agricultural co-operatives but rather urban centres situated near the Israeli frontier, often at quite a distance from metropolitan zones which would permit daily commuting, is a policy that will inevitably hinder the application of any decision that may be taken by a future Government that wishes to restore those illegally acquired territories to the Arabs.

94. There are other Israeli policies and practices which also threaten international peace and security by exacerbating tension in the area. Almost every day reports come in of repressive measures taken against the civilian population of the West Bank and Gaza. The papers report demonstrations being dispersed by force, with an inevitable loss of life. They report that schools and other educational establishments have been closed for weeks or even months for reasons that are entirely unconvincing. We are told that foreign teachers are being forced to sign political declarations on pain of deportation. We read in the

papers that mayors and other duly elected officials have been dismissed from their posts. We are also told that Israel has refused to extend the visa of a distinguished personage of the Orthodox Church. All these are practices which are hardly such as to promote the restoration of peace in the region.

95. We should not forget that what we learn from the media is but a fraction of what is actually happening in the region. Nor should we forget that any failure on our part to act in the face of this situation would be a confession of failure for the Organization, as the Secretary-General so eloquently stressed in his recent report.<sup>3</sup>

96. The situation therefore represents a challenge to the United Nations and it is up to us to meet this challenge in the interests of peace and co-operation in this region.

97. I should not like to conclude, Sir, without extending my congratulations and paying a tribute to your distinguished and brilliant predecessor, the representative of Jordan, our friend Mr. Nuseibeh, for the exemplary fashion in which he conducted the work of the Council last month.

98. In conclusion, I should like to appeal to the members of the Council once again to examine this question, which is of profound concern to us all and which is threatening peace and security in the region, so that justice may prevail and violence be stilled.

99. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, on whom I now call.

100. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): Mr. President, in expressing your sentiments and those of the Council on the passing of the great leader, President Brezhnev, you have voiced the deep sense of loss to the world and to the cause of peace that the PLO feels. We share your sentiments.

*The speaker continued in Spanish.*

101. Mr. President, it is an honour and a pleasure for me today to address the representative of a friendly developing country and member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which, moreover, represents a people with whom the Palestinian people maintain excellent and brotherly relations. We are convinced that, under your able guidance, the Council will achieve positive and fruitful results in promoting peace.

*The speaker resumed in English.*

102. I should also like to express my pride in seeing your predecessor, a son of Jerusalem, sitting there to direct the work of the Council last month in exemplary fashion.

103. I wish also to extend to my brother and friend, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, all my best wishes in his new task as Foreign Minister. Although I shall miss a friend here, I know that his experience and knowledge are a source of reassurance to me and to the Palestinian people, and we trust that he will put that experience to the best use in our joint efforts to attain a just and comprehensive peace in the land of peace, in Palestine.

104. Mr. President, I wish to thank you and the members of the Council for having invited us to address the Council. I wish to state here that we note with satisfaction and appreciation the progressive change in the attitude of one member as reflected in the voting that took place at the start of this meeting.

105. I should like to begin my statement with a quotation:

“Well, the position of the United States historically has been consistent and my own position on settlements in the West Bank—Gaza area and on the Golan Heights and in the Sinai has been consistent. The Israeli Government knows perfectly well after hours of discussion on this issue what my position is. We do consider the creation of Israeli settlements in these areas as being inconsistent with international law and as I’ve said many times, they are an obstacle to peace.

“Knowing that the Israeli Government still on occasion authorizes new settlements—they interpret the law differently from myself—I hope that the Israeli Government will severely restrain any inclination either approved by the Knesset or done without legal sanction to establish new settlements. But there’s a limit to what we can do to impose our will on a sovereign nation.”

This is part of a statement by the President of the United States which appeared in *The New York Times* on 1 May 1979. It could have applied equally now.

106. But we read in *The New York Times* of today, 12 November, the following statement by President Reagan:

“Well, I don’t think that it would be good diplomacy to be threatening or anything. And I don’t believe that’s necessary. I think that all of us realize that peace is the ultimate goal there.”

This was in reply to the question:

“Mr. President, Israel continues to ignore your call for a freeze on settlements in the West Bank. How damaging is Israel’s ignoring of that freeze to the peace process? And what are you prepared to do about it?”

107. How much more evasive can one be? This statement of the President of the United States was

preceded by a comment on 4 November by Mr. Alan Romberg, a State Department spokesman, who said, as reported in *The New York Times* of 5 November:

“The United States regards this latest announcement of Israel’s intention to begin work on additional settlements as most unwelcome.”

“As we have previously stated,” he said, “we cannot understand why, at a time when we are actively seeking broader participation in the peace process, Israel persists in a pattern of activity which erodes the confidence of all, and most particularly the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza, in the possibilities for a just and fairly negotiated outcome to the peace process.”

“Mr. Romberg added, ‘Settlements activity raises questions about Israel’s willingness to abide by the promise of resolution 242 (1967) that territory will be exchanged for true peace.’”

108. Does that not really cast doubt on Israel’s intentions and its acceptance of the concept of peace in the area? The statement says that clearly, but one must read between the lines.

109. It is relevant to recall that, on 1 September, as reported in that same *New York Times* article, President Reagan stated:

“The immediate adoption of a settlement freeze by Israel, more than any other action, could create the confidence needed for wider participation in these talks.

“Further settlement activity is in no way necessary for the security of Israel and only diminishes the confidence of the Arabs that a final outcome can be freely and fairly negotiated.”

110. For some time now, and particularly in its resolution 446 (1979), the Council has repeatedly determined:

“that the policy and practices of Israel in establishing settlements in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967 have no legal validity and constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East.”

Yet Israel persists in applying that policy and in pursuing those same practices. In that same resolution, the Council called upon Israel:

“as the occupying Power, to abide scrupulously by the Geneva Convention . . . of . . . 1949, to rescind its previous measures and to desist from taking any action which would result in changing the legal status and geographical nature and materially affecting the demographic composition of the Arab

territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and, in particular, not to transfer parts of its own civilian population into the occupied Arab territories.”

Yet Israel completely ignores the Council’s resolution and persists in applying its policy.

111. By 25 November 1980, the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979) on 22 March 1979 had presented its third report [S/14268], and this report—for reasons not yet clear to us—was filed among the historic archives and never brought up for adoption, let alone discussion, by the Council. One reason, however, was clearly mentioned in the Council’s decision [resolution 465 (1980)] that strongly deplored the refusal by Israel to co-operate with the Commission and regretted its formal rejection of resolutions 446 (1979) and 452 (1979). Apparently, the provisions of Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations do not apply to one of the more favoured Members of the Organization, a creature of the United Nations—perhaps a Frankenstein created by the United Nations—or at least those provisions are made not to apply.

112. We deem it most relevant and important to recall why the report of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979) was somehow not brought to light. The answer lies in the document itself, in chapter V, section B, entitled “Recommendations.” As 717 days have elapsed since that report was submitted to the Council, let us recall what recommendations the Commission made: I quote:

“In view of the observations and conclusions above, the Commission would like to make the following recommendations.

“After a thorough assessment of the situation, and in the light of the numerous recommendations of the United Nations which are yet to be implemented to deal with the potentially explosive dangers therein, and in the light of the information available, the Commission has come to the conclusion that appropriate ways and means under the auspices of the United Nations should be found to arrest the situation in the interests of the parties involved, and in the interest of peace and security in the region and the world at large.

“In the Commission’s view, the problem of settlements and occupation raises fundamental problems for peace. The longer they continue to persist, the greater the potential for escalating the conflict. Mutual trust and acceptance through coexistence will be rendered difficult if not impossible in the area if the opportunities are missed. The Commission perceived a clear consensus in favour of a negotiated settlement and believes that the international community should take advantage of that favourable climate to advance the resolution of the prob-

lem. The Commission is of the view that the settlements policy is one of the major components at the core of the conflict in the area.

“In that context, the Commission considers that the persistent refusal of Israel to heed the repeated appeals of the Security Council on the matter should be censured.

“The Commission once again deems it necessary to reiterate its earlier recommendation that the Security Council, bearing in mind the inalienable rights of the Palestinians to return to their homeland, again draw the attention of the Government and people of Israel to the disastrous consequences which the settlement policy is bound to have on any attempt to reach a peaceful solution in the Middle East.” [S/14268, paras. 241-245.]

113. Those recommendations, of which I have read only a portion, were filed to accumulate dust in the archives of the Council, and the Council was somehow prevented from considering them. I would believe that somehow somebody in the Council had tried to protect Israel, which is very clearly accused for its persistent refusal to co-operate and carry out the decisions of the Security Council.

114. All of these recommendations are very fine, but we must consider the position of Tel Aviv on this issue. Ariel Sharon, the Zionist War Minister, that bulldozer that advances on the corpses of innocent civilians, declared in the 6 October issue of *Ha'aretz* that: “The real struggle of Israel is the struggle on all Eretz Yisrael, the struggle on the land of Israel.” Yet, on 27 October, the *Jerusalem Post* quoted him in a more explicit way: “Massive settlement all over [the West Bank] is the best answer to various plans that outsiders are trying to foist on Israel.” That statement was made after repeated requests by President Reagan and others. I am certain that Ariel Sharon does not really refer to the Security Council, because for him the Council is a thing to be viewed with utter contempt.

115. A so-called democratically elected member of the Knesset, a certain Hanan Porat, declared his determination in October 1982, when he said: “By next summer we should pass the critical mass by doubling the population in the West Bank.” But neither Sharon nor Porat are alone in promoting aggression.

116. In response to the statement made by President Reagan on 1 September, the Settlement Department in the Jewish Agency, together with the Settlement Division of the so-called Jewish Labour Federation—the Histadrut—concluded the preparation of the strategic plan for settlement activities in the next five years. More than 100,000 new Jewish settlers will be joining the colonial settlers already trespassing on our land. That was reported in the Tel Aviv daily, *Ha'aretz*, of 29 September. I am sure that President

Reagan knows full well what kind of response he is getting and that he has no need to wait for Mr. Begin to come and tell him what it is.

117. It is very important for every one of us to note that such colonial settlement activity is not undertaken by pioneers in the wilderness and at random. The planning is made at a much higher level with, of course, some aims. Deputy Prime Minister David Levi reassured the colonial settlers that “from now on the settlements will be established with a permanent infrastructure, including governmental institutions”. I am sure that members of the Council will recall that the Drobles plan is still being implemented. That plan was discussed extensively in the Council three years ago.

118. Now, these Israeli policies are not surprising if one recalls that Jewish colonial settlers were given the same rights in the occupied Palestinian territory as those enjoyed by citizens in what is known as Israel proper. I refer specifically to rights granted by the Israeli Government regarding the use of land bought or acquired from the State. But I should like to clarify who are the owners of these lands.

119. A book published officially by the Jewish National Fund—the Keren Kayemeth Leisrael—in 1949 in Jerusalem under the title, *Jewish Villages in Israel*, admits that the land in question is at law the property of Palestinian Arabs. As I shall be reading out the following passages from that book, it should be kept in mind that the total land occupied in 1949 by Israel was more than 8,000 square miles—that is, 20 million donums. The passages read:

“Of the entire area of the State of Israel, only about 300,000 to 400,000 donums—apart from the desolate rocky area of the southern Negev, at present quite unfit for cultivation—are State domain which the Israel Government took over from the Mandatory régime. The Jewish National Fund and private Jewish owners possess under 2 million donums. Almost all the rest belongs at law to Arab owners, many of whom have left the country. The fate of these Arabs will be settled when the terms of the peace treaties between Israel and its Arab neighbours are finally drawn up.”

120. That was written in 1949, and the fate of those Arabs will be decided when peace treaties are concluded between Israel and its Arab neighbours, thus completely forgetting that there is a human element, which is the Palestinian people, and that this is their land.

121. The question that should be faced here in the Council is: what is to be done? Does the Council continue to deal with the ramifications or does it deal with the roots? Does it continue to deal with derivatives or does it deal with the origins? The Council is called upon to bring the prolonged occupation to an

end, so that the Palestinian people can exercise its right to self-determination in at least one part of its homeland. This is the prerequisite for peace, and this goes even to those who speak of negotiations. We ask: negotiations with whom? Is not the Palestinian people—represented by the PLO—the principal party in any negotiations on the future of the Palestinian people and Palestinian territory? And negotiate what? Negotiate the peace? But how can anyone in his right mind think that peace to some should be at the price of the elimination of the principal party or, at least, the acquiescence of the Palestinians to abandon their inalienable rights, specifically their right to live in peace and dignity in their own homes in their own country?

122. Colonial settlements are not the only cursed result of occupation. A human—or, rather, an inhuman—aspect of occupation is the treatment and the fate of human beings, even if we minimize the matter and address ourselves only to the so-called Palestinian inhabitants—and some people have now developed the luxury of saying: let us deal now with the Palestinian inhabitants in the West Bank and Gaza—even this fragment of the Palestinian people which is still heroically and defiantly struggling for its survival in that part of beautiful Palestine, in Jerusalem, in Nablus, in Bethlehem, in Hebron and in Gaza. Yes, what is the fate of this fragment of the Palestinian people? Is it not the confiscation of their homes, their water, their lifeline—the arteries of life? Can the Council humanly and morally shelve the concerns over all these atrocities committed against our brothers and sisters, our mothers and our children? Can it avoid or evade this responsibility?

123. The so-called Palestinian inhabitant is denied even the right to participate in the deliberation of its legislative body, the Palestine National Council.

124. In reply to a question as to whether Palestinians in the occupied Palestinian territory would be permitted to return to their homes if they accepted the invitation to attend the meeting of the Palestine National Council, *Ha'aretz*, on 25 October, reported that a high-ranking officer of the military Government stated that there had been orders forbidding people from the territories from such participation. Thus, the Palestinian bantustan-dwellers are denied even this right, and, should they disobey, they will not be allowed to live in their own homes.

125. I am sure that all the members of the Council are aware of the arbitrary regulations against the educational institutions in the occupied Palestinian territory. One tangible form of repression is the atrocious novelty of forcing all faculty members to sign a document disidentifying themselves from their own people as a prerequisite to their being granted work permits. That form has been circulated in one of the documents before the Council [see S/15391, annex].

And what exactly does it require from a prospective faculty member? It says:

“Pursuant to my request for the issuance of a work permit for the academic year 1982-1983 which was submitted on \_\_\_\_\_ and without affecting my general commitment as per the request referred to above, I hereby declare that I am fully committed against indulging in any act offering any assistance to the organization considered to be hostile to the State of Israel as indicated in the act for the prevention of acts of belligerence and enemy propaganda . . . [such] acts being of a direct or indirect nature.”

126. Is it not terrible that, in the scholastic system of a so-called democracy à la Israel, all teachers must sign a pledge that they disassociate themselves from their pupils and the aspirations of their people?

127. Scores of faculty members have been denied permits to pursue their mission—and teaching is not merely a wage-earning profession; it is a mission.

128. Yesterday—11 November—the Israeli military Government denied the extension of work permits to two more faculty members of the Bir Zeit University. Over the past two days, such repressive measures have been escalated against Palestinian academic institutions. The Israeli military authorities in Ramallah, just north of Jerusalem, have summoned 16 professors from the Bir Zeit University. Three of them have been ordered to leave the West Bank. The remaining 13, of various foreign nationalities, have been banned from any activities at the University. Fifteen more Bir Zeit professors have been ordered to appear at the military governor's headquarters next Monday for interrogation. And why? Because they have refused to sign that atrocious and infamous form.

129. Six professors from Al-Najah University were ordered, by the civil administration in the West Bank, to leave the area on 26 October. Two of the professors hold Jordanian passports and their visas expire in mid-November. Of course they hold Jordanian passports; maybe they are Palestinians, but to go to their homes they need visas. The other four professors hold American and Canadian passports and their visas will expire in January 1983, but, although their visas are still valid, the civil administration told them that they no longer could enter the University or be reached there, because they have no work permits. According to the *Jerusalem Post* of 26 October,

“The number of faculty members thus removed from Al-Najah [University in Nablus] is now 18, all of whom have refused to sign an oath condemning the PLO . . .

“A spokesman for Al-Najah said on Sunday that the expulsions are endangering the continuation of this year's studies.”

130. On 6 November, *The New York Times* reported that a British biology instructor, Mark Cheverton, had been deported the previous day for refusing to sign that infamous and atrocious form. I am sure that all members of the Council have heard that the British Consul in Jerusalem has protested against that act. Mr. Cheverton described the form as "highly offensive to a people already deprived of democracy and self-determination". He also said: "it can only stir up more trouble by breeding resentment. I object to this attempt to make me interfere with other people's politics and thus to offend those I am trying to work with and teach."

131. According to the same *New York Times* report, Brother Thomas Scanlan, Vice-Chancellor of Bethlehem University, told reporters: "we strongly object to the military's efforts to politicize our work at the University". He said that the requirement for foreign faculty members interfered "in our religious mission to serve the Palestinian people through higher education".

132. In its issue of 17 October, the *Catholic New York* revealed the following:

"The University of Bethlehem, founded in 1973 at the request of Pope Paul VI, had been closed last June after students demonstrated against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Officially, it is now open, but Brother Scanlan said only a handful of students are coming through the Israeli road-blocks.

"A principal obstacle is an Israeli requirement that faculty and students sign a document specifically rejecting support of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

"If the paper only asked for a general rejection of terrorism and support for the occupying forces, it might not be a problem,' Brother Scanlan said. 'But asking the signers to reject the PLO is another matter. Most Palestinians, perhaps 85 per cent, recognize it as their government in exile.'

"The university is owned by the Vatican and the Christian Brothers,' he said. 'Pope Paul founded it after his visit to the Holy Land because he was appalled at the rate of migration of Christians from the area. He was afraid that the holy places would become nothing more than museums, with no Christian populations living there.'

"The university is sponsored by the Vatican Congregation for Eastern Rites and has 1,100 full-time students and 200 part-time students.

"All the students are Palestinians, with 40 per cent Christian and 60 per cent Muslim. There are 17 Americans on the faculty, including three Christian Brothers, two Jesuit priests, and seven sisters from various communities.

"Another problem is that the university must get through a yearly licence review by Israeli authorities without any formal criteria for approvals,' the Christian Brother said.

"Then there are the denials or delays on what seem to be perfectly legitimate requests. We wanted to use our hotel management courses to train Christian tour guides, for example, and this was turned down. A United Nations aid programme that would have provided us with computer training was stalled so long it was withdrawn,' he said."

133. While on the subject of computers, I remind the Security Council that Bir Zeit University was denied an import permit to introduce a computer for its own administrative functions. I do not want to be sarcastic, but maybe the Israeli military Government wants to spare us Palestinians the blessings of modern technology. Motivated by its racist ideology, it wants the Palestinian people to continue to be less sophisticated and maybe adhere to the primitive. But we assure them that we shall advance, because we are determined.

134. There are other forms of atrocities. For example, the Israeli military governor of Gaza summoned more than 50 Palestinian professionals—lawyers, judges and others—to the military headquarters, where they were warned about refusing to respond to invitations by the Israeli military to attend public functions. They were ordered to respond to the invitations in future. That is an act of humiliation and the arrogance of a racist colonialist. There are other, more concrete manifestations of the curse of occupation.

135. What is to be done? The exacerbation of the situation is a direct result of the prolonged occupation. Consequently, it is incumbent upon the Council to take effective measures to bring the occupation to an end, thus creating the first pre-condition for the process of peace. In the name of the Palestinian people and of the PLO, I ask: will the Council be permitted to carry out the task assigned to it by the Charter?

136. Mr. KAMANDA wa KAMANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to say first how pleased I am, Sir, to see you presiding over the Council for the month of November. Knowing your vast diplomatic experience and your outstanding qualities of spirit and mind, I am convinced that the Council is in the hands of an extremely skilled statesman fully familiar with major international problems at this particularly troubling time.

137. I also pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Nuseibeh, of Jordan, for the distinction with which he conducted the Council's work during October.

138. I take this opportunity to ask Mr. Troyanovsky and the Soviet delegation to convey to the Government and people of the Soviet Union and to the family of



President Leonid Brezhnev, our most heartfelt condolences on the passing of this illustrious man, who unquestionably marked the international relations of our times with his great political stature and his will for détente. We hope that despite his passing, which has caused such sorrow to the Government and people of the Soviet Union, a country with which we have had cordial relations of friendship and co-operation for so long, that country will continue to make its indispensable contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security, the peaceful coexistence of States and harmony in international relations.

139. I am deeply moved as I leave the atmosphere of this glass house—which reflects the strong and weak currents in the world and strives to be faithful to the San Francisco Charter's prescription for a world of peace—and in particular as I leave the Security Council, where I have had the inestimable honour and privilege to meet people of such quality.

140. In thanking you, Mr. President, as well as all the other speakers who have addressed such kind words to me, I wish to assure you that the Republic of Zaire will continue, as in the past, to support the lofty mission of the United Nations and, in particular, the efforts and actions of the Security Council and the Secretary-General, in the Middle East and elsewhere, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

141. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, allow me to express my sincere gratitude to you personally and to those representatives who have spoken here. I should like to thank them for their condolences on the passing away of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev. A great

political figure and statesman of the contemporary world has departed this life. His multifaceted activities were connected with the most important stages of the history of our State. He played an eminent role in shaping and carrying out the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence, détente, disarmament, the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, support for the national liberation movements and decisively rebuffing the forces of aggression and war.

142. Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev was aware of the important role played by the United Nations, and he repeatedly stressed that the Soviet Union supported the efforts of the Organization to strengthen peace and international security and to develop co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. In a message from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Communist Party and the Soviet people, it is stressed that the internal and foreign policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union elaborated under the guidance of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev will continue to be pursued consistently and in a purposeful manner.

*The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.*

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings, 64th meeting.*

<sup>2</sup> Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287).

<sup>3</sup> Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization (A/37/1).

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