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NOTE

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

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2260th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 19 December 1980, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Donald F. McHENRY
(United States of America).

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/2260)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the occupied Arab territories

The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the occupied Arab territories

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2259th meeting, I invite the representatives of Egypt, Israel and Kuwait to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber and I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Blum (Israel) and Mr. Bishara (Kuwait) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber and Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

2. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Article 25 of the Charter makes it binding on Member States to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council. The item on our agenda has been discussed by the Council on several occasions. Each time a resolution has been adopted: resolutions 468 (1980), 469 (1980) and 471 (1980). Here we are again today with the same agenda, ready to adopt yet another resolution. This proves to us yet again that Israel does not intend to comply with Article 25 of the Charter. Its invariable defiance and continued violation of principles of the Charter denotes a deliberate willingness to remain outside the international

community. If we are to safeguard the Organization's credibility and that of the Council, it is time that resolutions adopted by the United Nations were implemented fully.

3. This morning we heard Mr. Mohamed Milhem and Mr. Fahd Qawasma, Mayors of the towns of Halhoul and Al-Khalil, which are both under Israeli occupation, two officials elected and chosen by their fellow citizens to administer their towns. But the Israeli occupying authorities, flouting popular elections, human rights and basic principles of international law, decided to arrest them without the slightest consideration, to expel them from their towns, their lands and their homes, and to prevent them from returning there. The occupying Power, without the slightest hesitation, then threw them into gaol for weeks on end.

4. But actually what can we reproach those men for? What have they done wrong? They have merely committed the crime of being fully in agreement with those whom they governed and of venturing to think differently from the occupier. They cannot be reproached for any reprehensible act. The Supreme Court of Israel itself has recognized that fact.

5. But Israel, continuing in its attitude of obstinacy and obstruction, has decided once again to expel them. That measure, which is a most serious one, is part and parcel of the attitude of systematic defiance shown by Israel with respect to international law and unanimously acknowledged rules. That act constitutes another flagrant violation of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949,¹ the applicability of which has been repeatedly confirmed by relevant resolutions of the Security Council and which forbids any forced transfer or deportation of individuals for any reason.

6. The draft resolution before us [S/14306] expresses our concern at those arbitrary measures and demands the return of the Mayors to their homes so that they may resume the duties for which they were elected. After having heard the particularly instructive statements that were made this morning by Mr. Milhem and Mr. Qawasma, as well as their objective testimony regarding the intolerable daily realities of life in the region, we express the hope that the draft resolution will be adopted unanimously by the Council. The implementation of that resolution can brook no delay; otherwise, the credibility of the Organization

will run the risk of being seriously compromised. It is important that an end be put to Israel's defiance of the international community. Israel, thanks to the condoning attitude of some, has been reassured with respect to its impunity.

7. At this stage, I should like to pay a tribute to you, Mr. President, because I have seen the interest that you have shown in this question and the efforts you have undertaken, with your usual dispatch, regarding both the consultations and the talks that you have held in recent days as well as the steps taken with the party concerned so that it might come to its senses.

8. We also extend a tribute to the Secretary-General for the determined action that he has undertaken in this matter. Mr. President, I am convinced that you, the Secretary-General and the Council as a whole will spare no effort to see to it that the illegal measures which are still inflicted upon the Palestinian people are rescinded.

9. Mr. KAISER (Bangladesh): Once again the Council is meeting today to discuss a question of utmost human poignance. It is a man-made problem of unsurpassed magnitude; a crisis which is potentially serious enough to create further destabilization in an already volatile region. The subject relates to the expulsion of the Mayors of Al-Khalil and Halhoul by the Israeli occupying authorities. Needless to say, that arbitrary and illegal action of Israel is an open flouting of resolution 465 (1980) and a callous breach of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

10. It was only in the month of May that two separate Council debates were held on the expulsion of those Mayors by the Israeli authorities. My delegation cannot but express its grave concern over the latest action of Israel which leads us to meet again.

11. I have listened carefully to the statement made by the Secretary-General and, Mr. President, we know of your personal efforts with the Israeli authorities concerning the illegal expulsion of the Mayors. While we express our most sincere appreciation to you and to the Secretary-General for your timely action, we note with deep concern the cavalier and callous manner in which the Israeli authorities have responded to your calls for reason and restraint.

12. Do we not recall the day when the Mayors of Al-Khalil and Halhoul first appeared in the Council, the poignance of the scene, the sense of outrage felt by most of us? What do we see today? More of the same, as there has been over the years—a display of arrogance and aggrandizement.

13. *The New York Times* yesterday published a report which stated in part:

“Several Israeli soldiers have admitted beating residents and vandalizing and stealing personal

property in this town during a two-day curfew imposed after the slaying of an alleged Israeli sympathizer, military authorities reported today.”

14. That is symptomatic of what goes on in the Israeli-occupied West Bank today, and every day it is getting worse. Our heart bleeds for the innocent victims of that calculated terror; at the same time, we pity the young conscripted perpetrators who are taught disrespect for decency in human behaviour and arrogance of power. Now peoples sometimes forget the lessons of history!

15. In the eyes of the Council and of the world, Israel stands condemned for its systematic breach of obligations incumbent on it as an occupying Power under the terms of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

16. In the past, we expressed our position on the Palestinian rights unequivocally, and have stoutly maintained that no solution in the Middle East will be possible until Israel withdraws all its forces from all Arab territories occupied since the 1967 war, including Jerusalem, and grants the right of self-determination to the Palestinians with the right to have a homeland of their own and the participation of the PLO in any negotiations on the Middle East crisis. Needless to say that Israel's continued and illegal occupation of the Arab territories constitutes a blatant violation of human rights and international law.

17. My delegation is moved by the human tragedy, the suffering and the indignity to which the Palestinians are being subjected. The expulsion of the mayors is not the solution, which lies elsewhere.

18. We will vote in favour of the draft resolution. But we would further urge you, Mr. President, to stress to Israel that it should rescind all measures relating to the expulsion of the Mayors and allow them to return to their homeland and their families. That is the least we can do now.

19. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Today the Security Council is once again compelled to meet in connection with the illegal activities of the Israeli Government against the Mayors of Palestinian cities. As is well known, in its resolutions 468 (1980) and 469 (1980) the Council called upon the Government of Israel, as the occupying Power, to rescind the illegal measures taken by Israeli military occupation authorities in expelling the Mayors of the cities of Hebron and Halhoul and the Sharia Judge of Hebron and to facilitate the immediate return of the expelled Palestinian leaders so that they could resume the functions for which they were elected and appointed. However, the Government of Israel did not feel it necessary to respond to those appeals of the Security Council. Moreover, soon after that the whole world learned with indignation of the invidious attack by Israeli extremists on the Mayors of the Palestinian cities on the West Bank of the Jordan and the terrible harm

that was done to the Mayors of Nablus and Ramallah as a result of that attack.

20. We have now witnessed a new act of high-handedness on the part of the Israeli authorities. Once again they have decided forcibly to deport the Mayors of the Palestinian cities of Hebron and Halhoul.

21. In various bodies of the United Nations, the Israeli representatives speak at great length about principles of humanity and legality, while at the same time in the occupied Arab territories Israel continues to build military settlements and continues to carry out a cruel policy of repression against the indigenous Arab population. As has recently been affirmed, the Israeli armies of occupation are plundering the population, and the terrorist activities of extremist circles of Israel against Palestinians and their representatives are being intensified. This was spoken of in great detail by the Mayors of the cities of Hebron and Halhoul when they spoke here in the Council in May [2223rd meeting], and we have heard them again today [2259th meeting].

22. Quite recently, the entire world witnessed a new outrageous action by the Israeli Government against an institution of learning in the occupied Palestinian territory. More than 10 students attending Bir Zeit University were wounded as a result of an armed attack by Israeli armed forces while they were carrying out a peaceful demonstration against the closing of the University. As is well known, the decision to close that University was taken by the Israeli authorities in order to prevent the students holding a Palestine Week. In resolution 35/122 F, adopted a few days ago, the General Assembly condemned "the policy of opening fire on defenceless students" and "the systematic Israeli campaign of repression against universities in the occupied Palestinian territories". In this regard, the Assembly demanded that Israel, as the occupying Power,

"comply with the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War¹ and rescind all actions and measures against all educational institutions and ensure the freedom of these institutions".

The voting on that resolution once again demonstrated that some are either supporting the aggressor outright or are closing their eyes to its outrageous activities.

23. It has long been clear to all that the real sources of tension in the Middle East are Israel's occupation of Arab lands, the expulsion from those lands of the indigenous population, and the terror, violence and intimidation that are constantly engaged in by the Israeli occupiers. This situation can be corrected only on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the safeguarding of the inalienable right of the Arab people of

Palestine to self-determination, including its right to set up its own independent State. That would in turn allow for a just and lasting peace to be established in that region.

24. The delegation of the Soviet Union believes that the Council should most resolutely demand that Israel strictly comply with the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, and that if Israel does not comply with that demand, it should take appropriate measures against it in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

25. One more point: the representative of Israel has attempted here to teach the Council what it should deal with and what it should not deal with. What he did was to put up a smoke-screen or resort to diversionary tactics. He attempted to divert attention from the basic issue, an issue that has been before the Council throughout its entire history. He tried to divert attention from the issue to which the Security Council has devoted one fifth of all its meeting time. No other issue has taken as much of the Council's attention as the situation in the Middle East, including the question of Palestine. The source of this issue is Israel's aggression against Arab countries and peoples. The Council has devoted one fifth of its work to Israel, which has been sitting in the pillory, as it did this morning. The Council has adopted more resolutions in connection with the aggressive activities of Israel than it has on any other item. The only other country on a par with Israel in this regard is South Africa.

26. I do not think the representative of Israel has forgotten these facts, but I believe it would be useful today for him and for some of Israel's protectors to remember this.

27. It would also be useful to recall another thing: however much the Israeli occupiers may try not to, they will have to return the Arab lands involved; they will have to reconcile themselves to the fact that the Arab people of Palestine will have their own independent State. And to ensure this is the direct duty of the Council.

28. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): Mr. President, my delegation congratulates you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council during the month of December. We do hope that your well-known qualities of quiet diplomacy will be brought to bear to facilitate our work before the end of this year. I wish also to commend your predecessor, Sir Anthony Parsons, representative of the United Kingdom, for his efficiency, co-operation and, indeed, diplomatic skill, which were a great help to the business of the Council last month.

29. The Council has been forced to convene again this year to deliberate on yet another forcible expulsion by the Israeli authorities of two Palestinian Mayors from their native land. It will be recalled that

Mr. Mohamed Milhem, Mayor of Halhoul, and Mr. Fahd Qawasma, Mayor of Al-Khalil, addressed this Council at its 2223rd meeting on 20 May on the situation in the occupied Arab territories. In that debate, the two Mayors furnished the Council with firsthand accounts of the Israeli policy of kidnapping, seizure and expulsions of Palestinians from the West Bank. Today the Council is playing host to the two Mayors, who have been forced to leave the occupied West Bank against their will and for reasons that are dubious, to say the least. The fact of the matter is that Israel has no right, in law, to expel any Palestinian from Palestine.

30. To us in Zambia, Palestine belongs to the Palestinians. Israel has occupied vast Arab lands since 1967 by force. It is known also that the Israeli régime has, over these years, engaged in a persistent and relentless process of establishing Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories. The indigenous people have, in the process, been dispossessed of their land and property. The majority of the Palestinians have been expelled and forced to leave their motherland. The objective facts of this matter have been ably presented in the successive reports of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979). As we all know, the final report of the Commission [S/14268] is before the Council, and we expect the Council to take up the issue of Israeli occupation of Arab lands in its entirety.

31. We understand that the only crime for which the Palestinians are suffering is their expressed wish to be free from foreign domination and control. How could this be a crime in this day and age, when the United Nations itself fully endorses the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence?

32. We appeal to all to ensure that the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are fully respected. This includes respect for their human rights, their right to return to their homeland, their right to self-determination and independence, which must be freely determined by them. Israel must be compelled to realize that it has no right to deport anyone from his homeland—least of all, two Mayors—in contravention of international law. The Council should prevail on Israel, the occupier, to allow the Mayors to return to their homeland and to continue with the valuable work of caring for the welfare of the Palestinians who remain in the West Bank. In our view, urgent measures are required by the Council to ensure Israeli compliance with its decisions.

33. Mr. CHOU Nan (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Mr. President, at the outset, I wish in the name of the Chinese delegation to extend my sincere congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month, believing that the Council will achieve the expected results under your able guidance. I wish also to congratulate Sir Anthony Parsons heartily for the outstanding

diplomatic skill he displayed during his presidency in the month of November.

34. The Chinese delegation has listened attentively to the convincing statements and complaints made by Mayor Fahd Qawasma of Hebron and Mayor Milhem of Halhoul.

35. As is known to all, last May the Council successively adopted resolutions 468 (1980) and 469 (1980) on the illegal expulsion by the Israeli authorities of the Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul and the Sharia Judge of Hebron. Those resolutions called upon Israel to rescind its illegal measures against the Mayors and the Judge and to facilitate their immediate return so that they could resume the functions for which they were elected and appointed. Thus far, however, Israel has ignored and refused to comply with the aforementioned resolutions. Furthermore, the Begin régime recently went so far as forcibly to deport the two Mayors again. Thereupon, the General Assembly adopted resolution 35/122 F condemning Israel for its barbarous acts in the occupied territories and requesting the Council to convene urgently to enjoin Israel to rescind the illegal measures it has taken against the Palestinian Mayors and the Sharia Judge.

36. The Israeli authorities' illegal acts have aroused strong condemnation from the international community and vigorous resistance on the part of the Palestinian people in the West Bank. For several days, Palestinian students went on strike and took to the streets to demonstrate their strong protest. The Israeli occupation authorities, however, refused to change course and sent troops and armed police to suppress the demonstrators. They arrested many innocent students and even detained journalists on the scene. Thus the Israeli authorities attempted to silence the protests of the West Bank Palestinians by brute force, but the Palestinian and other Arab peoples will never yield because they are fighting for a just cause. Israel can only make itself even more isolated, should it persist in its aggression and expansion and the persecution of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples.

37. The Chinese Government and people have always firmly supported the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their just struggle to regain their lost territories and national rights. We hold that the Council should condemn the Israeli authorities for their wanton suppression and persecution of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in the occupied territories. The Council should also call on Israel to rescind forthwith the illegal measures taken against the Palestinian Mayors and the Sharia Judge and to facilitate their immediate return so that they can resume the performance of their functions. Should the Israeli authorities again refuse to implement this and other relevant resolutions of the Council and the General Assembly, the Council will have to consider taking stronger and more effective measures against them.

38. Basing itself on the aforementioned position, the Chinese delegation will vote for draft resolution S/14306.

39. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): We listened with great interest to the statements of the patriots of the Palestinian people, who gave us a clear and objective picture of the consequences of Israel's occupation policies.

40. The expulsion of the heroic patriots fighting for the freedom of the Palestinian people and the stubborn refusal of the leading circles of Israel to carry out the resolutions of the United Nations, in particular resolution 468 (1980), clearly demonstrate the danger which was pointed out by the majority of representatives during the discussion of the items on Palestine and the Middle East at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Together with those States, we condemned the policy of separate deals pursued under the protection of the United States of America, since that policy increases obstacles to a comprehensive and just peace settlement in the Middle East and since it has already led to dangerous complications in that area. Encouragement of Israel in continuing its settlements policy, which, under the slogan of so-called autonomy, is aimed at the cold-blooded annexation of Arab territories and at undermining the political will of the Palestinian people, was and remains the result of that policy of separate deals.

41. The further disregard of Israel for United Nations decisions and for the political rights of the Palestinian people, which are recognized by the majority of peoples the world over, clearly demonstrates the deliberate escalation of the policy of force against the Palestinian people and shows that appeals alone are not enough to put an end to the aggressive policy of the ruling circles in Tel Aviv.

42. It is now finally time to pass from words to deeds. World public opinion expects from the Security Council effective measures that would guarantee a comprehensive, lasting peace settlement of the Middle East conflict, the core of which is a political solution of the Palestinian question. That is the only way to rule out forever the use of force against the representatives of the Palestinian people. As far as the German Democratic Republic is concerned, it is prepared to take part in steps that might bring such a solution closer.

43. We are determined in future to support in every possible way the just struggle of the Palestinian people, waged under the leadership of the PLO, for its national liberation.

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

45. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt): Allow me at the outset to express to you, Sir, my delegation's warmest

congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We are pleased to see you, an able and distinguished diplomat, presiding over the Council meeting at this crucial time, and we shall miss you. We are sure that the Council, under your wise leadership, will be able to discharge its important responsibilities.

46. I should like also to extend my delegation's heartfelt appreciation to Sir Anthony Parsons, representative of the United Kingdom, who presided over the deliberations of the Council during the month of November with great ability and dedication.

47. The Council is meeting once again to consider the situation in the occupied Arab territories. It is common knowledge that conditions in those territories are rapidly deteriorating. The latest Israeli action in expelling the Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul is yet another arbitrary and inflammatory provocation by the Israeli authorities. The events of the last few weeks have clearly demonstrated that such actions have grave detrimental effects, which undoubtedly have inflamed a situation already aggravated and fraught with danger as a result of more than 13 years of military occupation. Occupation is in itself illegal and violent and it breeds hatred and resistance.

48. It is highly regrettable that Israel chose to disregard resolution 468 (1980), which called upon the Government of Israel, as the occupying Power, to rescind its illegal measures and to facilitate the immediate return of the expelled Palestinian leaders so that they might resume the functions for which they were elected. The General Assembly reiterated that position in its resolutions 34/29 and 35/122 F, and deplored Israel's failure to implement those resolutions.

49. The Government of Egypt has repeatedly stressed that such actions are illegal under the rules of contemporary international law. As the occupying Power, Israel is under a binding legal obligation to observe scrupulously the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. The General Assembly and the Security Council have repeatedly reaffirmed the applicability of that convention to the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since June 1967. The Assembly, as it does every year, has reaffirmed that position—this time in resolution 35/122 D. The Council has consistently endorsed that position since it issued the statement of 11 November 1976 [*1969th meeting*] in which it reaffirmed the applicability of the fourth Geneva Convention to the occupied territories. On 5 June 1980, the Council reiterated that position in its resolution 471 (1980), in which it strongly deplored the failure of Israel to abide by the Council's resolutions in this connection and called once more upon Israel, as the occupying Power, to abide scrupulously by the fourth Geneva Convention.

50. The Convention is very clear. Article 49 stipulates:

“Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying Power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motive.”

I stress the words “regardless of their motive”.

51. The fourth Geneva Convention was concluded to ensure a minimum standard of humane treatment for the innocent civilians under military occupation. It is a cause of deep regret to see Israel renege on obligations which are binding under contemporary international law and violating the basic norms that the international community has agreed upon for inter-State conduct.

52. Egypt's position has consistently been to condemn all the violations of the Geneva Convention. The deportation of the two Palestinian Mayors is a grave violation which should be resolutely condemned. That position was made crystal clear when Israel first deported the Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul, together with the Sharia Judge of Hebron, last May. The Prime Minister of Egypt at that time clearly stated that Egypt condemned all acts of violence and reprisal. He expressed Egypt's belief that the only way to achieve security is through the establishment of a just and lasting peace, and not military occupation. The Palestinian people are entitled to exercise their inalienable right to express their views freely and to oppose the Israeli military occupation. The policy of oppression against the population of the occupied Arab territories and of deporting Palestinians, in particular their elected representatives, can only lead to further deterioration of the grave situation in the occupied Arab territories, and constitutes a most serious obstacle on the road to peace.

53. The re-expulsion of the Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul is grave and ominous. The situation in the occupied Arab territories has become explosive. We earnestly call upon Israel to rescind the latest decision and enable the Palestinian dignitaries to return to their homeland and resume the functions to which they were elected by the Palestinian people. It is the responsibility of the Security Council to ensure their safe and prompt return.

54. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is Mr. Clovis Maksoud, Permanent Observer for the League of Arab States to the United Nations, to whom the Council has extended an invitation [2259th meeting] 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.

55. Mr. MAKSOUD: I should like to take this opportunity to thank you, Mr. President, and, through you, the other members of the Security Council for extending this invitation to me. I would take this opportunity also to congratulate you, Mr. President,

on the steady manner in which you have been conducting the proceedings of the Security Council. It reflects the greatness of the country you represent, as well as your inherent wisdom.

56. I feel compelled to speak today on behalf of the League of Arab States because at stake are issues transcending the question of the expulsion of the two Mayors, of Al-Khalil and Halhoul. What is at stake goes beyond the practices of Israel in the occupied territories. What is at stake is more than the *ex cathedra* annexation of Jerusalem and the proliferation of colonial settlements. It is the very credibility of the United Nations that is at stake—not only its moral and political and diplomatic authority, but its credibility as a vehicle and mechanism for the achievement of peace and justice in the region and throughout the world.

57. Inasmuch as “credibility” is the operative word at this historic moment, we are faced with a challenge: Israel is trying to undermine the United Nations as a vehicle and to project itself as a countervailing force to international legitimacy. It is trying to do so by torpedoing every resolution that this body adopts, every resolution that the General Assembly adopts. Israel is trying to project us as perpetual supplicants. It feels that it can violate the rights of the Palestinians, usurp the territories of the various Arab States, violate the various laws applicable under international conventions such as the Geneva Convention—and try to get away with it. It tries to get away with it by pre-emptive strikes against the moral authority of the Council; that is what the representative of Israel did this morning. The violence of these pre-emptive strikes is matched only by Israel's pre-emptive strikes against the Palestinian students demonstrating in favour of the Mayors and its pre-emptive strikes against the Palestinian refugees, Lebanese villages and towns. We have had an indication of this in the statement made this morning by the Secretary-General. We have seen that Israel's onslaught against the authority of the United Nations is matched only by its onslaught against the people in the occupied territories and the people of Lebanon.

58. Because of these pre-emptive strikes simultaneously undertaken here and in the occupied territories we are finding that Israel is seeking by the exercise of a form of intellectual and diplomatic terrorism to silence any kind of opposition to its obvious violations of United Nations resolutions. At stake, therefore, is something that far transcends the matter of the return of the Mayors. The return of the Mayors is only a signal that carries with it the ultimate credibility of the United Nations. That is why the representative of Israel today so contemptuously lectured the Council about its functions, in order to cover up Israel's own violations and its contempt for international consensus and resolutions. We find that at this moment it is important that we in the Arab world not succumb to a moment of exasperation. We should not be on the verge of losing our faith in the United Nations.

59. We know that many people say that the Arab States, the Palestinians and the Lebanese keep coming to the United Nations with one resolution after the other, unfolding and building upon an absolutely indisputable legal base; yet on the other hand, resolutions are deliberately being drafted so as not to be implemented. This is the impression that Israel seeks—that while resolutions are being proliferated, they are intrinsically without any prospect of being made effective. This puts a very historic responsibility on us all as we come to the close of the year 1980, namely, that resolutions must be meaningful, significant and capable of being implemented and effective, and that the outlaw in the United Nations must not be allowed to remain unanswerable to the international consensus and to the representatives of international legitimacy.

60. The Israeli representative has attempted throughout the past session of the General Assembly and in the Security Council to imply that anybody who questions Israeli practices, anybody who challenges Israeli violations, anybody who criticizes Israeli policies, anybody who indicates a scepticism about Israel's racial practices is entertaining lingering anti-Semitism. It is this type of innuendo and this stamp of intellectual terrorism—such as linking isolated instances that have taken place in certain cities in Europe with the support lent by the Governments of those countries which have been responsive to Palestinian aspirations—that create a permissiveness towards anti-Semitism. This intellectual terroristic activity on the part of Israel and of those who are professional apologists for it is an insult to human intelligence, besides being a total cover-up for Israel's expansion and aggression.

61. That is why, in the matter of the resolution that the Council is about to adopt on the subject of the return of the two Mayors to their rightful place as officials in the villages and towns to which they have been elected, we are faced today with the fact that this resolution and its potential for being implemented constitute something far more important, more historical and more significant than the mere return of the two Mayors. It signals to Israel in particular and to the world community in general that the United Nations is determined not to allow the collective will of humanity represented in this body to be flouted as a matter of course by the Israeli authorities. That is why we in the League of Arab States and in the Arab world consider this Council's deliberations and resulting resolution to be not routine but a harbinger of credibility for this body.

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

63. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): Mr. President, at the outset I should like through you to thank the representatives who joined in extending an invitation to the PLO to participate in this debate.

64. In more than one way, this is Christmas eve, and our desire was that, instead of coming to a debate on atrocities, we should come to a gathering to sing "Glory be to God in the highest and goodwill to people of good faith". Unfortunately, what we are dealing with are some people who have no good faith whatsoever.

65. In addressing you, Mr. President, only two days ago, referring to his country and to yours, the representative of Israel said:

"Despite the tremendous disparity between our two nations in terms of physical size and military and economic power, we stand together in the struggle for the preservation of the fundamental human freedoms in our world, for the equality and dignity of man, for social justice." [2258th meeting, para. 39.]

What we are dealing with here is exactly the opposite, and I am sure, Mr. President, that your country does not share his opinion.

66. Mr. President, again I wish to thank you and also to extend my thanks to the Secretary-General for the prompt action that you both took on the day we heard of the news that Begin insisted on the re-expulsion of the Mayors.

67. What we are dealing with is a corollary of the occupation, an occupation that engenders resistance. At times that resistance also takes the form of armed violence, and this will continue until that occupation is terminated and the occupying forces completely withdrawn from the totality of the areas occupied.

68. We are meeting here today—and the Council is forced to meet—simply because a Member State, Israel, entirely ignores and defies resolutions and decisions and persists in its policy and practices against the Palestinian people. The aim of such policy and practices remains the same: the "spiriting of the indigenous population"—meaning the Palestinian people—"across the frontier", as was described by Herzl, the founder of the Zionist movement.

69. The expulsion of the Mayors and the atrocities committed by the forces of occupation are based on some emergency regulations applied in 1945 by the United Kingdom as the Mandatory Power. Of those atrocious emergency defence laws of 1945, a Zionist lawyer in 1948, a certain Yaacov Shimshon Shapiro—who later became the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice in Israel—said,

"The system established in Palestine since the issue of the defence laws is unparalleled in any civilized country. There were no such laws even in Nazi Germany."

Yet these laws still remain in force in the so-called democratic State of Israel and are still being applied,

and it is as a result of their application that this Council is meeting this afternoon.

70. The High Court met and on Thursday, 4 December, upheld the legality of the expulsion orders but recommended that the decision to re-expel Mayors Fahd Qawasma and Mohamed Milhem be reconsidered at the political level. That was the decision of the High Court. It said it very clearly: this is not a legal matter, this is a political issue. That is exactly what they should deal with, and that is what we are dealing with.

71. The Minister of Justice in Tel Aviv declared that security and public-welfare considerations had been taken into account. It should not be possible to deprive a citizen or a human being of his fundamental freedoms on any considerations, and least of all on the basis of security considerations.

72. As we are talking about the "exemplary" legal system we heard of this morning, let us recall that on 29 July last the Knesset amended the Israeli Nationality Law and gave the State the right to abolish the citizenship of any person who had committed an act that constituted abrogation of loyalty to the State of Israel. Unfortunately, in that law "disloyalty" is not defined. Consequently, one will realize that disloyalty would be applicable on a racist basis to the non-Jewish citizens of the State of Israel who hold passports. I am not aware of any other State in the world where the State has the right to abolish the citizenship of any person—and, as it appears, in an arbitrary manner, not *sub judice*.

73. Another law was passed in July, which

"forbids the performance of any act in a public place which demonstrates identification with or sympathy for a terrorist organization, such as flying a flag, displaying a symbol, uttering an anthem or slogan".

In plain language, that means any Palestinian living in Nazareth, Tiberias or Jaffa, for example, who feels like singing one of those old nostalgic songs about beautiful Palestine would be considered as committing an act directed against the State and showing sympathy for a terrorist organization.

74. I shall quote from an interview in New York, published in *The Village Voice* of 19-25 November 1980, with Israel Shahak, an Israeli citizen, a survivor of the extermination camps in Europe, who is now head of a human rights group. Let us listen to the following description by him of the behaviour of the Israelis in the occupied territories;

"In the occupied territories the worst thing, to my mind, is the complete lack of democracy and freedom of expression . . . What happened in 1967 was that Israel decided to establish a permanent colony. Because of this, in the occupied territories

all books are controlled. The military governor constantly publishes lists of forbidden books. Newspapers and other publications which are openly sold in Israel are forbidden in the territories. Pictures of flowers are forbidden if they are painted in the four colours of the Palestinian flag—white, black, red and green. Another example: a picture of a dove standing in a window was forbidden because the dove was painted with the petals of the Kaffiyeh"—that is the head-dress we use. "In the last year the military government has tried to eradicate anything that symbolizes Palestine.

"Even worse than this is the absolute power of the military governor. His regulations have the force of law. He can issue any regulations he wants, without any consultation with the Knesset.

". . .

"The military governor can (and does) forbid Palestinians to move from their own villages or towns without permission. Thousands of Palestinians are now limited to their own villages. I tried to get a man in Ramallah, whose brother-in-law died in Bethlehem, to visit the funeral. Forbidden. None can say this three-hour daytime visit is a matter of security . . ."

The distance between Ramallah and Bethlehem is not more than 25 kilometres. When I was in Jerusalem my Sunday walks sometimes took me to Ramallah and then I drove back; or I travelled to Bethlehem and back on foot. It is good exercise with clean air—something we have been denied so far.

75. Since Mr. Shahak speaks about the military, let us see what *The Jerusalem Post* says about who runs the show in Tel Aviv. On Human Rights Day, that is 10 December 1980, an editorial in *The Jerusalem Post* read as follows. I shall quote only a few excerpts:

"The troubled West Bank is still seething: this much is certain despite strenuous efforts to keep the area out of bounds to the press, both local and foreign."

Some who spoke before me this morning referred to the censorship imposed on the press in the "free" country of Israel. Yet the military government—which in these days calls all the shots there, and I underline "all"—is trying to assure all and sundry that this is but a passing wave of unrest. The editorial continues:

"What is not in any doubt is that their civilian superiors, notably Defence Minister Begin, see their own legitimate role as nothing but rubber-stamps for the generals. . . .

"Mr. Begin is content to allow his military administrators . . . to act like foreign tyrants lording it over a native population. This is malignant neglect at its worst."

76. But those acts are not incidental; they are the result of a proclamation made in June 1967 when the Israeli military commander on the West Bank issued military proclamation No. 2 concerning the assumption of government by the Israel Defence Forces, section III of which states:

“Every governmental, legislative, appointive and administrative power in respect of the region or its inhabitants shall henceforth be vested in me”—namely, the Israeli military commander—“alone, and shall only be exercised by me”—the despot—“or by persons appointed by me for that purpose or acting on my behalf.”

And who cares about the Government, the Cabinet or the Knesset? That was what the military governor assigned to himself in a proclamation.

77. Again, early in December, a number of university professors—and I am sure that you, Mr. President, know some of them owing to your career—visited the area and came out with a shocking statement. I do not want to read the entire statement, but they referred to a military order, No. 854, issued on 6 July 1980, concerning education:

“These regulations include an extensive censorship of teaching materials (more than 1,100 books are forbidden for use in classrooms and for possession by individuals), and onerous restrictions on formal lectures and extracurricular programmes . . . faculty work permits which formerly were renewable annually have gradually been reduced to periods of six months and for some professors one month or two weeks . . . a professor of cultural studies, who left North Carolina State University at Raleigh to teach at Bir Zeit University, found his work permit denied, effective immediately, after he had begun to teach.”

I am sure, Mr. President, as a result of your career and personal experience you would not think of going to a university for two weeks or to one where you would find when you arrived that the authorities have denied you a permit to teach. The statement continues:

“The continued existence of West Bank universities must be reapproved annually by the Israeli military Government.”

But, of course, they go beyond that—they prohibit programmes. For example, according to these American university professors:

“At Al-Najah University”—in Nablus—“for example, a request for permission to open an agricultural school has been denied for several years without explanation. Agriculture is a sensitive topic in the West Bank, since the Begin settlement policy has resulted in confiscation of Palestinian farmland and pre-emption of Palestinian water resources.”

78. But to tell the truth, I am a Palestinian and my country is basically agricultural. If we cannot have an agricultural school or an agricultural experimental station—we do not have atomic bombs or Ford plants—we have oranges, olives and figs—not permitting us to have agricultural schools represents a systematic effort by the Israeli military Government to hamper the development of Palestinian community organizations. There is something even worse.

79. The statement says that those

“universities must seek approval from the Israeli military government for purchase of laboratory equipment. They suffer, in addition, from a tax status under which they, unlike Israeli universities”—and that, again, is racist discrimination—“pay onerous customs duties on laboratory equipment, sometimes at 100 per cent of its value.”

80. The names of 10 professors are listed. They are from Brandeis University; American University; Rutgers University; Yale University; University of California, Santa Cruz; University of California, Berkeley; and Ohio State University. Those professors were there and had personal experience. They also had cameras with them. I think people thought they were tourists. But they saw the Israeli army shoot at the students, and perhaps some of those students had gone to the streets because the Mayors had been expelled. What happened to the cameras of those American university professors? They were taken away and the film was torn up. That, again, was not incidental. The military government issues orders to its troops when they go out in the streets, and I should like to quote one of those orders from the military government to the Israeli army conscripts on the West Bank. This was quoted in the Knesset:

“Anyone you catch outside, you first beat with clubs all over his body, except the head. Have no mercy, break all his bones, give no explanations. First of all, beat, and when you are finished, you can explain why you have done so. If you catch a small child, order his whole family out. Make them stand in a row and beat the father in front of his children. Do not read this beating as a privilege; it is a duty. They understand no other way. There is no point in arresting those who just wander around outside. Beat them and send them home. But if someone causes trouble, throws stones or something, first break his bones and then put him on the vehicle that will take him to military headquarters. But remember, that is the order: from the minute he is on the vehicle he is an arrested man and must not be beaten any more. Off to your duties.”

That is not Nazi Germany, that is not France under Nazi occupation—that is Palestine under Israeli-Zionist occupation, and that is what we are dealing with.

81. But of course, Mr. President, your Government is responsible, and I shall tell you why. The late Senator Adlai Stevenson addressed the United States Senate on 17 June and stated, in regard to a bill for international security and development assistance,

“This bill authorizes \$4,813,921,000 in security and development assistance in the world. Of this, \$2,185,000,000, or about 43 per cent, is earmarked for Israel as military sales-financing and economic support.”²

So it can be seen who are the accessories to the fact that are participating in financing the aggression against my people. So your Government, Mr. President, is equally responsible for the expulsion of these Mayors and for the crimes against my people. Senator Stevenson went on to describe what happens around the world, about misery and about refugees, and stated:

“And yet Israel, with a high standard of living, is to receive almost as much military and economic assistance from the U.S. Government as all the other 99.9 per cent of the world’s people combined.

“ . . .

“This preference for Israel diverts funds from the support of human life and vital American interests elsewhere in an interdependent and unstable world. If it could produce stability in the Middle East or enhance Israel’s security, it could be justified, but it reflects continued U.S. acquiescence in an Israeli policy which threatens more Middle East instability, more Israeli insecurity and a continued decline of United States authority in the world.”²

82. This is a serious meeting. At stake, as was stated by my brother the representative of the League of Arab States, is the credibility of the United Nations. At stake is not just the future of two Mayors and a Sheikh but the future of the Palestinian people. At stake is war or peace in the Middle East, in which the entire world might be engulfed.

83. Two days ago, the Council adopted a resolution concerning the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon [*resolution 483 (1980)*] and hoped that somehow the Israelis would cease their aggression against Lebanon. As a matter of fact, Ambassador Blum said:

“As indicated once again in our vote in the General Assembly yesterday evening, Israel continues to support the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries. Israel wants peace in and with Lebanon. Israel has no territorial claims on Lebanon.” [*2258th meeting, para. 47.*]

84. Yet, while those words were being spoken here by a hypocrite and a liar, the Israeli forces were in-

vading Lebanon, were shelling Lebanon, were killing people in Lebanon, and I understand that the representative of Lebanon sent a letter or a couple of letters to you, Mr. President, or to the Secretary-General, concerning an invasion by 300 or 500 Israeli soldiers to demolish, destroy and devastate Lebanon, to kill Lebanese and Palestinian citizens.

85. Mr. President, in wishing you a merry Christmas, I hope you and the rest of the members of the Council will ponder: will the Council effectively secure the full implementation of its resolutions and restore and strengthen our confidence in the United Nations?

86. The PRESIDENT: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

87. The United States will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council. The views of the United States on the issue of the deportation of the West Bank Mayors are well known to all. To put it succinctly, the Geneva Convention applies to the West Bank, and the Geneva Convention prohibits deportations, whatever the motive of the occupying Power. We deeply regret the fact that the Government of Israel re-expelled Mayors Milhem and Qawasma after they had voluntarily submitted their appeal to Israeli judicial authorities.

88. The United States supports the draft resolution in full knowledge of the complexity of the situation in the Middle East. We continue to believe that the Council should take the entire situation in the occupied territories into account. We also continue to hope that any future incidents of violence against any party will be brought to the attention of the Council, which we believe should be as prompt in condemning violence against Israelis as it is to criticize Israeli actions.

89. Finally, it remains the view of the United States that the settlement of the broader issues surrounding the problem now before us can be achieved only through negotiations on the basis of Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

90. I now resume my functions as PRESIDENT of the Council.

91. It is my understanding that the Council is now ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it [*S/14306*]. Unless I hear any objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously (resolution 484 (1980)).

92. The PRESIDENT: Mr. Mohamed Milhem, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure

[2259th meeting], wishes to make a further statement. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

93. Mr. MILHEM: I should like to thank all the members for the unanimity in the vote taken on this third resolution of the Council on this subject.

94. On behalf of my colleague and myself, I wish to stress that we have more trust and more confidence in this establishment, and that, because we have no homes to go back to and we cannot go home, and we consider that this building belongs to everybody, especially those who are oppressed, especially those who cannot find justice anywhere except in this building, we have decided to stay in trust of the Organ-

ization to express our conviction and belief and trust in this Organization and to give it more credibility in implementing the resolutions adopted so far.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.

NOTES

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

² United States of America, *Congressional Record, Proceedings and Debates of the 96th Congress, Second Session*, vol. 126-part 12 (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980), p. 15046.

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