

160(20)

יהודה ושומרון

השם

160(20)

210

יהודה ושומרון

# מדינת ישראל

משרד ראש הממשלה

7

נמסר בתאריך 19/9/17

נמסר בתאריך 19/9/17

שם תיק: יהודה ושומרון

מזהה פנימי: 2025/7-א

מזהה פריט: 000k3sl

כתובת: 3-312-1-1-5

תאריך הדפסה: 17/09/2017

מסמכים

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שר הפנים

ב"ה ירושלים, ו' תמוז תשמ"א  
8 ביולי 1981

אמלג

לכבוד  
מר אריה נאור  
מזכיר הממשלה  
משרד ראש הממשלה  
ירושלים

מכובדי,

נתקבל בלשכתי המכתב שהעתקו מצ"ב.

מן הראוי לתת את הדעת לעניין זה של מונחים.

בברכה,

ד"ר יוסף מורג



העתק: מר א. העצני

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ELYAKIM HA'ETZNI  
ADVOCATE  
Tel. 02-971878 - Home No. 7  
Kiri'at Arba - Hebron

اليقيم هاعصي محامي  
تلفون ٠٢٩٧١٨٧٨ - منزل ٧  
قريات اربع - الخليل

אליקים העצני  
עורך דין  
בית 7, טל. 02 971878  
קרית ארבע חברון

25.6.1981



לכבוד  
שר הפנים  
הר"ר יוסף בורג  
משרד הפנים הקריה  
ירושלים

שר נכבד,

נזדמן לי לקבל מכחב מאת משרדך הנכבד - "לשכת מחאם הפעולות בשטחים"

אנא, הרשה לי להעיר נגד השימוש בחיבה זו לגבי ארץ מולדתנו.  
"שטחים" יש להם צליל זר ומנוכר, כאלו כל כולם אינם אלא מושג הנדסי (אורך × רוחב). ביחד עם ביטוי כמו "גדה מערבית" יש משום זיהום הלשון, ואף לוחמה פסיכולוגית נגד ההרגשה הטבעית שזו נחלת אבותינו ומחוז חפצם של חלומותינו מאז גלינו לארצנו (ולא מ"השטחים").

בכל הכבוד, הביטוי הנכון הוא יהודה, שומרון וחוף עזה - או, בקיצור, יש"ע.

בכבוד רב,  
ובהוקרה,  
אליקים העצני,





שר הבטחון

הקריה, י"ט בטבת תשמ"א  
26 בדצמבר 1980

009175/ק

מזכיר הממשלה

הנדון: איזור יהודה והשומרון - תכנית אב לכבישים  
החלטת ממשלה: 380 מיום 20.1.80

בהחלטת הממשלה מס' 380 מיום 20 ינואר 80 הוטל על מערכת הבטחון, משרד הבינוי והשיכון ומשרד החקלאות לסכם נושא תכנית אב למערכת כבישים באיזור יהודה והשומרון לשנות ה-80, על פי סדר עדיפויות וחלוקת האחריות לגופים השונים.

עקרונות אחריות פיתוח ואחזקת כבישים באיזור יהודה והשומרון כולל סידרי עדיפויות וקדימות לפיתוח ואחזקת הכבישים, סוכמו על דעת כל הגורמים הנוגעים בנושא.

מצ"ב : -

- א. סיכום עקרונות פיתוח ואחזקת כבישים באיזור יהודה והשומרון - נספח א' .
- ב. טבלאות המפרטות את מערכת הכבישים, סידרי קדימות ועדיפות לפיתוחם ואחזקתם - נספח ב' .
- ג. מפת תכנית האב לכבישים באיזור יהודה והשומרון - נספח ג' .

אבקש להביא לאישור ועדת השרים לעניני בטחון את העקרונות והתכנית המפורטים, כדי שיופעלו כבר בשנת התקציב הקרובה.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

מנחם בגין  
שר הבטחון



אב/

לא הוגש לבין שר הביטחון



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SECRET

פיתוח ואחזקת כבישים ביהודה והשומרון

האחריות לאחזקת כבישים ביהודה והשומרון

בהתאם להחלטת הממשלה מס. 380 מיום 20.1.80 סוכס על עקרונות פיתוח ואחזקת כבישים ביהודה והשומרון ונקבעה תכנית אב לפיתוח כבישים כולל סדרי קדימות ועדיפות. להלן הצעת סיכום:-

... האחריות לאחזקת כבישים ביהודה והשומרון:-

1. פיתוח ואחזקת מערכת הכבישים הראשית (רמה א' וב') תהיה באחריות אגף הכבישים (מע"צ) במשרד הבינוי והשיכון.

2. פיתוח ואחזקה של כבישים מקומיים (ברמה ג') תתחלק:-

א) כבישי גישה ליישובים המוקמים על ידי המינהל לבניה כפרית באחריות משרד הבינוי והשיכון, או המועצה האזורית/מקומית.

ב) כבישי גישה ליישובים (זמניים) המוקמים על ידי חט' ההתישבות בהסתדרות הציונית - באחריות חטיבת ההתישבות (עם הקמת יישובי הקבע, יעבור תחום הטיפול בכבישים למינהל לבניה כפרית/משרד הבינוי והשיכון), או המועצה האזורית/מקומית.

ג) מערכת כבישי הבטחון בבקעת הירדן ודרכי גישה למחנות ומתקני צה"ל - באחריות מערכת הבטחון.

ד) כבישי גישה בין ואל יתר היישובים באחריות המימשל העבאי.

הערות	עדיפות			כצב הביצוע	התוואי	סימון הכביש (ראה מפה)
	ג	ב	א			
מתבסס בעיקרו על ציר גב ההר מס. 60, 6155.	התאמתו לרמת כביש ארצי	* עוקף ג'נין * עוקף שכס * עוקף רמאללה * עוקף שועפט * עוקף מעלה - לבונה * עוקף חלחול * עוקף בית לחם * עוקף דהריה		ברובו קיים - בחלקו לביצוע	כביש גב ההר (עפולה- ג'נין-שכס-תפוח-רמאללה- ירושלים-בית לחם-חברון- באר שבע)	א'.
יתבסס בעיקרו על תוואי קיים. מתוכנן על פי תכנית מתאר ארצית לכבישים.		+	* הסדרת צומת כפר קאסם - הוצה שומרון * צומת כפר קאסם מחלף בק שמן	טרם תוכנן.	תוואי השפלה המזרחי.	ב'.
כביש מס. 90. גורמי ההתישבות סבורים שכביש יריחו - קליה בעדיפות א'.	התאמתו לכביש ארצי, כולל שיפורים ושיפוצים של סיבובים ומעבר מים.	צומת יריחו - קליה.		קיים.	כביש הבקעה.	ג'.



סימון הכביש (ראה מפה)	התוואי	הצב הביצוע	עדיפות			הערות
			א	ב	ג	
ד'.	חוצה שומרון - צפון.	ברובו מחייב פריצה חדשה	* צומת דותן - בזק * עוקף טובאס	שער מנשה-צומת קבטיה. צומת יעבד - קבטיה, עוקף טובאס צפון.	התאמתו לכביש ארצי בתוואים הקיימים.	מתבסס על כבישים קיימים, מס. 585, תוואי חדש בעמק דותן, עוקף טובאס צפון, 5799 - מחייב פריצה משער מנשה עד צומת יעבד.
ה'.	חוצה שומרון.	* צומת תפוח - מעלה אפרים בבצוע. * השלמת עוקף מרדה.	* כביש צומת כפר קאסס - מורשה, (כולל הסדרת הצומת עם כביש ארצי ב'). ועוקף כפר קאסס. * מעלה אפרים -הצאל-שיפור התוואי.		סלילת הכביש בתוואי וברמה המתוכננים.	* הכביש הקיים עד צומת תפוח מתבסס על כביש 505. בתכנון הסופי יעבור התוואי מדרום לכביש כפר קאסס ויתחבר בחרס התוואי הקיים זהפך לכביש אזורי, תכנון התוואי הסופי קיים. * כביש כפר קאסס - צומת מורשה שייך תקציבית לתקציבי מע"צ בתחום הקו הירוק ולא לתקציב מע"צ איו"ש.



הערות	עדיפות			מצב הביצוע	התוואי	סימון הכביש (ראה מפה)
	א	ב	ג			
הקטע מבין שטח עד ענתות, כולל בתוואי המתוכנן צומת עטרות, מחייב פריצת תוואי חדש. מענתות עד מעלה אדומים מתבסס בעיקרו על כביש 437. כביש בן שמן - עטרות, יתבסס על תכנית כביש מס. 45, תכנון מעלה אדומים - חיזמה - קיים.	סלילת הכביש		צומת עטרות - חיזמה - מעלה אדומים.	בביצוע עטרות ענתות כולל צומת עטרות.	בן שמן - עטרות - חיזמה - ענתות - מעלה אדומים.	ו'.
הכביש יתבסס בעיקרו על כביש מס. 35 ויעקוף את תרקומיה מדרום. בחלקו המזרחי ישען על כביש מס. 356 ו- 369.		התאמת התוואים הקיימים לרמת כבישים ארציים (סעיר - תקוע)	*צומת חלחול - חברון - עד לסעיר. *תקוע - מצפה שלם.	קטע בית גוברין - צומת חלחול - חברון בביצוע	חוצה יהודה - בית גוברין צפון חברון - תקוע - מצפה שלם.	ז'.
על פי התכנית יהיה כביש מס. 80 מחייב פריצת תוואי לכל אורכו.		+		טרם בוצע.	מעלה אדומים - ערד.	ח'.

הערות	עדיפות			מצב הביצוע	התוואי	סימון הכביש (ראה מפה)
	ג	ב	א			
קטע הכביש ירושלים-מעלה אדומים, יהפוך לכביש איזורי כאשר כביש כ"ד הר הצופים- מעלה אדומים יפרץ ויסלל.		קטע עוקף מעלה אדומים בכביש מס. 1.		קיים.	ירושלים - יריחו.	ט'.
מחייב פריצה חדשה.			+	מחייב פריצה חדשה	הר הצופים-מעלה אדומים	י'.

הערות	עדיפות			מצב הביצוע	התוואי	סימון הכביש (ראה מפה)
	ג	ב	א			
מחייב פריצה לכל אורך התוואי בחלקו הצפוני נשען על כביש 596.		ריחן - דותן פריצה חדשה עד כביש ארצי	*קטע תענך-ריחן חלקו הצפוני על תוואי 596 הקיים, וחלקו הדרומי-פריצה חדשה. קטע ריחן יעבד-דותן על המשך תוואי 596-ייעשה שיפור זמני.	טרם בוצע.	תענך-דותן. (חוצה גוש ישובי ריחן).	י"א.
מחייב זיפות וסלילה.			+	התוואי פרוץ אך אינו סלול בעיקרו.	עוקף ג' ניין ממזרח.	י"ב
עיקר התוואי מחייב שיפורים ושיפוצים. חלקו המערבי מחייב פריצה חדשה.			*שיפור תוואי קיים, וואדי פריצה-עצרת א- שמליה. *פריצת תוואי שער-שמליה- זותא.	תוואי קיים בעיקרו. בחלקו המרכזי נדרשת פריצה חדשה.	טול-כרם, עוקף שכס צפון-ג' יפטליק.	י"ג.

הערות	עדיפות			מצב הביצוע	התוואי	סימון הכביש (ראה מפה)
	א	ב	ג			
התוואי מתבסס על כביש 588 בעיקרו עם שיפורים ועוקף מקומי באיזור טובאס המהבר לחוצה שומרון צפוני.	התאמת התוואי לרמת כביש איזורי.			תוואי קיים	טובאס - מחנה יוסף	י"ד
יכול להחשב כ"זרוע" של חוצה שומרון צפוני, מחייב תכנון ופריצה חדשה.			+	מחייב פריצה חדשה.	טובאס-בקעות (לציר אלון)	ט"ו
ממעלה שומרון ועד שכס יתבסס על כביש מס. 55.	התאמת התוואי הקיים ממעלה שומרון לרמת כביש איזורי.		כפ"ס - מעלה שומרון.	מחייב פריצה חדשה מכפ"ס - צוותא עד מעלה שומרון.	כפר סנא-צוותא-שכס	ט"ז.
			השלמת הפריצה והשלמת האספלט	ניפרץ בחלקו.	קדומים - אריאל. (ג'ינספוט - חרס)	י"ז.



הערות	עדיפות			מצב הביצוע	התוואי	סימון הכביש (ראה מפה)
	א	ב	ג			
<p>נשען על כביש 458 דהיום. בעתיד יהווה כביש מס. 80 כאשר הנמשכו הוא כביש ח'. (מעלה אדומים-ערד). תכנון קטע ג' פטליק-רועי - קיים. תכנון גיתית-מכורה - קיים. תכנון קטע מעלה אדומים-מעלה אפריים - קיים.</p>	<p>השלמת ההתאמה לרמת כביש איזורי.</p>	<p>התאמת קטעי תוואי לרמת כביש איזורי.</p>	<p>* גיתית-מכורה. * חמרה-מכורה. * שיפור התוואי מנח"ל רימונים עד כביש יריחו * חמם אל מליח - רועי.</p>	<p>רובו קיים. הקטע מליח- חמרה - בביצוע. שיפור ואספלט על קטעים בביצוע.</p>	<p>"ספר המדבר" (כביש "אלון").</p>	<p>י"ח.</p>
<p>בחלקו הצפוני נשען על כביש 4765. בחלקו הדרומי עד חלמיש מחייב פריצה חדשה.</p>		+		<p>בחלקו תוואי קיים, בחלקו מחייב פריצה.</p>	<p>חלמיש - חרם.</p>	<p>י"ט.</p>
<p>ברובו נשען על כביש מס. 4556 ו-455. אמור להתחבר דרך צומת גבעון לשוב גבעון-חדשה- נבי סמואל ורמות.</p>	<p>התאמת התוואי לרמת כביש איזורי.</p>			<p>בעיקרו קיים, בחלקו מחייב פריצה.</p>	<p>חלמיש - צומת גבעון.</p>	<p>כ'.</p>



הערות	עדיפות			מצב הביצוע	התוואי	סימון הכביש (ראה מפה)
	א	ב	ג			
עד אדם צפא נשען על כביש 446 ו-465. מחייב פריצת עוקב ביר זית-עין יברוד. נישען במזרח על כביש מס' 3.	התאמת התוואי הקיים לרמת כביש איזורי בעיקר מעפרה ליריחו.		א * קטע עפרה-צפא לעפרה מחייב פריצה. אום-צפא. * עוקף עבוד. * שיפוץ תוואי קיים עופרה-יריחו.	ברובו תוואי קיים. מאום צפא לעפרה מחייב פריצה.	גבעת כח-הלמיש-עפרה-רימונים-יריחו.	כ"א.
חלקו המערבי של הכביש עד מחנה רמה נשען על תוואי קיים מס' 3. (שאינו מתוכנן להתחבר בהמשכו לכביש מס' 5 אל בירה-עפרה-יריחו) ובהמשכו כביש מס' 437.	פריצת התוואי המתוכנן (תוואי ו') ככביש ארצי והתאמת התוואי הנוכחי לרמת כביש איזורי.		א * רמה-מכמש (כביש אלוק) * שלוחה באיזור בית סירא לכביש בית חורוק-כפר רות (חיבור לגוש מודיעין-ציפודי אספלט).	בחלקו תוואי קיים, בחלקו מחייב פריצה חדשה.	מעלה בית חורון-רמה-מכמש.	כ"ב.
	התאמת התוואי הקיים לרמת כביש איזורי.		א * עוקף גבעות-גבעת חדשה.	בשלבני ניצוץ.	בית חנון-נבי סמואל-גבעון.	כ"ג.

הערות	עדיפות			מצב הביצוע	התוואי	סימון הכביש (ראה מפה)
	ג	ב	א			
נשען בחלקו על קטעי כביש קיימים ובחלקו תידרש פריצה חדשה.	+			טרם בוצע.	ענתות - עוקף ירושלים מערב-הר גילה.	כ"ז
נשען על תוואי קיים.	התאמת התוואי הקיים לרמת כביש איזורי.				רמת רחל-זעתרא(עוקף בית לחם בית סחור).	כ"ז
				קיים.	עמק האלה-גוש עציון-חקוע.	כ"ז
הכביש משמש היום כחוצה שומרון (ה) בעתיד לאחר פריצת חוצה שומרון המתוכנן יהפך לכביש איזורי.		התאמת התוואי לרמת כביש איזורי.		כביש קיים.	כפר-קאסם-מסחה-חרס.	כ"ח.

כבישים ברמה ב' - פיתוח נאחזקה באחריות מע"צ

סימון הכביש (ראה מפה)	התוואי	מצב הביצוע	עדיפות			הערות
			א	ב	ג	
כ"ט	קלקיליה - עזון	כביש קיים		התאמת התוואי לרמת כביש איזורי		הכביש משמש היום ציר עיקרי לשכס מכפר סבא (ט"ז) בעתיד יפרץ כביש כפר סבא-צוותא- עזון.
ל'.	גבעת הזכוכית (צפון- חברון) ישובי מעון כרמל.	כביש קיים		התאמת התוואי לרמת כביש איזורי.		
ל"א.	עוקף שכס מזרח	פריצה חדשה.	עוקף שכס מזרח (כולל עסכר ומחנה בלטה)			מחייב פריצה חדשה.
ל"ב.	חבל לכיש-חבל יתיר	בחלקו קיים ומחייב שיפור בחלקו מחייב פריצה חדשה.	אמציה - כביש ארצי א'.	כביש ארצי א' - יתיר.	צה"ל מסתייג מחשש לפגיעה בשטח אש 309.	

כבישים ברמה ג' - אחריות מפק' איו"ש, המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות, צה"ל/בידור נכסים:-

הערות	עדיפות			מצב הביצוע	אחריות במפה: איו"ש-שחור משהב"ט-כחול, התיש'-ירוק	משבצת (ראה מפה)
	א	ב	ג			
			כבישי גישה לישובי ריחן		* מפק' איו"ש * המינהל לבניה כפרית וחטיבת ההתישבות	1.
					* מפק' איו"ש	2.
			ג'נין-בית קד		* מפק' איו"ש	3.
					* מפק' איו"ש	4.
					* מפק' איו"ש * המינהל לבניה כפרית וחטיבת ההתישבות.	5.



כבישים ברמה ג' - אחריות מפק' איו"ש, המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות, צה"ל/בנינוי ונכסים:

הערות	עדיפות			מצב הביצוע	אחריות כמפה: איו"ש-שחור משהב"ט-כחול, החיט'-ירוק	משבצת (ראה מפה)
	ג	ב	א			
			* סנור-טובאס * סנור-זבדה	כביש גישה למעלה נח"ל- בהשלמה.	* מפק' איו"ש * המינהל לבניה כפרית וחטיבת ההתישבות	6.
					-	7.
חטיבת ההתישבות בסוכנות מבקשת פריצת דרך ישירה מרועי לכביש הביקעה. צה"ל מתנגד.					* המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות * צה"ל	8.
					* מפק' איו"ש	9.
			* כביש גישה עוקף אלדן מורה. * שכס - בית פזריק.	כביש גישה לאלון מורה בהשלמה.	* מפק' איו"ש * המינהל לבניה כפרית וחטיבת ההתישבות	10.



כבישים ברמה ג' - אחריות מפק' איו"ש, המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות, צה"ל/בינוי ונכסים:-

משכצת (ראה מפה)	אחריות במפה: איו"ש-שחור משהב"ט-כתול, התיש'-ירוק	מצב הביצוע	עדיפות			הערות
			א	ב	ג	
11.	* המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות. * צה"ל.					
12.	* מפק' איו"ש. * צה"ל.					
13.	* מפק' איו"ש. * חט' ההתישבות והמינהל לבניה כפרית.					
14.	* מפק' איו"ש.					
15.	* מפק' איו"ש * המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות.	כביש גישה למעלה שומרון - בהשלמה.				

כבישים ברמה ג' - באחריות מפק' איו"ש, המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות, צה"ל/ביכור ונכסים:-

מסבצת (ראה מפה)	אחריות במפה: איו"ש-טחור משהב"ט-כחול, התיש'-יירוק	מצב הביצוע	עדיפות			הערות
			א	ב	ג	
16.	* מפק' איו"ש					
17.	* מפק' איו"ש * המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות,	כביש גישה לתפרח-בהשלמה				
18.	* מפק' איו"ש * המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות, * צה"ל	מתקן קציף- ציר "אלון".				
19.	* המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות.					
20.	* מפק' איו"ש * צה"ל.					

כבישים ברמה ג' - באחריות מפק' איו"ש, המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות, צה"ל/בינוי ונכסים:-

מסבצת (ראה מפה)	אחריות במפה: איו"ש-שחור מטהב"ט-כחול, החיש'-ירוק	מצב הביצוע	עדיפות			הערות
			א	ב	ג	
21.	* מפק' איו"ש, * המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות					
22.	* מפק' איו"ש					
23.	* מפק' איו"ש, * המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות,					
24.	* מפק' איו"ש					
25.	* מפק' איו"ש, * המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות,					
26.	* מפק' איו"ש, * המינהל לבניה כפרית, וחט' ההתישבות,		כביש גישה לגבעת חדשה,			



כבישים כרמה ג' - באחריות מפק' איו"ש, המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות, צה"ל/בינוי ונכסים:-

משכנת (ראה מפה)	אחריות במפה: איו"ש-שהור משהו'ט-כחול, חטי' -ירוק	מצב הביצוע	עדיפות			הערות
			א	ב	ג	
27.	* מפק' איו"ש, * צה"ל,					
28.	* מפק' איו"ש,		* עבדיה-מרסבא.			
29.	* מפק' איו"ש, * המינהל לבניה כפרית.		* כביש גישה לאפרת.			
30.	* מפק' איו"ש, * המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות.					
31.	* מפק' איו"ש, * המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות.					
32.	* מפק' איו"ש, * המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות.		* כביש חברון- צוריק.			
33.	* מפק' איו"ש, * המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות.		* צומת בית-פג'ר בית פג'ר.			
34.	* מפק' איו"ש,					

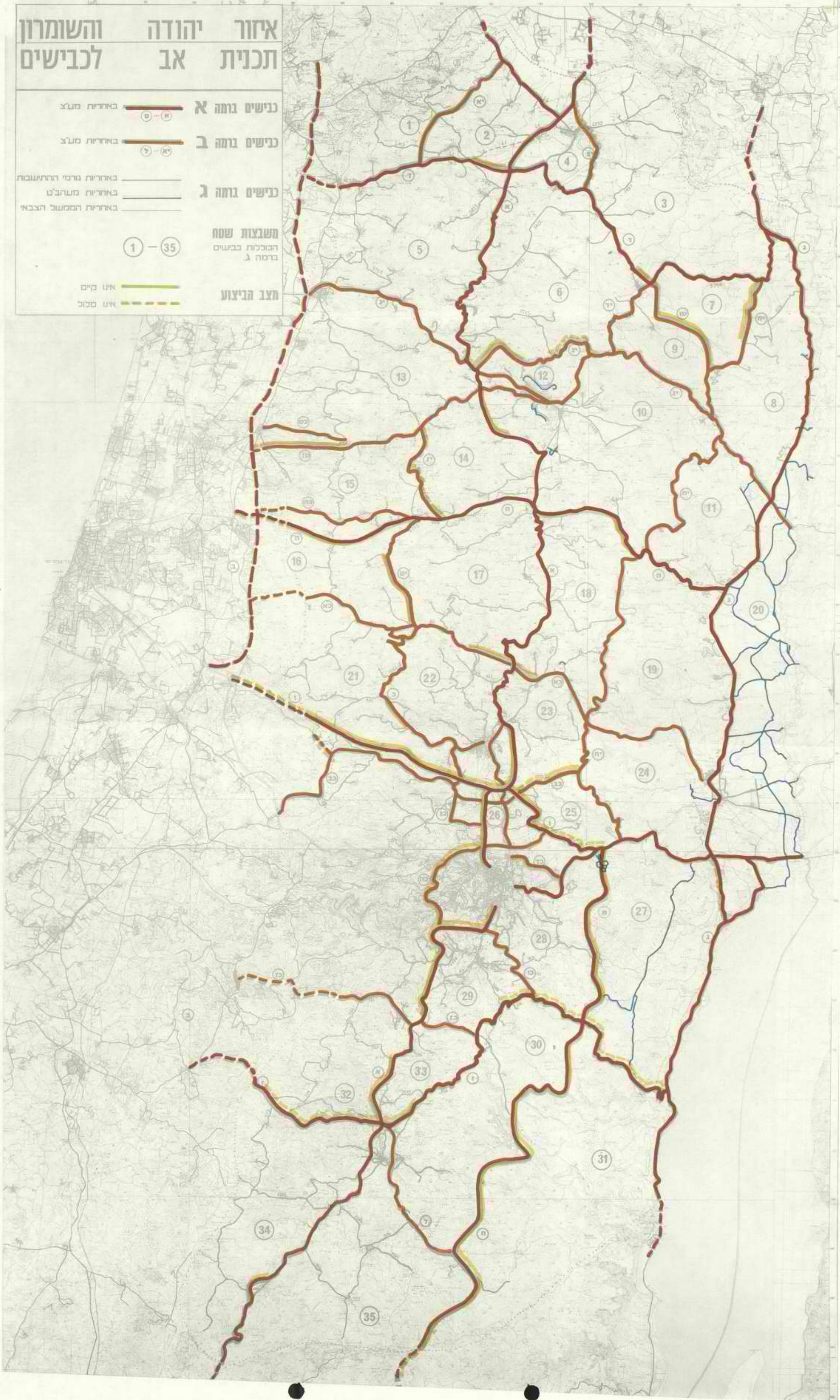
כבישים ברמה ג'-אחריות מפק' איו"ש, המינהל לבניה כפרית וחט' ההתישבות, צה"ל/בינוי נכסים:-

הערות	עדיפות			מצב הביצוע	אחריות במפה: איו"ש -שחור משהב"ט-כחול. התיש'-ירוק	סימון הכביש (ראה מפה)
	ג	ב	א			
					*מפק' איו"ש	.35
					*מפק' איו"ש..	.36
					מפק' איו"ש.	.37



# איזור יהודה ושומרון תכנית אב לכבישים

- כבישים בוחה א** באחריות מעצ (א-ס)
- כבישים בוחה ב** באחריות מעצ (י-יז)
- כבישים בוחה ג** באחריות גרמי ההתיישבות  
באחריות משהב"ט  
באחריות הממשל הצבאי
- משבצות שטח** 1 - 35  
הכוללות כבישים  
ברמה ג
- מצב הביצוע**  
אין קיים  
אין סביר





**איזור יהודה ושומרון**  
**תכנית אב לכבישים**

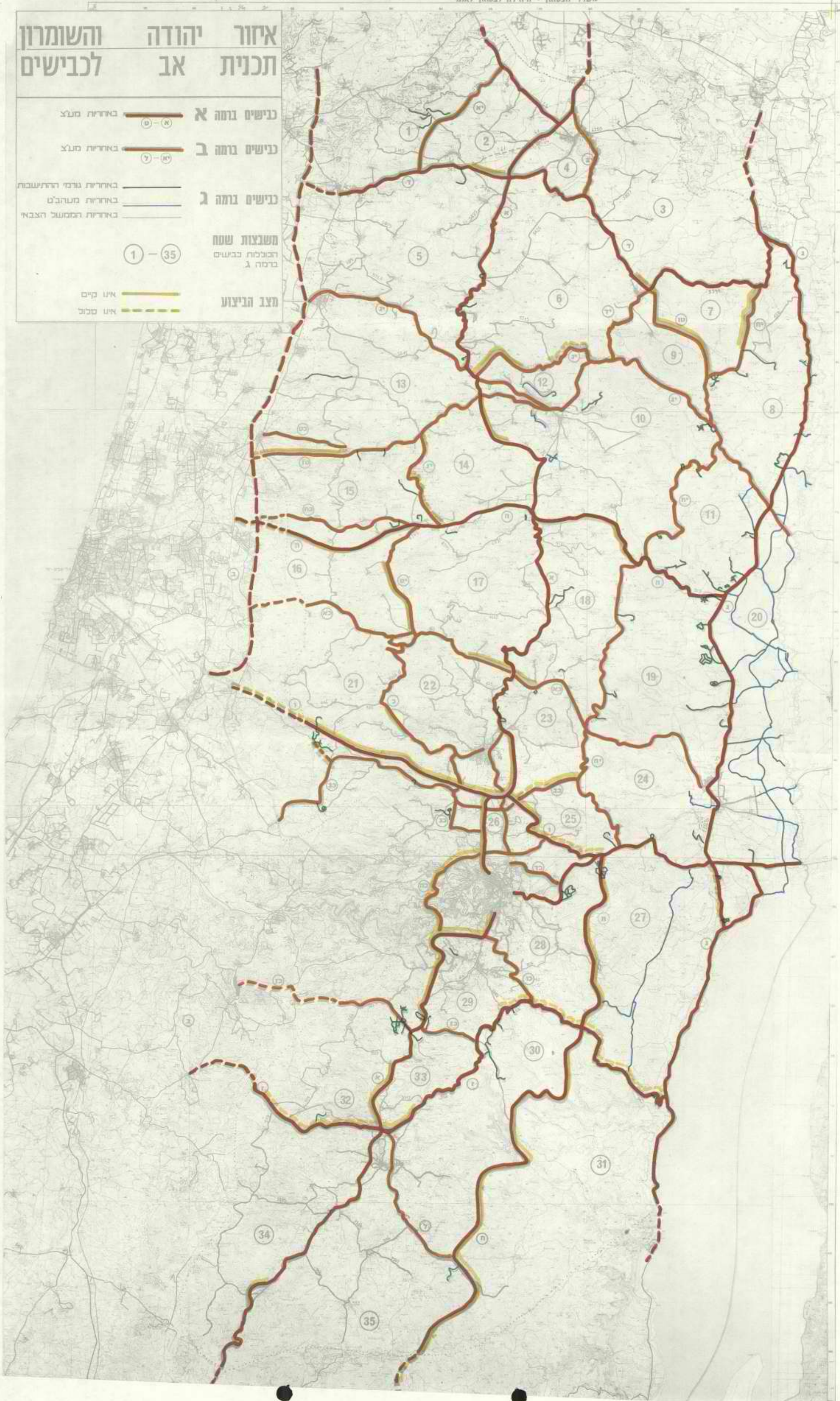
**כבישים בדרגה א** ————— באחריות מנהל

**כבישים בדרגה ב** ————— באחריות מנהל

**כבישים בדרגה ג** ————— באחריות גורמי ההתיישבות  
באחריות מנהל  
באחריות הממשל הצבאי

**חשבוניות שטח**  
הכביש 1-35  
בדרגה ג

**מצב הניצול**  
אין קיום  
אין סכנה





איזור יהודה ושומרון  
תכנית אב לכבישים

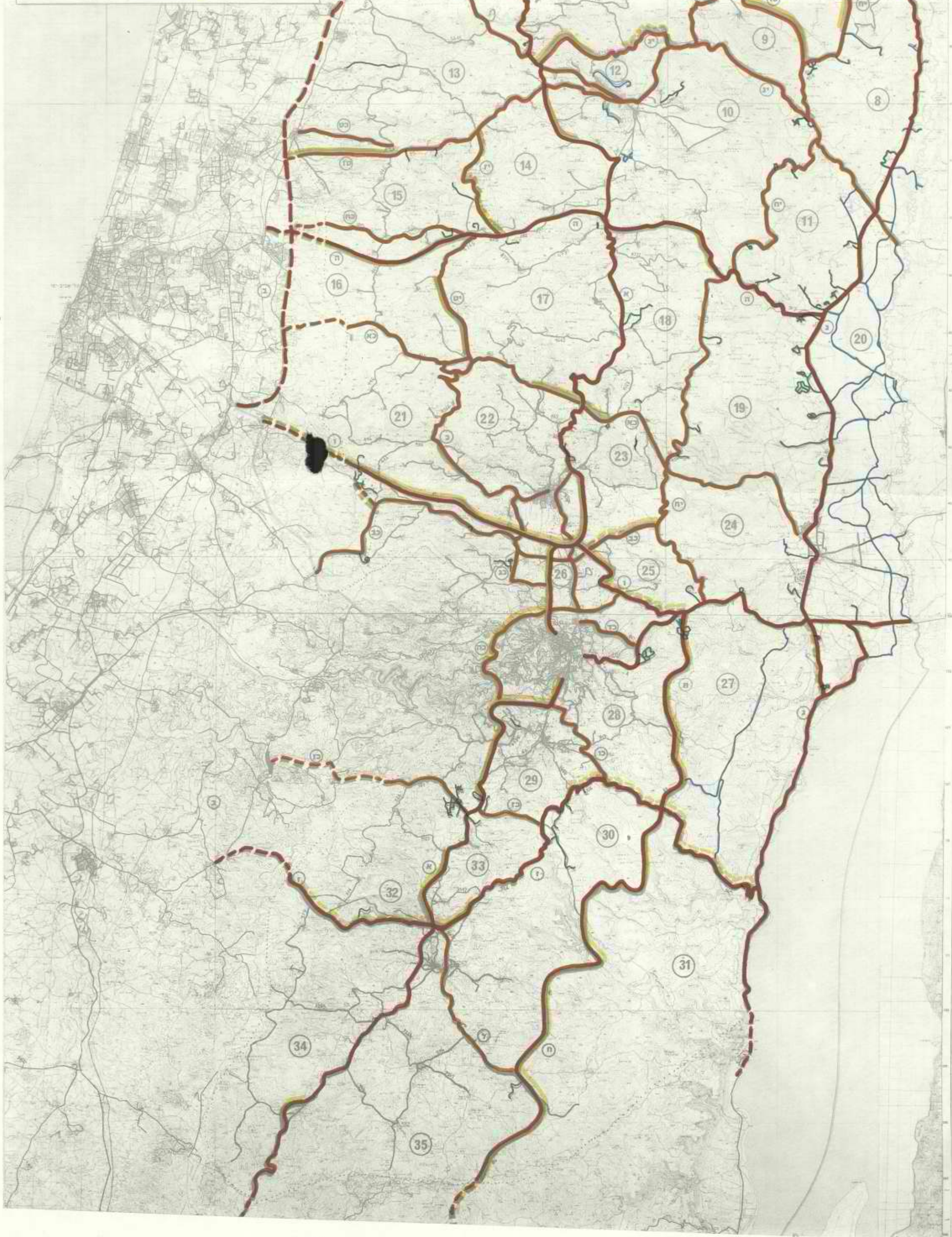
**כבישים גומה א** (א-ס) באחריות מעצ

**כבישים גומה ב** (ז-י) באחריות מעצ

**כבישים גומה ג**  
באחריות גורמי ההתיישבות  
באחריות מנהל  
באחריות הממשל הצבאי

**משבצות שטח**  
המכלולת כבישים  
ברמה ג

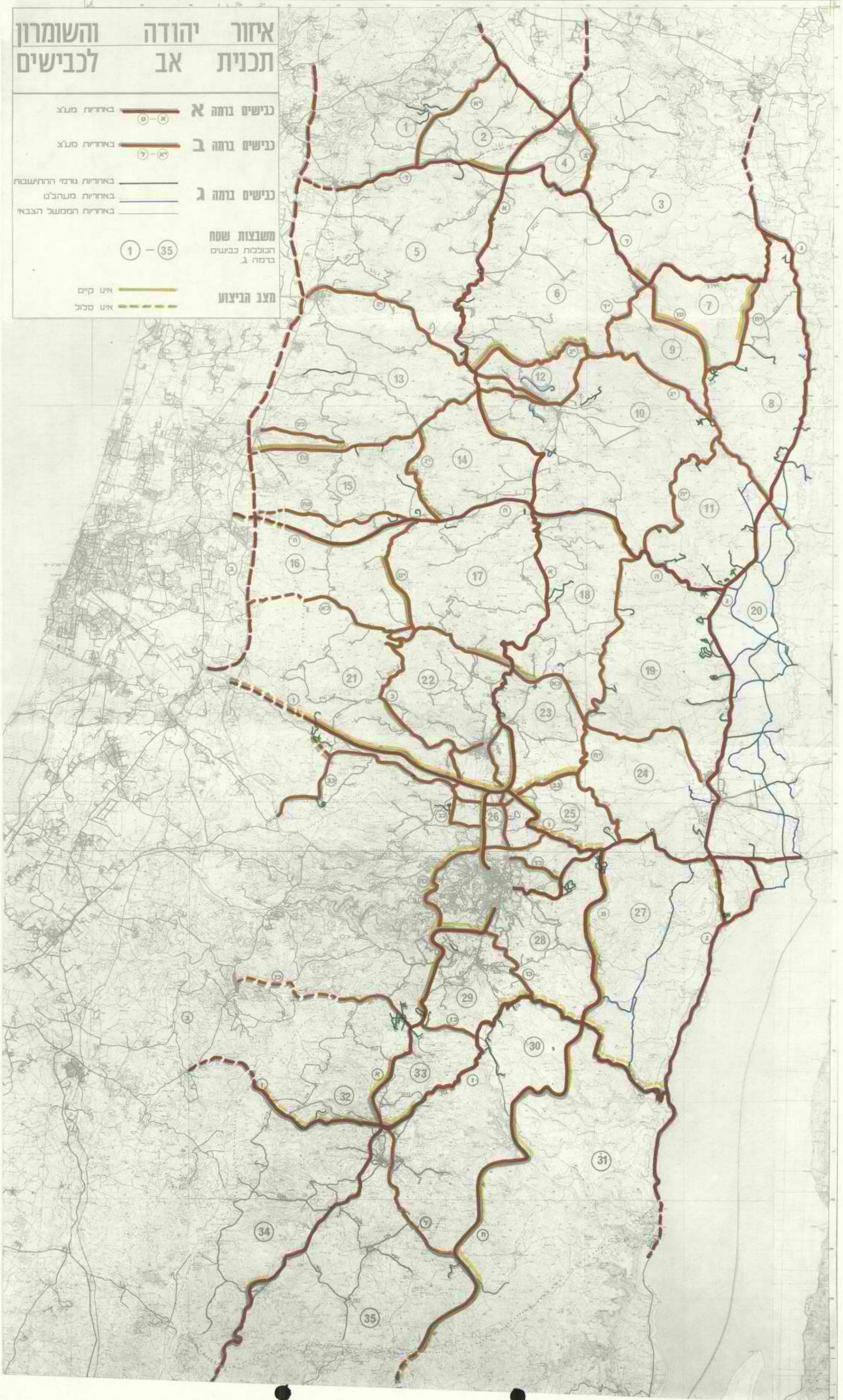
**מצב הניצוץ**  
אין קיים  
אין סכוכ





איזור יהודה ושומרון  
תכנית אב לכבישים

- כבישים בזה א (א-ט) באחריות מעצ
- כבישים בזה ב (י-ל) באחריות מעצ
- כבישים בזה ג באחריות גורמי ההתיישבות  
באחריות מנהל'ט  
באחריות הממשל הצבאי
- מסלולי שטח  
הכוללות כבישים  
בדמה ג
- מצב הניצוץ  
אין קיים  
אין סכוכ





**איזור יהודה ושומרון  
תכנית אב לכבישים**

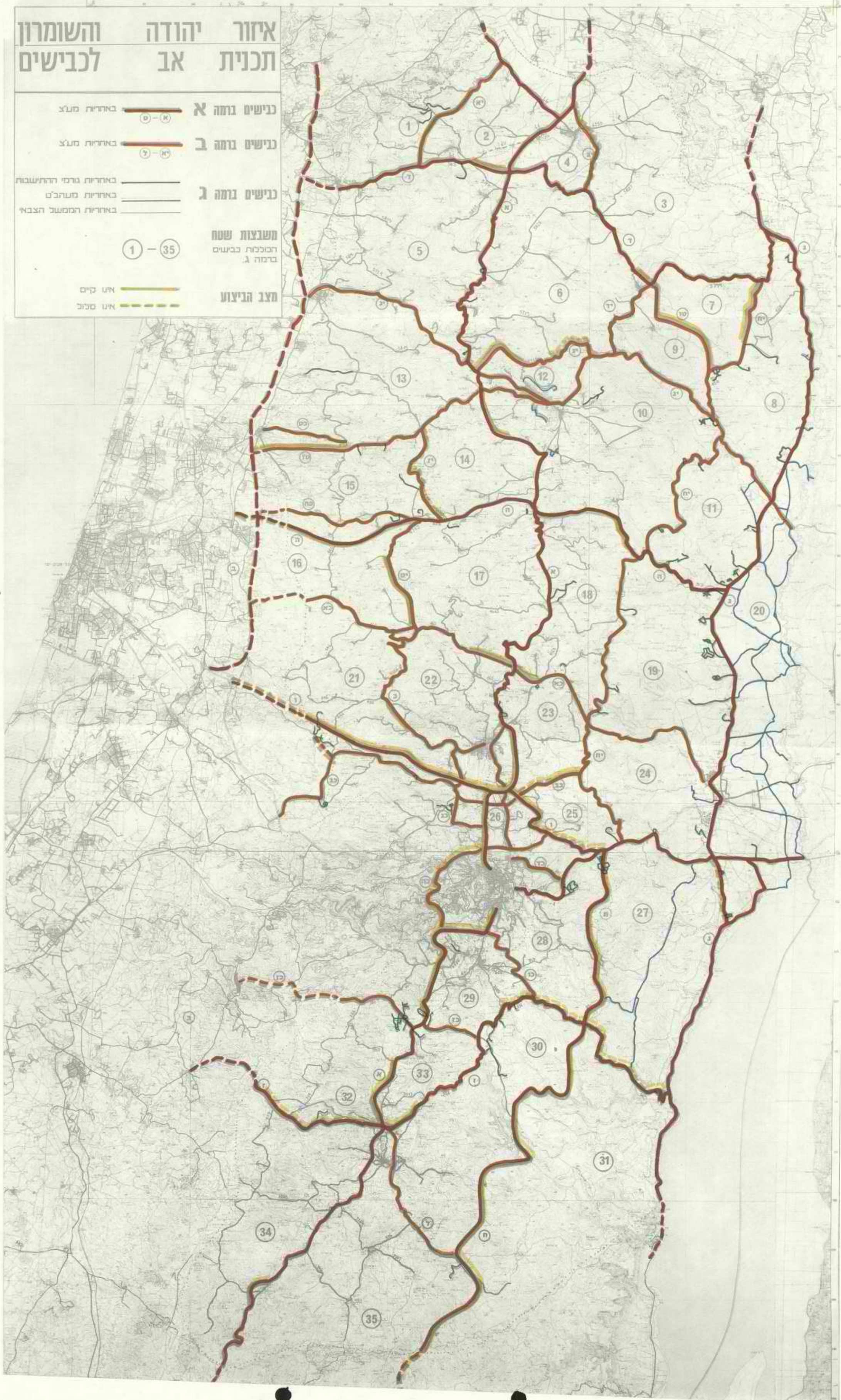
**כבישים גומה א** — באחריות מנע (א) — (ס)

**כבישים גומה ב** — באחריות מנע (א) — (ס)

**כבישים גומה ג** — באחריות גרמי ההתעבורה  
באחריות מנהלים  
באחריות הממשל הצבאי

**חשבוצות שטח**  
הכוללות כבישים  
ברמה ג. 1 — 35

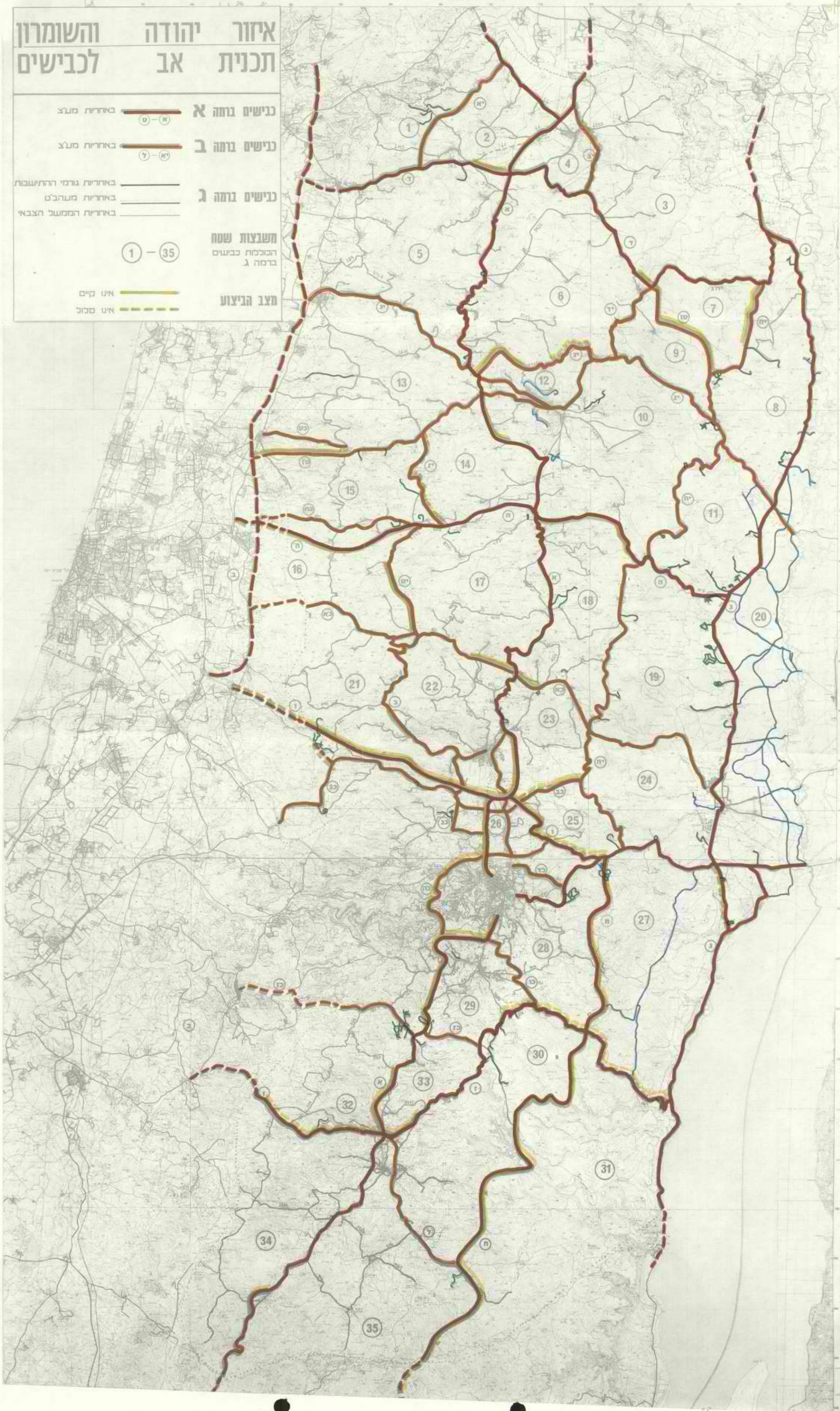
**מצב הביצוע**  
אין קיים  
אין סבוכ





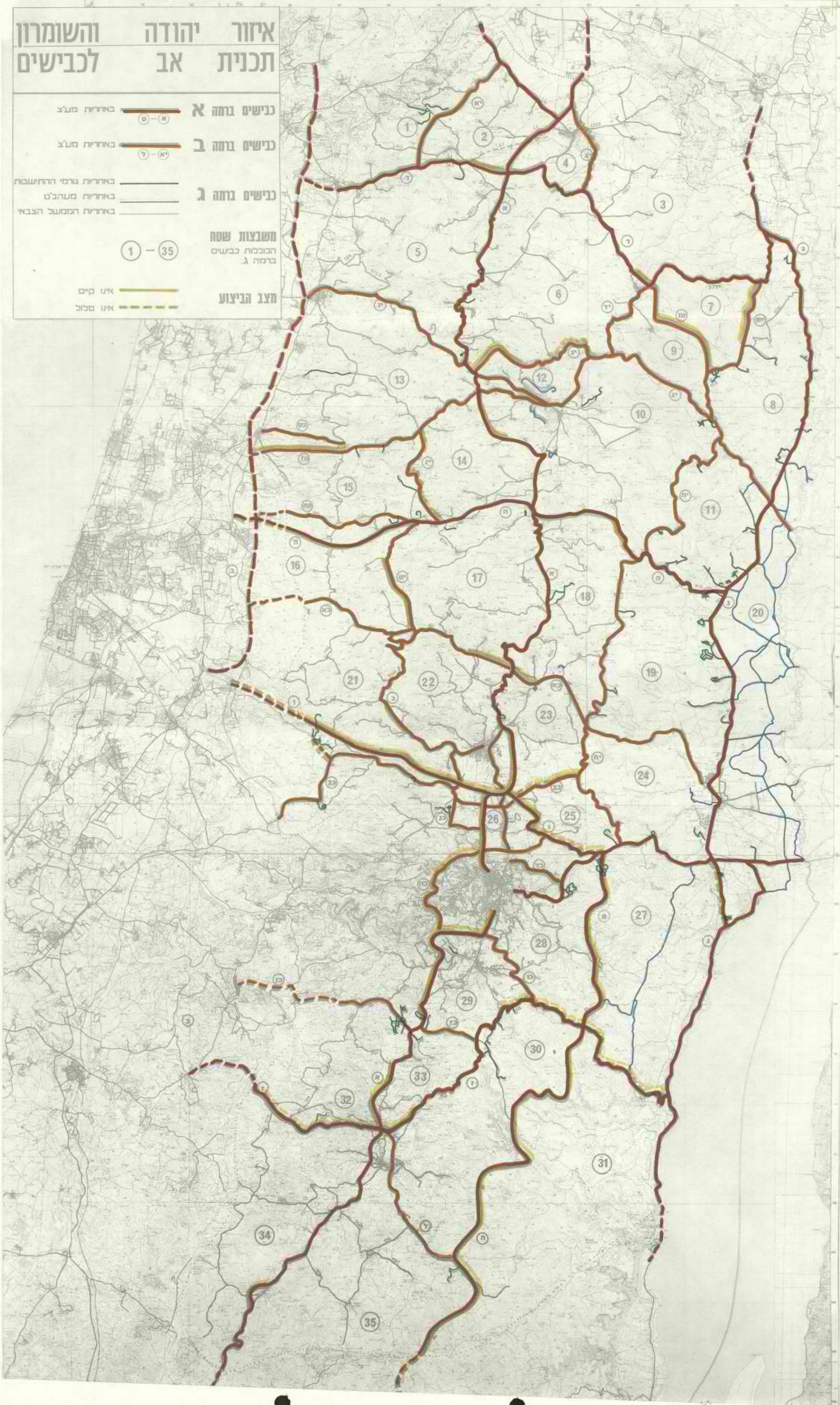
אזור יהודה ושומרון  
תכנית אב לכבישים

- כבישים גומה א באחריות מעצ (א) - (ט)
- כבישים גומה ב באחריות מעצ (י) - (ל)
- כבישים גומה ג באחריות גורמי ההתיישבות  
 באחריות מנהל  
 באחריות הממשל הצבאי
- חשבוצות שטח - הכובלות כבישים ברמה ג
- מצב הניצוץ אינו קיים  
 אינו סביר





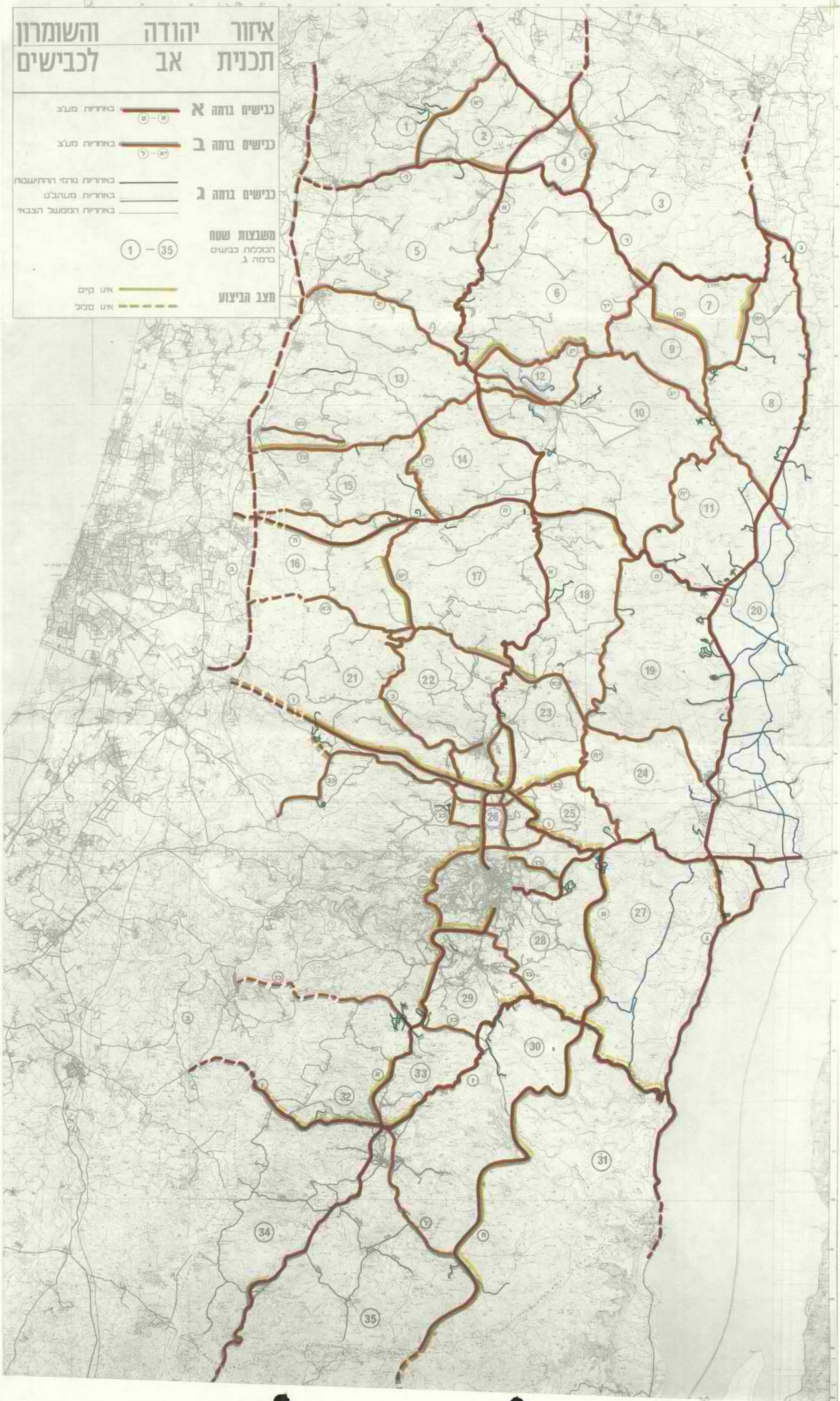
איזור יהודה ושומרון  
תכנית אב לכבישים





איזור יהודה ושומרון  
לכבישים תכנית אב

- כבישים גומה א באחריות מעצ (א-ט)
- כבישים גומה ב באחריות מעצ (ז-י)
- כבישים גומה ג באחריות גומי ההתעבות  
באחריות מנהל  
באחריות הממשל הצבאי
- משבצות שטח  
הכוללות כבישים  
ברמה ג 1-35
- מצב הביצוע  
אין קיים  
אין סלול





איזור יהודה ושומרון  
לכבישים תכנית אב

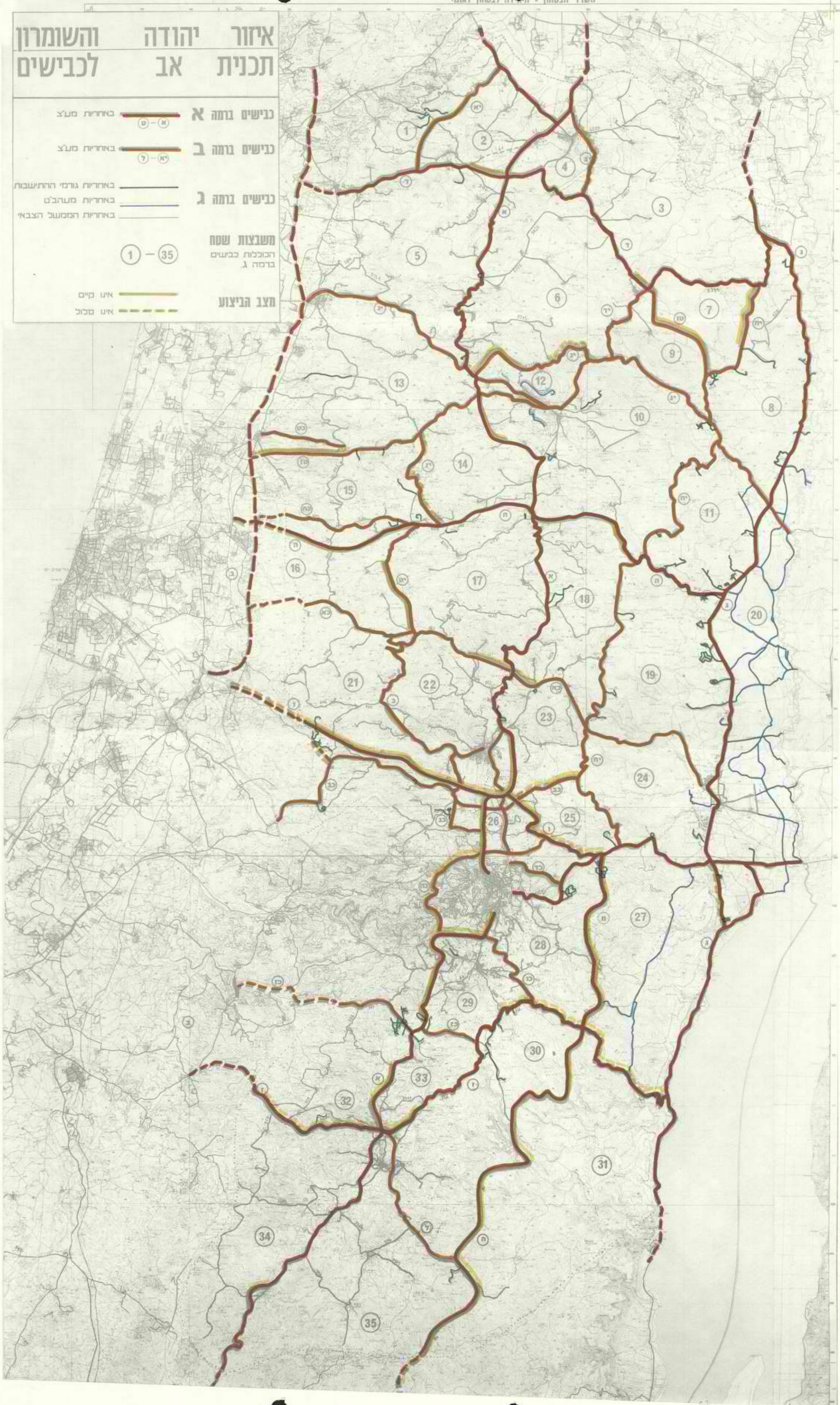
כבישים גומה א באחריות מע"צ (א-ס)

כבישים גומה ב באחריות מע"צ (ז-י)

כבישים גומה ג באחריות גורמי ההתיישבות  
 באחריות מנהל  
 באחריות הממשל הצבאי

משבצות שסה -   
הכוללות כבישים ברמה ג

הצב הביצוע איט קיים  
 איט מכוך





איזור יהודה ושומרון  
תכנית אב לכבישים

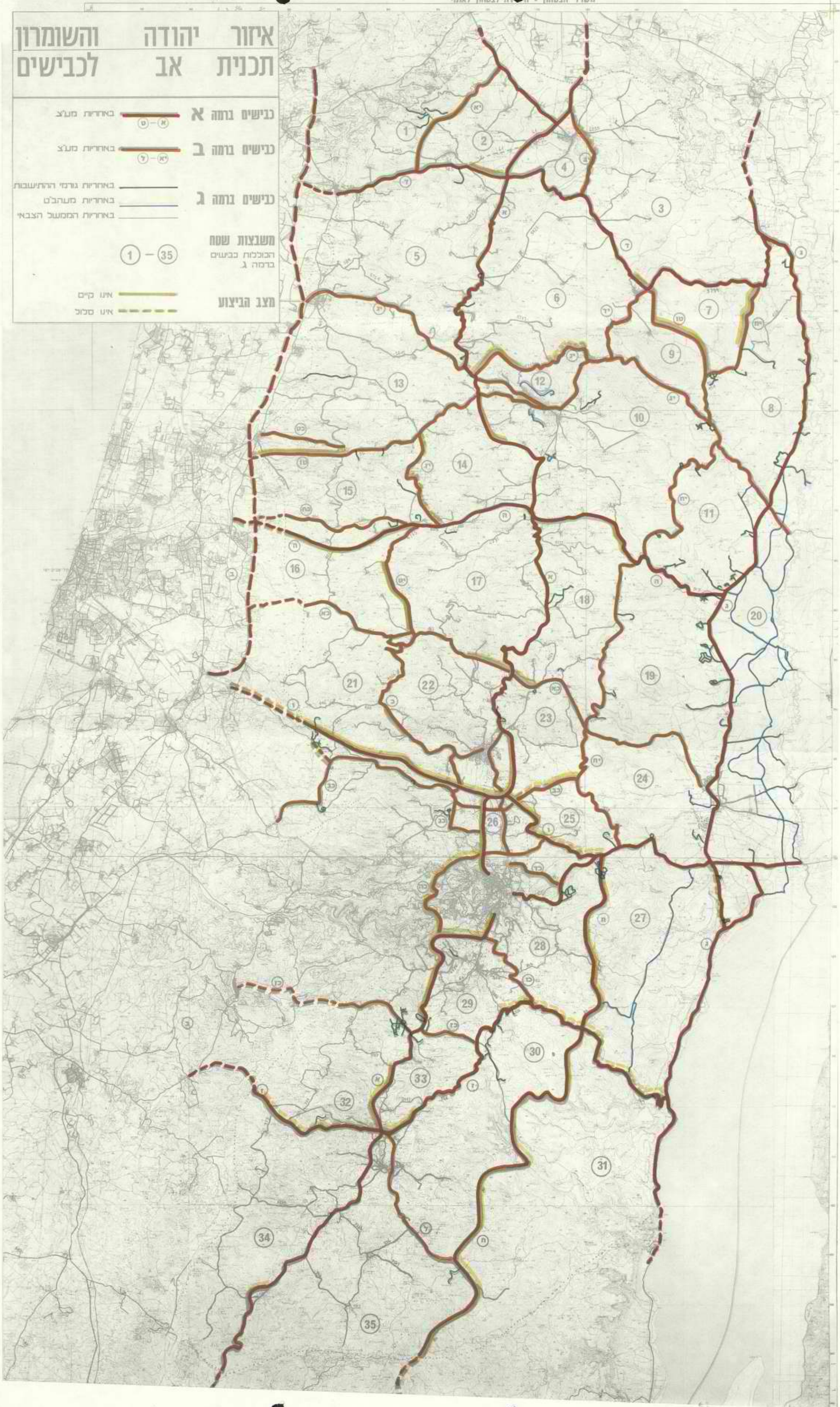
**כבישים גומה א** באחריות מעצ (א-ט)

**כבישים גומה ב** באחריות מעצ (ז-א)

**כבישים גומה ג** באחריות גורמי ההתיישבות  
באחריות מטהבט  
באחריות הממשל הצבאי

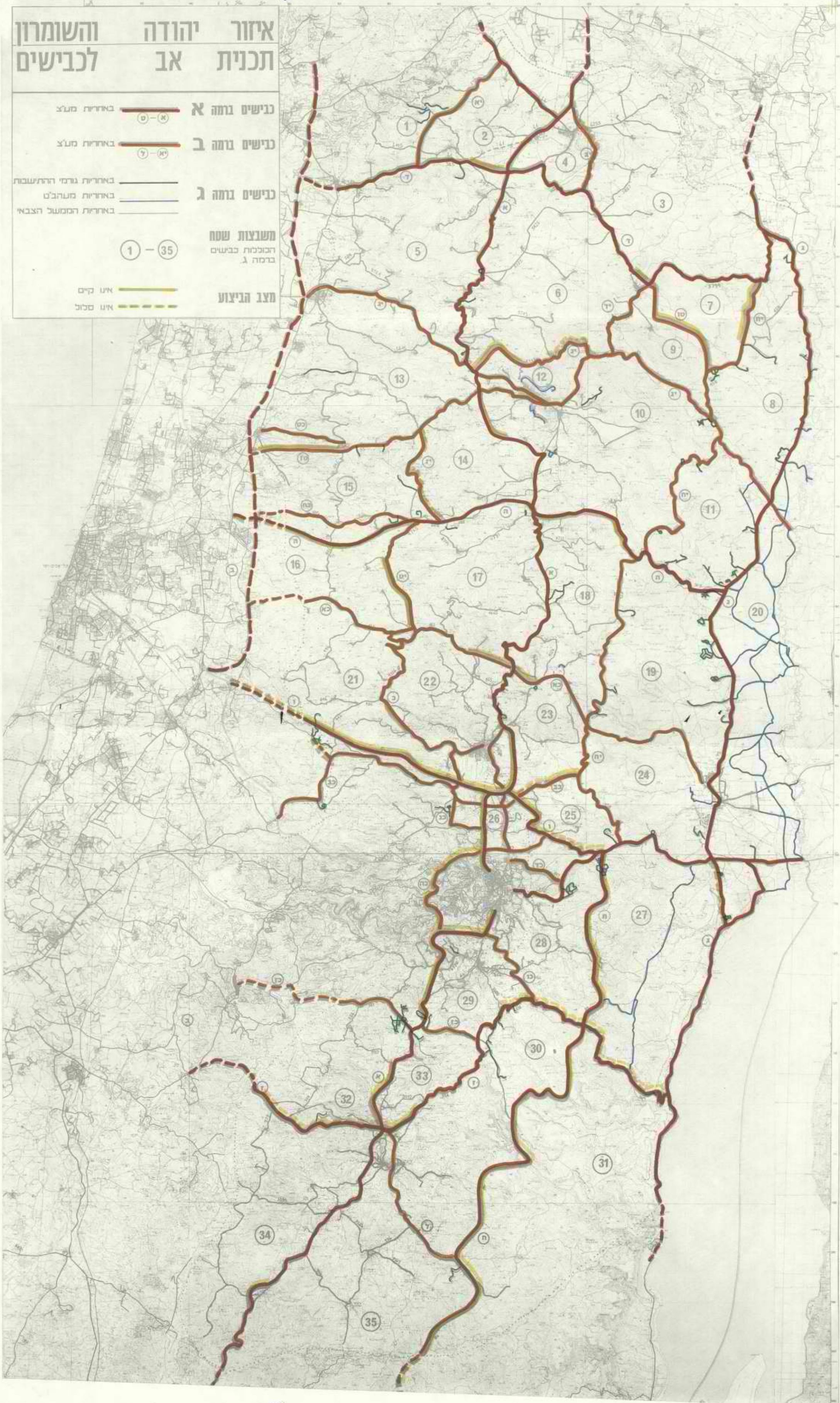
**משבצות שטח** 1-35  
הכוללות כבישים ברמה ג

**מצב הביצוע**  
איתו קיים  
איתו סלול





אזור יהודה ושומרון  
תכנית אב לכבישים





החלטה 471 של מועצת הבטחון

8.6.80

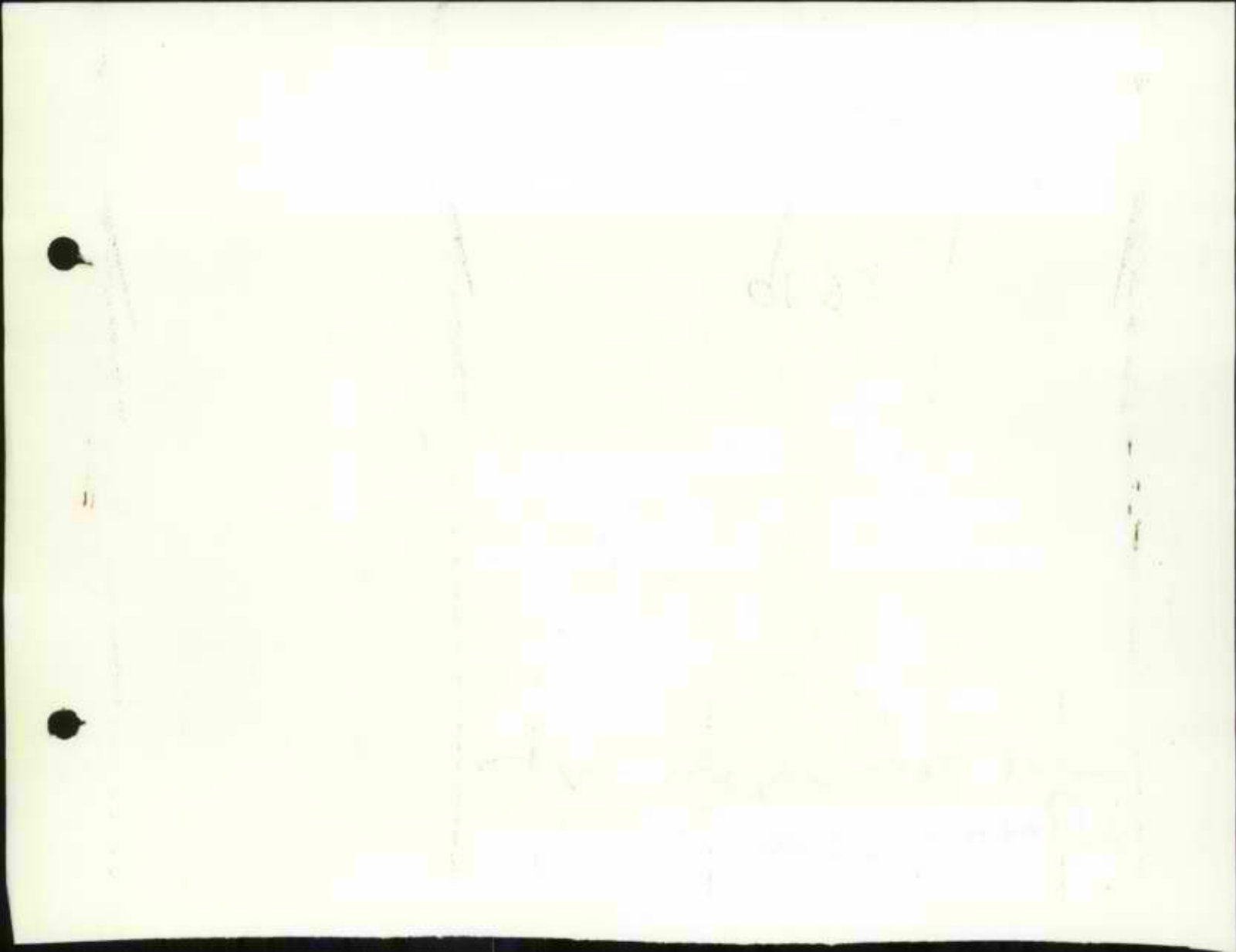
ראש-הממשלה פותח.

מ ח ל י ט י ם      כי ראש-הממשלה ימסור הודעה לכלי התקשורת כדלקמן:

החלטת מועצת הבטחון 471, שנתקבלה תוך הימנעות ארצות-הברית, היא אחת הפגיעות העונתיות באמת, במוסר, ביושר - ובמועצת הבטחון עצמה. מוסד זה לא נתכנס, לא קיים דיון ולא קיבל שום החלטת גינוי אחרי מעשי הזוועה במינכן, באתונה, ברומא, בבריסל, בחרטום, בציריך, בלוד, באביבים, במעלות, בכביש החוף, בנהריה, במשגב-עם, בחברון ועוד ועוד. מועצת הבטחון לא היתה דרושה כלל, כדי לגנות את הפשעים החמורים שבוצעו ביום ב' ה- 2 ביוני 1980, בערי שומרון ויהודה, או כדי להבטיח חקירה נמרצת והעמדה לדיון של מבצעי הפשעים הללו, משיתגלו וייעצרו כחוק. קדמו לה בכך, ב- 72 שעות, דובריה המוסמכים של מדינת ישראל. אבל "ההזדמנות" נוצלה, כדי לתבוע מישראל שתיסוג, בניגוד להחלטה 242 והסכמי קמפ-דיוויד, לקווי ה- 4 ביוני 1967, ותסכים לחלוקתה מחדש של ירושלים, בירת ישראל. חובתנו היא לקבוע, בפשטות, כי ישראל לעולם לא תעשה זאת.

בדק-ההקשר מאת ציוני  
 וראא אלה  
 ע





727.

מעצרו של הרב מאיר כהנא

18.5.80

השר ז. המר שואל.

ראש-הממשלה, שר הבטחון והיועץ המשפטי לממשלה משיבים.



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ה צ ע ה :

ח ו י ו ן א ו ר ק ו ל י ב ש ו מ ר ו ן

פרטי הצעה זו עובדו לאחר התייעצות עם המפיק-במאי שלמה גנון.

הכונה: מפעל הסברה והינוך להגדלת הזיקה והאהבה לחבלי א"י אלו, ע"י שימוש באמצעים אמנותיים, בהבלטה כמה היבטים:

- א. קשר הסטורי בין עם ישראל לארצו - ע"י שחזור של סצינות הסטוריות.
- ב. החשיבות הבטחונית של האזור - ניתן להדגשה בולטת ע"י חצפית ממקום-שולט על אורוותיהם של ערי שפלת החוף.
- ג. הקשר הגאוגרפי - היחס ההדדי: הר - שפלה.

השיטה: שימוש באפקטים אור-קוליים ופירוטכניים, שיוחקנו בשטח מיוחד, אשר יוכשר לצורך זה - כדוגמה החזונויות האורקוליים הקיימים במצדה ובמגדל דוד, השאימה היא להגיע למיתקון קבוע ואוטומטי אשר יופעל בקביעות ע"י צות-מפעילים קטן.

המקום: מיקום סופי יקבע אחרי מחקר וחיפוש.

הקוים שיגחו בבחירת המקום:

- א. מקום בעל ישמעות היסטורית, סביבו תגולל העלילה.
  - ב. חצפית לכוון אורות גוש-דן.
  - ג. ג. דצוי - מקום קרוב לגוש-דן, (30 - 15 דקות נסיעה) וזאת משתי סבות:
    1. להמחיש את הקרבה לשומקון
    2. להוות מוקד משיכה תרבותי-בידורי לתושבי גוש-דן ולתיירים.
  - ד. בחוף או בצמוד לאחר הישובים שבשומרון, כדי לחסוך באבטחה ובשמירה על הציוד שיקבע בשטח.
  - ה. הנתונים המטאורולוגיים: טמפרטורה, כווני רוחות וכד'.
- כמובן, אלו קווים מנחים בלבד; בשטח - יתכן שלא ימצא מקום אידיאלי ונצטרך לוותר על חלק מהם, עפ"י שיקול דעת ובדיקת הנתונים.

אחזקת-קבע: תוכל להחבצע ע"י גוש אמונים בשיתוף עם המועצה האיזורית שומרון ותנוהל ע"י תושבי הישוב שיבחר.



*[Handwritten signature]*

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

IN SENATE, January 1, 1914.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, FOR THE YEAR 1913.

Presented to the Senate by the Committee on Land and Water, in accordance with a resolution passed by the Senate on December 15, 1913.

ALBION B. KENT, Commissioner of the General Land Office.

WILLIAM H. HARRIS, Chairman of the Committee on Land and Water.

JOHN D. LONG, Chairman of the Committee on Land and Water.

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JOHN D. LONG, Chairman of the Committee on Land and Water.

Printed by the Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1914.

המליל: ניתן יהיה לחברו רק לאחר הקביעה הסופית של המקום, אשר סביבו התמקד העלילה. לצורך הכתיבה יש צורך במחקר, אשר ימשך כחודש.

נראה, כי התמליל יורכב מסצינות הסטוריות, מחוברות בקטעי קישור, כדוגמת הסצינות הבאות:

- א. אברהם אבינו מגיע למקום שכס - המשגש הראשון של יהודי עם ארץ-ישראל. חיבת הארץ בעיניו.
- ב. תקופת יהושע - נחלה אפרים ומנשה.
- ג. עמרי בונה את העיר שומרון.
- ד. חורבן שומרון וגלות ישראל מארצו.
- ה. השומרון בשממונו בתקופת הגלות; אף לאום אינו מצליח להאחז באדמתו.
- ו. תחילת הציונות - השומרון בחזונו של הרצל, העליות הראשונות. ובר בבד - היתרבות הערבים.
- ז. עם הקמת מדינת ישראל - השומרון בידי הליגיון הערבי, שולט על השפילה.
- ח. מלחמת ששת הימים - ההתקפה הירדנית, הפגזת תל אביב, הכיבוש בידי צה"ל.
- ט. "ושבו בנים לגבולם" - הקמת הישובים החדשים (ניתן להמחשה ע"י הילות האור של ישובים באזור).

החזיון יופק גם בשפה האנגלית לצרכי הופעות בפני תיירים.



после чего в 1941 году в Москве, на улице  
Грибоедова, в здании бывшего  
дворца, в котором в настоящее время  
находится музей.

В. Москва, улица Грибоедова - дом  
музея.

В. Москва, улица Грибоедова.

В. Москва, улица Грибоедова.

В. Москва, улица Грибоедова.

В. Москва, улица Грибоедова.

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В. Москва, улица Грибоедова.

В. Москва, улица Грибоедова.

ירושלים, ז' באייר תשל"ח  
14 במאי 1978

ס מ ר

אל: שר הכטחון

אדוני השר,

במסיבה בבית שגריר רומניה פגשתי בראש עיריית בית-לחם,  
והלז התאונן באוזני על שאין לו, ולדבריו גם לעמיתיו ראשי הערים  
ביו"ש, קשר אינטנסיבי אתר. הוא טען שהממשל חוסס את הקשר, שערכו -  
מעבר לצרכי יום-יום של האוכלוסיה - בקיום דיאלוג עם הדרך המוסמך  
בישראל.

ראש עיריית בית-לחם אמר עוד שמגע שוטף עם הדרך המדיני  
יסויע "לבלום את הקיצוניים".

ל י ד י ע ה ר.

ב ב ר כ ה

אריה באור



הרשות לתכנון החקלאות, ההתיישבות והכפר

פירוט ישובים חדשים מוצעים להקמה בשנים 1977-1981

רשימה מחוקנת ליום 15.1.77

פרוגרמה כללית

סוג הישוב

רמת הגולן

מסולב	מוטב סיחופי	1. טעל
מסולב	מוטב סיחופי או קיבוץ	2. דלוה
תעטיה	מוטב או מוטב סיחופי	3. כפר תעטיה ב'
חקלאי	קבוץ	4. גטור ב'

ג ל י ל

תעטיה	קבוץ	1. תפן ב'
תעטיה	קבוץ	2. תפן ג'
תעטיה	קבוץ	3. תפן ד'
תעטיה	קבוץ	4. תפן ה'
תעטיה	מוטב	5. תפן ו'
מסולב	קבוץ	6. רמז
מסולב	קבוץ	7. קדריט
מסולב	קבוץ	8. חלזון
מסולב	קבוץ	9. הר רביד
תעטיה	מוטב סיחופי	10. טגב ד'
תעטיה + חנוך	מוטב סיחופי	11. טגב ה'
חנוך (חל"ה)	מוטב סיחופי	12. טגב ו'
חקלאי	קבוץ	13. טורען ב'
תעטיה	מוטב	14. עמקה ב'
תעטיה	מוטב	15. עבדון ב'
מסולב	קבוץ	16. טפחות
מסולב	קבוץ	17. עמיעד ב'
מסולב	קבוץ	18. נריה



פרוגרמה כללית

סוג היטוב

סומרון

תעטיה	מוטב סיחופי	1. צור נתן ב'
(בטפול מסדד הסכון)	עירוני	2. מסחה
תעטיה	מוטב	3. חורון ד'

בקעת הירדן

תקלאי	מוטב	1. פצאל ז'
תעטיה	מוטב סיחופי	2. כוכב הסחר ג'
תעטיה	מוטב סיחופי	3. כוכב הסחר ד'

גוט עציון

תעטיה	מוטב סיחופי	1. עציון ה'
תעטיה	מוטב סיחופי	2. עציון ו'
מסלוב	מוטב	3. חפורית

דרום החברון

תעטיה	מוטב סיחופי	1. יתיר
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רצועת עזה חבל רפיח והמפעל הדרומי

תקלאי	מוטב	1. קטיף 3
תקלאי	מוטב	2. קטיף 4
תקלאי	מוטב	3. קטיף 5
תקלאי	מוטב	4. קטיף 6
תקלאי	מוטב	5. שלום 1
תקלאי	מוטב	6. שלום 2
תקלאי	מוטב	7. שלום 3
תקלאי	מוטב	8. טדות ז'
תקלאי	מוטב	9. טדות ח'
תקלאי	מוטב	10. טדות ט'
תקלאי	מוטב	11. טדות י'
תקלאי	קבוץ	12. חולות ב'
תקלאי	מוטב	13. חרובית



פרוגרמה כללית

סוג היטוב

רמת הנגב

חקלאי	קבוץ	1. רמת הנגב ב'
חקלאי	קבוץ	2. רמת הנגב ג'

ע ר ב ה

חקלאי	מושב	1. עידן
חקלאי	מושב	2. צופר
חקלאי	קבוץ	3. סמר ב'
חקלאי	מושב	4. נאות הככר ב'

מפרץ אילת

חקלאות + היירות	מושב	1. נבק
חקלאות + היירות	מושב	2. נביעות ב'



16.1.77

שר הבטחון סוקר עניינים בטחוניים:

המצב בלבנון בכלל ובדרום-הלבנון בפרט; פעולת "הגדר הטובה";  
 פעילות ירדנית מבל מנהיגים ביהודה ושומרון; סיום שריחת  
 הרעב בכלא אשקלון; שיחה עם ראש עיריית עזה.

נשאלות שאלות על-ידי השרים: י. גלילי, א. ידלון, י. אלון  
 ומ. ברעם.

שר הבטחון נשיב. ראש-הממשלה מסכם.



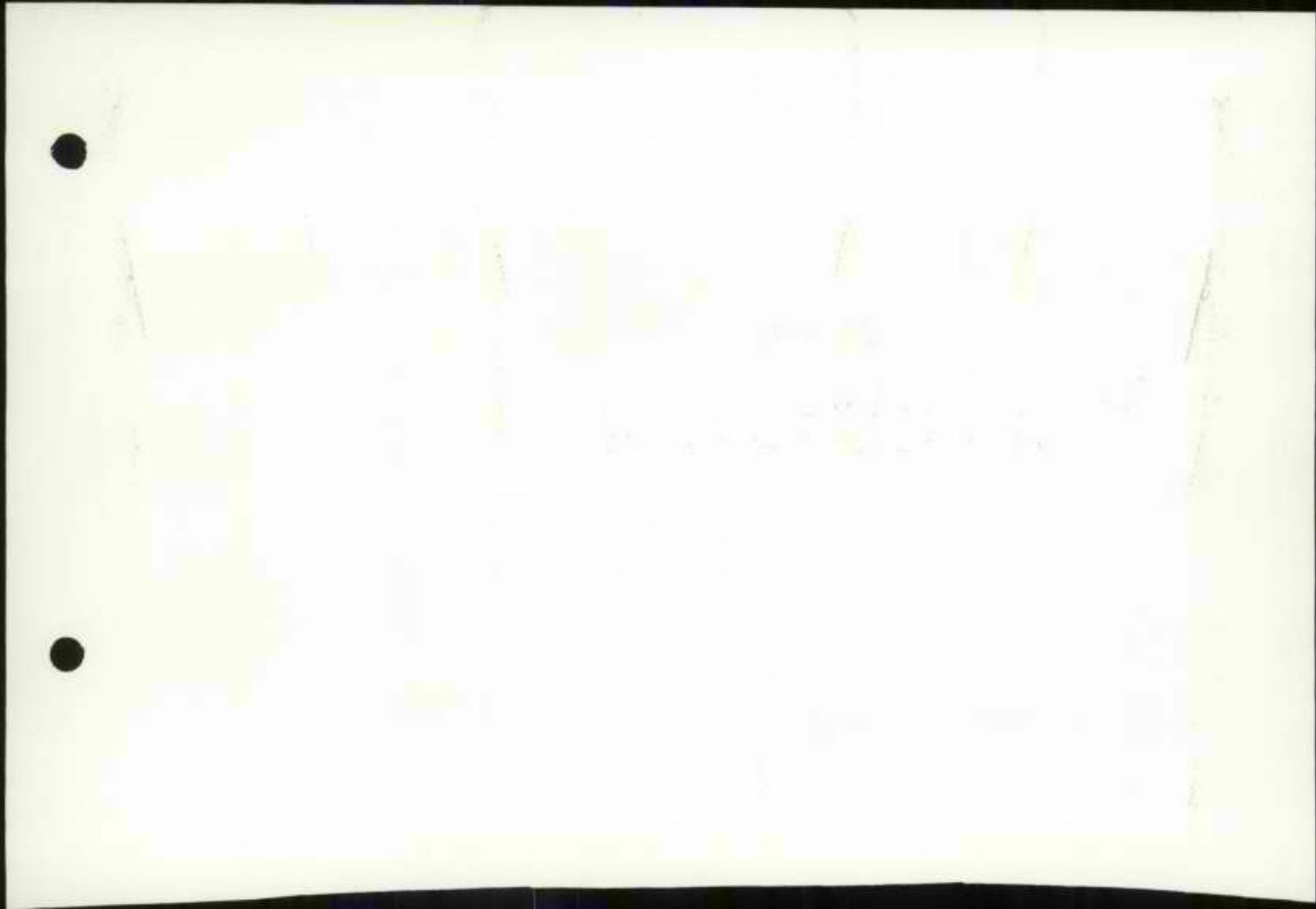
ענינים בטחוניים

28.11.76

190

שר הבטחון סוקר את המצב בדרום הלכנון וענינים בטחוניים  
אחרים. (הוא מצביע על היותו של שר הביטחון, מנחם  
בגין, משהו רציני יותר שדבר "איתם")







8.8.76

מאל 929

ח. השר ג. האוזנר שואל על הארועים ביהודה ושומרון בקשר  
להטלת מס ערך מוסף.

שר הבטחון משיב.

בחילופי הדברים משתתפים: השרים ג. האוזנר וש. פרס.



9.5.76

ראש הממשלה מודיע את סדר הדיונים.

יו"ר הועדה להתיישבות, מנכ"ל מח' ההתיישבות של הסוכנות היהודית, שר השיכון וממלא מקום קבוע ליו"ר ועדת השרים לעניני ירושלים - פותחים.

בדיון משתתפים: השרים י. אלוז, ש. פרס, י. רפאל, ש. רוזן, א. עופר, א. ידלון, ג. האוזנר, י. רבינוביץ, מ. קול, מ. ברעם, ג. יעקבי, ז. המר, ח.י. צדוק, ו. שם-טוב, י. בורג, ש. הלל, א. אוזן, י. גלילי וי. רבין

מ ח ל י ט י ■ (ב-14 קולות נגד 2)

הממשלה תעשה להגברת ההתיישבות משני עברי הקו הירוק, בהתאם להחלטות שתקבל הממשלה, על בסיס קווי היסוד של מדיניותה, שאושרו על-ידי הכנסת.

הממשלה תמנע נסיונות להתמקם או להתנחל ללא אישורה והחלטתה, בניגוד לחוק, ובניגוד למדיניות הבטחון והשלום של ישראל.

יימשך נוהל קבלת החלטות בנושא התיישבות, באמצעות הועדה להתיישבות המשותפת לממשלה ולסוכנות היהודית וועדת השרים לעניני ירושלים באישור הממשלה.

לא יוקם יישוב בקדום. במועד קרוב שייקבע ע"י הממשלה יעבור הגרעין מקדום למקום התיישבות של קבע שיוצק לו במסגרת תכניתה המאושרת של הממשלה. עד אז לא יעשה בקדום דבר העשוי להפוך את המקום לישוב של קבע.

2) קולות בעד ההצעה כי על גרעין "גוש אמונים" שהועבר זמנית מסבסטיה למחנה צבאי, לפנות מיד את קדום;

3 קולות בעד ההצעה כי "זכות היהודים להתנחל בכל חלקי ארץ-ישראל היא זכות בלתי מעורערת וקיימת לעד.

בהתאם להתחייבותה בקווי-היסוד, תמשיך הממשלה במפעל ההתיישבות העירונית והכפרית בכל חלקי ארץ-ישראל ותגייס משאבים וכוח-אדם לחידוש התנופה במפעל לאומי זה.

פעולות ההתיישבות וההתנחלות תיעשינה על-פי החלטות הממשלה ובאישורה.

הנוהל לקבלת החלטות בנושא התיישבות יימשך כמקובל באמצעות ועדת השרים להתיישבות, באישור הממשלה.

הממשלה קובעת מחדש, כי אנשי אלוז-מורה יושבים במקומם לפי היתר זמני מאת הממשלה.

אם יוברר שבקדום אין תנאים אובייקטיביים לקיום יישוב-קבע, תציע הממשלה לאנשי אלוז-מורה מקום אחר להתיישבותם במסגרת התכנית הממשלתית בשומרון.







סגן ראש הממשלה וסר הוועד סוקר את דיוני מועצת הבטחון  
ובמיוחד את תוכן בארמו של נציג ארצות-הברית במועצה.

בדיון מסתתפים הסרים: י. רבין, מ. קול, י. רפאל,  
ג. הורזבר, מ. הלל, ח.י. צדוק, א. שופר וי. אלון.

הג"ח כאלקס: ארבעה חסדי חסד  
ובאותן אבינטי י א הישר  
אלוים פא





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מוכירות הממשלה

ירושלים, כ"ט באדר ב' תשל"ו  
31 במרס 1976

(468)

אל : חברי הממשלה

מאת : מזכיר הממשלה

הנדון: שאלת ירושלים והשטחים המוחזקים בהתבטאויות  
אמריקניות רשמיות בשנים 1967-1976 ובאומי  
השגריר ח. הרצוג

מצורף בזה הציר ההשואתי ממנו צטטו ראש הממשלה וסגן ראש הממשלה  
רשר החוץ בישיבת הממשלה האחרונה ואשר אותו הבטיח שר החוץ להמציא לכל  
חברי הממשלה.

כמו-כן מצורפים בזה באומיו של השגריר ח. הרצוג במועצת הבטחון.

כזכור, המצאנו בישיבת יום א' שעבר לחברי הממשלה את באומו של בציג  
ארצות-הברית במועצה.

בברכה

גרשון אבנר





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(Mr. Allaf, Syrian Arab Republic)

In concluding, I should like to quote from my statement a week ago before the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. I said:

"The Syrian Arab Republic is committed to a just settlement which takes into consideration first and above all the attainment of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and the total liberation of the occupied Arab territories. President Assad reaffirmed last October that Syria will not accept any movement on the Syrian front unless it is coupled with an identical movement on the Palestinian front. The Syrian Arab Republic stands by this commitment."  
(A/AC.183/L.8, p. 13)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The next name on the list of speakers is that of the representative of Israel, on whom I now call.

Mr. HERZOG (Israel): I have a vague suspicion that in the course of this discussion I shall not be in total agreement in my remarks with a number of the members of this Council, and above all with my Arab colleagues. All the more reason, therefore, to open them in a spirit of agreement with my Arab colleagues, to my regret an all too infrequent phenomenon, and to join in the good wishes and congratulations which have been expressed to you, Sir, on your position as President of the Council.

I should like to add a word of welcome to the representative of the United States of America, whose rich and outstanding background will stand him in good stead in representing the greatest democracy in the world and in being the main defender of the institutions of democracy in this world Organization.

I am invariably intrigued by the Syrian Ambassador's propensity for so frequently attributing to others the wrongs which his régime represents. This came to mind when I read a very intriguing story in a current magazine. It stated:



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

"A West African assigned to the French Foreign Service for training before his country was given independence in 1960 encountered an Arab diplomat at a dinner party. The Arab was from the northern region of what was then the United Arab Republic, specifically from Damascus. He told the West African that his country should beware of the Jews. The West African said that he had never met any Jews and asked what they were like. 'They are the people who come into your country, get a stranglehold on your commerce, move up into finance, share nothing with the natives and send their profits back home,' the Arab explained. 'Ah, you must excuse me', the West African replied, 'in my country we call them Syrians.'"

I am moved by the Ambassador's concern for the holy places. Where was he in 1969 when, according to the El Hayat Daily in Beirut:

"No one in the whole Moslem world can ever forget 24 January 1965, the day when for the first time in history tanks penetrated into the great Ummayyad Mosque in Damascus, shelling the prayers. Two hundred prayers were killed on that day. The great Mosque was closed for several days in order to enable the cleaning of its walls, fences and roofs, and the Mihrab, which were soiled by the blood of the slain."

Words fail me as I contemplate this barren and futile discussion based on falsities and taking place with such an obvious lack of enthusiasm on the part of the participating members. The late Sir Winston Churchill when in opposition on one occasion accused the then incumbent Prime Minister of turning the Mother of Parliaments into a public convenience. I cannot escape the impression that the PLO has succeeded, if in nothing else, in converting this Organization into such a public convenience for its own purposes. The world is on fire, war threatens in a number of areas, the issues in Africa are momentous and vital and yet, when the PLO so willed it as a function of inter-Arab rivalry, this entire Organization is called to order by it and is obliged to cease the discussion of issues affecting the peace of the world in order to accommodate its political requirements. When it wills it, a meeting takes place; if it does not desire a meeting, it does not take place.



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

I have not had the opportunity to comment till now on this new and bizarre departure of seating an organization which is not a State and does not even claim to be a State, with rights equal to those accorded to Member States. This act is in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations which specifically allows only for the seating of States, whether Members or not, or of individuals, at this Council table. Nowhere in the Charter is there provision for the seating of an organization, certainly not with rights equal to those of Member States. The decision of the Security Council in this matter has been decried by many international jurists, such as Professor Gross of Tufts University, as a flagrant breach of the Charter of the United Nations. Mr. Harlan Cleveland, a former United States Assistant Secretary of State and Director of the Aspen Institute programme in international affairs wrote on this issue but a few weeks ago: "For the Security Council to decide that a non-governmental organization can be seated at the Council table is hardly a 'procedural matter'; it's more like an unorthodox way of amending the Charter." You have opened a Pandora's box, and I look forward with great interest to viewing the legalistic acrobatics in which many of the representatives will indulge when dissident and dissatisfied movements challenge their authority, urged on by those who can invariably be counted upon to indulge in a little innocent and not so innocent international mischief. Yes, a Pandora's box has been opened and the price for this example of moral weakness and of the triumph of expediency will regrettably be paid by this Organization. There are seated here these representatives of the only so-called liberation movement in the world whose leadership does not trust the people it is purporting to liberate sufficiently to live amongst them.



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

The President of Egypt is on record in the past weeks stating exactly what he thinks of them. In the Saudi Arabian newspaper Ukaz, he expressed the hope that "I only wish the Palestinians would give up their appearances and speak the truth for once...". Indeed, they cannot appear in any public forum in Egypt today. They are seated here, and yet it would be more than their life is worth to enter Jordan, let alone speak or be active there. The Syrian Government very rightly maintains the tightest control over them and is in the active process of turning the PLO into a Syrian-controlled organization. President Sadat, in the interview I have referred to, says that they propose to replace Mr. Arafat with their own candidate, Zuheir Muhsein, whom President Sadat characterized as a common car thief. They were free to operate in Lebanon, with what calamitous and catastrophic results we all know. This further to the callous indifference of this body to the tragedy of Lebanon.

Yes, how utterly incongruous this situation is. Here we are seated solemnly in a forum, which includes some of the great nations of the world, discussing an allegation based on malicious falsehoods, wasting our time, while next door to us in Lebanon a tragedy of horrifying proportions is unravelling, as a State Member of the United Nations disintegrates, as a million Christians live in dire peril of their lives. Here we are facing a tragedy of immense proportions in human suffering, in religious repression and in political significance, while for almost a year this Security Council has not seen fit to address itself to this calamitous disaster.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization has raised a point of order. I call on him.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): The Council is meeting this afternoon to discuss items shown in document S/Agenda/1894 of 22 March 1976, and on that agenda we read:

"Request by the Libyan Arab Republic and Pakistan for consideration of the serious situation arising from recent developments in the occupied Arab territories."



(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization)

What I am hearing now is a statement about what is happening in Lebanon, and this is not on the agenda. So may I please ask you, Mr. President, to see to it that the speakers confine themselves to the points mentioned on the agenda.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I call on the representative of the United Kingdom on a point of order.

Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): We have listened so far in this debate to five speeches which on any view of the matter could hardly be characterized as pro-Israeli. With great respect, I think that the Israeli delegation is entitled to have its say in its own way and in its own words.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I call on the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization on a point of order.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): I have not asked that the representative of the Zionist entity should not be able to make a statement. All I have asked you, Mr. President, is that the statement should be confined to the item on the agenda. In this meeting we are not discussing Northern Ireland, we are not discussing the situation in Lebanon; we are discussing the serious situation arising from the practices of the Zionist authorities against our people in occupied Palestine.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): We shall now continue our discussion. I would request the representative of Israel to continue his statement.

Mr. HERZOG (Israel): Is there no limit to the baseness of international cynical hypocrisy as reflected in this situation? According to the figures issued by the High Commissioner for Refugees on 18 February 1976, some 12,000 people have been killed in Lebanon -- more, incidentally, than the total casualties of Israel in five wars -- some 40,000 have been wounded and maimed, some 40,000 people have been directly affected by the events; between



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

10 and 20 per cent of the homes in Beirut and the surroundings have been destroyed or damaged. These were comparatively low estimates.

Whatever the figures, we are seeing -- and we in Israel see it only too clearly as the Christian refugees seek shelter in our country -- a terrifying development which threatens to escalate into a human holocaust. And what has this Security Council done? Nothing. Your silence is as shattering as that of the Christian Church which, gagged by expediency, contemplates in silence as their flock is threatened with extinction. Instead you have the time in which to debate an allegation based on a malicious falsehood, which is apparent to all, and demonstrations, to which I shall refer, primarily of incited teenagers in which there was one killed and two wounded and in connexion with which an Israeli soldier was arrested by the Israeli authorities on the charge of opening fire without orders and was charged in court last Friday. Surely, even in the one-sided orgy of hate against Israel which is begining to exercise the United Nations almost to the exclusion of everything else in the world, even common expediency would dictate a measure of proportion, if for no other reason at least for the sake of appearances.

The matter which we are discussing here is a matter sub judice in the courts of Israel. The very fact of raising the issue, therefore, at this stage focuses on a most serious development which has taken place and which must rapidly erode what little standing is left in the world to this Organization. The principle of the separation of powers whereby the executive does not control the judiciary applies in all democratic countries and is in fact also part of the United Nations system. One of the forms which it takes, or is supposed to take, in the United Nations is that when the conduct of a State is challenged two things follow. One is the notion of the impartiality of the United Nations; the other is that of giving the party which is charged a fair hearing in an atmosphere of impartiality.

Over the years, but in particular over the past five years, both these concepts have been forgotten in United Nations practice. The idea of an impartial hearing has been replaced by the idea that the United Nations organs are both prosecutor and judge.



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

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(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

In this very debate the charge was framed and judgement was formulated even before I had the opportunity to present my case. The assumption was simply made that whatever I might have to say would be totally irrelevant.

Nothing could better illustrate this point which I am trying to make than this meeting. An allegation has been preferred against the State of Israel.



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

Under the principles of natural justice it is to be assumed that the representative of the State of Israel will appear at this table and will explain his Government's side of the case. In other words, it would be logical to assume that this body would hear the accusations, would listen to Israel's reply, would deliberate and then decide. But no, these principles have been forgotten. On Friday, three days ago, members of this body had before them a draft of a resolution, a judgement, which they were already discussing amongst themselves. On Friday, three days ago, the representative of Pakistan and his Libyan colleague who called this meeting urgently and who submitted the complaint against Israel, drafted a resolution prejudging the issue and discussed this draft resolution, this judgement, with many of my colleagues at this table. Unbelievable, but true. In the type of society which I represent, this procedure is abhorrent and would be rejected out of hand. To prepare a draft resolution, a judgement, before you have heard the sides, especially when you are aware -- or most of you are aware -- that the allegation made was nothing but a damnable lie, is a travesty of all the principles that this Organization is today betraying and a form of procedure which we can only condemn. This is a truly "Alice in Wonderland" situation. "Let the jury consider their verdict", the King said... 'No, No', said the Queen of Hearts, 'sentence first, verdict afterwards'.

Had Lewis Carroll lived today, he would not have been obliged to have recourse to the creation of a wonderland to house the incongruous. He need not have done more than let Alice loose in this building. All she would have to do would be to wear a Star of David in order to hear the imperious "Off with her head" at every turn.

The failure of the United Nations to understand the operation of these fundamental principles of natural law in the international scene is mirrored by its failure to understand the operation of the same principles in the domestic scene of true democracies.

Let me address myself to the letter of complaint addressed to you, Sir, by the representatives of Pakistan and Libya. This letter also refers to the letter dated 12 March 1976 from the Deputy Permanent Representative of Saudi Arabia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

That letter states that "the ruling of the Magistrate Court was to the effect that Jews have the right to pray in Al-Aqsa Mosque". (S/12012, Annex, p. 1) I repeat: "in Al-Aqsa Mosque". This allegation is a lie, a damnable lie, in a mischievous and sinister attempt to incite religious feeling for political purposes. No such ruling was made by Judge Ruth Orr in the Magistrate's Court in Jerusalem. And it is utterly unbelievable to note that this Council, with all the reserves which it has at its disposal in order to clarify facts, should agree to be summoned docilely to consider a ruling in a magistrate's court in Jerusalem which was never made. I repeat, was never made.

Let me clarify the facts; they are, after all, relevant.

Mr. President, with your permission I should like to distribute to members of the Council a map of the area of the Temple Mount.

The Temple Mount -- the location of the First and Second Jewish Temples -- in Jerusalem is the most sacred site in the Jewish religion. In Islam, the Temple Mount is called Haram El Sharif with the Al-Aqsa Mosque which ranks third in importance as a Moslem holy site after the mosques of Mecca and Medina.

This area is composed of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, the Dome of the Rock -- the Mosque of Omar -- housing, as it does, the rock on which Abraham is reputed by Jewish tradition to have prepared his son Isaac for sacrifice, and a large open courtyard. The section of the western supporting wall of the Temple Mount which has remained intact since the destruction of the Second Temple in the year 70 A.D. is the so-called Western or Wailing Wall, which is the most hallowed spot in Jewish religious and national consciousness and tradition by virtue of its proximity to the Western Wall of the Holy of Holies in the Temple from which, according to Jewish Tradition, the Divine Presence never departed.

During the period of Jordanian occupation from 1948 to 1967, Jews were not allowed access to the Wailing Wall for prayer, this in violation of the terms of the Armistice Agreement signed by Israel and Jordan in 1949.

On 5 June 1967, Jordanian forces launched an attack on Israel in Jerusalem, which was then a divided city, and the results of the ensuing Six-Day War brought about, inter alia, the reunification of the city of Jerusalem.



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

The Government of Israel, in the same month on 28 June 1967, enacted the Protection of Holy Places Law 5272-1967, whereby unrestricted access to the respective Holy Places is guaranteed to members of all faiths. The relevant sections of the law read as follows:

"1. The Holy Places shall be protected from desecration and any other violation and from anything liable to violate the freedom of access of the members of the different religions to the places sacred to them or their feelings with regard to those places.

"2.(A) Whosoever desecrates or otherwise violates a holy place shall be liable to imprisonment for a term of seven years.

(B) Whosoever does anything likely to violate the freedom of access to the members of different religions to the places sacred to them or their feelings with regard to those places shall be liable to imprisonment for a term of five years.

"3. This law shall add to, and not derogate from, any other law.

"4. The Minister of Religious Affairs is charged with the implementation of this law, and he may, after consultation with, or upon the proposal of, representatives of the religions concerned and with the consent of the Minister of Justice make regulations as to any matter relating to such implementation.

"5. This law shall come into force on the date of its adoption by the Knesset".

The Government of Israel has to this day refrained from issuing regulations for Jewish prayer on the Temple Mount in order not to offend the susceptibilities of the Moslem population and to prevent disturbances between the religious communities.

Israel is therefore confronted with a paradoxical situation in which not only have Jews refrained from exercising their inherent right, but the Government of Israel has even brought to justice those who have attempted to pray on the Temple Mount.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

Since the unification of Jerusalem in 1967, certain Israeli groups have mounted a public and legal campaign in order to permit Jewish prayers on the Temple Mount. In 1968, an application for such permission was rejected by the Supreme Court of Israel. Supreme Court Justice Witkon in giving judgement stated that:

"the situation is a unique one and I doubt whether there is one like it in the history of our people, or anywhere else in the world. The situation concerning the Temple Mount is most sensitive and could greatly endanger intercommunal relationships. It would be the height of folly not to take full account of the implications of acceding to the plaintiffs' applications. Indeed, at this point we have reached the limits of our legal jurisdiction. A full account of the matter before us cannot be made without considering the general political and security situation. It is in the interest of the Government to act according to these considerations. The true extent of the issue goes far beyond the narrow boundaries which the applicants have drawn. The relevant considerations are far wider than any that could be submitted to this court. I therefore believe that there are no grounds for judicial interference".



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

Last year several Jews attempted to pray in the open courtyard of the Temple Mount -- I emphasize: in the open courtyard -- and were expelled by the Moslem police, guards appointed by the Islamic Waqf Bureau, who are charged with the protection of the holy places. Charges were brought against them. You can see on the map exactly where the incident took place. On 28 January 1976 a Jerusalem magistrate, Judge Ruth Orr, having heard the case, including the testimony, reached the conclusion that no Moslems had been present during the incident and that the prayer had taken place in an open area in the courtyard some 50 metres from the Gate of Pity and far removed from any mosque. She therefore acquitted the accused on the grounds that this did not constitute a case of public disorder within the meaning of the Criminal Code Ordinance, 1936, under which the charges were preferred.

On 9 February 1976 the Jerusalem District Attorney appealed -- Appeal 5/70 -- on a number of grounds, including the ground that the action by the respondents was consciously calculated by them to disturb the peace and they were therefore criminally liable for their actions, and the ground that the Magistrate's Court had been influenced by irrelevant considerations.

At no point in the case was the Al-Aqsa Mosque involved. At no point in her judgement did the Magistrate mention Al-Aqsa or any other mosque.

The Minister of Police, Shlomo Hillel, announced on 29 February 1976 that the police will abide by the Supreme Court decision and will arrest any Jew attempting to pray on the Temple Mount. The Minister for Religious Affairs, Yitzhak Raphael, stated on Israel Radio but three days ago that Jews will not be allowed to pray on the Temple Mount.

Yesterday, 21 March 1976, Supreme Court Justice Berenson, in a decision in the case of Rudolf Cohen versus the Minister of Police -- High Court Case No. 99/76 -- rejected an application for an order nisi brought by the applicant to show cause why the Israel police should not allow him to pray on the Temple Mount. On behalf of the Court, Justice Berenson ruled that the Court will not interfere with the discretion of the police, when the police considers that there is a danger of disrupting public order.



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

The Supreme Court on that occasion confirmed its own decision in High Court Case No. 222/68 of 1968, to which I referred previously.

That, therefore, is the situation today.

In the meantime, no change has occurred in the status quo, which has been maintained by the Government of Israel since 1967, whereby the Government of Israel does not permit Jewish prayer on the Temple Mount, and the Israeli police, Jews, Moslems and Christians, in addition to the Moslem police responsible for the Temple Mount area, prevent such prayer from taking place.

I can readily appreciate that the representatives of Pakistan, Libya and Saudi Arabia are perhaps incapable of comprehending a situation whereby courts of law are independent of the executive. I can understand that a situation is incomprehensible to them whereby a court of law in Israel will not be dictated to by any outside body, including the Government of Israel -- let alone this body. I do not expect them to know better. From where should they know better? But here you have a clear situation whereby the interests of the Moslems in this case are being protected by the Government of Israel. Why then seek to attack the Government of Israel for protecting Moslem interests? The reason is that this false allegation has been preferred against Israel, for political reasons, in an attempt to disrupt the harmony and successful coexistence of Jew and Arab in Jerusalem, which has become a model for the world. This is being done by certain Arab Moslem countries in an atmosphere of blackmail and pressure which is irreconcilable with the faith and beliefs of tens of millions of Moslems throughout the world.

On this occasion might I, as the representative of a country 10 per cent of whose citizens are Moslems, appeal to the Moslem nations on behalf of our Moslem citizens to turn their attention to Saudi Arabia and Jordan, which over the years have persistently prevented Israeli Moslems from carrying out the precept of the Haj, the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five basic precepts of Islam. Indeed, it is relevant to recall that for 19 years -- between 1948 and 1967 -- the gates of the mosques on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem were closed to Israeli Moslems by Jordanian order. These gates were opened to Israeli Moslems only in 1967, when the city was reunified. I reiterate that I am taking this opportunity to appeal to the Moslem nations of the world to influence their Arab brethren in favour of the Moslem citizens of Israel.



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

The letter dated 12 March 1976 from the Permanent Representative of Saudi Arabia addressed to the Secretary-General constitutes nothing but a mass of fabrications no less inaccurate and untrue than the fairy tale about prayers in the Al-Aqsa Mosque.

In that document reference is made, for example, to an article in the Israeli daily newspaper Ma'ariv on 22 July 1969, in which the late Chief Rabbi of Israel is quoted as talking about reconstructing the Temple in the court yard of Al-Haram Al-Sharif. I have here a photostatic copy of the article referred to in Ma'ariv. Here it is. I consider myself a fairly respectable scholar of the Hebrew language. If anybody here can find such a statement in this article, I should be most grateful; I just cannot find it.

Now this would be comic, as would the entire proceedings here based on a false charge about a decision in an Israeli court that was never made, if it were not so tragic, pointing as it does to a calculated attempt by means of falsehoods to incite Moslem feeling throughout the world and to invoke racial, religious and human hatred of the basest kind.

Since I am dealing with a Saudi Arabian document, I have here yet another example of Saudi Arabian literature, which is most revealing in this context. I am referring to a document issued by the Royal Consulate General of Saudi Arabia in New York containing this map in which the State of Israel does not exist -- wishful thinking, I suppose -- and in which the Persian Gulf has become the Arabian Gulf -- again, perhaps, wishful thinking.

Israel is accused of the attempted alienation of the indigenous Arab population from their history, civilization and culture by "Israelization of educational programmes and curricula". That is a lie. The reverse is true. All Arab schools in Jerusalem teach only the curriculum laid down by the Jordanian Department of Education, apart from the Church schools, which, as opposed to the situation obtaining during Jordanian rule from 1948 to 1967, are free to set their own curriculum.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

I should add, as a point of interest, that approximately 5,000 Arab teachers in the West Bank teach only the Jordanian curriculum and are considered by the Jordanian Government to be Jordanian civil servants, and their salaries are in fact paid not only by the Government of Israel but also by the Government of Jordan.

The allegation about measures designed to compel the Arab population of Jerusalem to leave their homes and property is utterly false. The only Arabs removed in the Old City of Jerusalem were those who had occupied Jewish homes in the Jewish quarter after the fighting in 1948. They were obliged to return the property to their rightful owners and were indeed compensated in order to assist them in finding new accommodations.

The same letter of 12 March 1976 refers to mass arrests in the West Bank, and we have heard moving words in this regard from representatives who have preceded me in speaking here. Let me put the entire picture into its correct perspective. We are talking of a total of arrests in the West Bank in the past month of 48 persons.



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

Finally, we come to the utterly preposterous accusations concerning "suppression of Islamic and Christian heritage and institutions". This is just malicious nonsense, as anybody who will take the trouble to visit Jerusalem can find out for himself. There has never been such an impressive expansion and development of religious life in the city for all faiths as has occurred over the past few years.

Perhaps nothing could more readily illustrate the utter baselessness of this debate than the remarks of the Jordanian representative on the Al-Ibrahimi Mosque, which is an utter travesty not only of facts but of history. We are referring to the Tomb of the Patriarchs in the City of Hebron, known to the Jewish people as the Cave of Machpellah. The Cave of Macpellah is a Jewish holy place, housing as it does the Tombs of the Jewish patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and their respective wives, Sarah, Rebecca and Leah -- a fact conveniently ignored by the Jordanian representative.

For the benefit of any representatives who may not be particularly familiar with the Bible, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were Jewish and were the early Jewish patriarchs. The story of the acquisition of the land and the tomb by Abraham is told in chapter 23 of the Book of Genesis.

The Jordanian Government's record in respect of holy places under its control surely denies it any moral standing in such issues. Jewish access to the Cave of Macpellah or the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron was forbidden by the Jordanian authorities. The overriding principles guiding Israel's policy regarding all the holy places have been, and are, to guarantee free access to members of all faiths, and to ensure orderly conditions of worship to members of every religion. This principle applies also to the Cave of Machpellah, and the sanctity of that holy shrine is strictly observed. Nothing has been done to minimize in any way the responsibility exercised by the Moslem Waqf over the Cave: the Waqf -- the Moslem custodian -- holds the keys to the Cave, and its personnel continues to be responsible for the daily opening and closing of the Cave, as well as for its maintenance.



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

The orderly conduct of Moslem prayers has in no way been interfered with, nor has the public call to prayer been tampered with in any way. It is untrue that, as was alleged here, prayers for the Moslem dead have been forbidden or restricted in any manner, and funeral services continue to be officiated in the large Hall of Isaac and Rebecca. The only change made has been one requiring Moslem funeral processions to leave the Cave by the south-western gate in order to spare the feelings of Jewish worshippers praying in the Abraham and Sarah Hall.

Moslem religious teachers and personnel of the Cave have in no way been molested. On the contrary, they have been, and continue to be, accorded the respect due to them, and all the assistance necessary to carry out their duties has been made available to them.

Israel is proud of its record in respect of the holy places of all faiths. Israel policy will continue to adhere strictly to the fundamental principle of free access for prayer and worship by all believers of all faiths to all holy places.

This allegation about a shrine which is visited daily by hundreds and sometimes thousands of visitors from all over the world is patently untrue. It is so obviously a repetition of the tactic of the big lie, and yet is so sinister in all its horrible implications, designed as it is to incite millions of people who are ignorant of the facts. It is but another example of the level to which we have been dragged down in this Organization by those who are rapidly taking control and turning it into a centre of uncontrollable hate and irreconcilable division.

So much for the baseless allegations in the documents referred to. I will not engage in a time-consuming refutation of everything that has been said. I leave it to the members of the Council to draw their own inference from what has already proved to be false as to the remainder of the allegations.

We have listened to the representatives of Jordan and Egypt. For 19 years the Jordanians controlled the West Bank, and the Egyptians controlled the Gaza Strip. For 19 years they had it in their power to do everything that they want Israel to do today. Why did they not do it? Were there no Palestinian Arabs between 1948 and 1967 in the West Bank or Gaza? I ask those who were discussing this problem.



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

For 19 years, two Arab States had it in their power to do exactly that. Why did they not do it? Why in the course of 19 years was not even a local central administration set up in the West Bank by the Jordanians, or in Gaza by the Egyptians? Why in the 19 years before 1967 did not the Palestinian Arabs in the territories administered by Israel today achieve what they have achieved under Israel as far as the control of their domestic affairs is concerned?

Let us look at the situation in the West Bank under Jordan. I quote from a document from that period:

"In January 1966 the Jordanian authorities arrested 200 persons. In April they arrested 2,000 persons in the West Bank. In May, mass demonstrations took place in East Jerusalem, Hebron and Ramallah. The police used force, closed down schools, arrested hundreds of persons. In July, disturbances and mass demonstrations broke out in Nablus. The Jordanian police used tear gas, 12 persons were wounded, and 250 arrested. November saw a series of stormy disturbances and clashes between civilians and police and army forces, with numerous casualties. On 21 November shop and business strikes broke out in the Ramallah area. The army was called in to intervene, and employed tanks. The Jordanian authorities imposed a curfew and closed all the schools. Similar events occurred through November and December in most other towns. On 24 November the Jordanian army again employed tanks and tear gas. Twenty demonstrators were killed and many more wounded. On 8 December 1966 a general business strike was put down by force by the police and the Jordanian army. On 13 January 1967 the population of Nablus rose up. Barricades were put up in the streets. The Jordanian army had to surround the city and suppress resistance by force."

If you are interested in more, then I recommend, Mr. President and members of the Council, that you read the chapter, "Hussein Versus the Palestinians, 1964-1972", in this biography of King Hussein.

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

Why is it that the major pitched battles carried out by the PLO have been waged against Arab Governments and Arab authority -- in 1970, in the so-called Black September, against the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and this year as a major element in the destruction of the Lebanese State?

And now to the disturbances in the West Bank. The incidents in the West Bank are a result of demonstrations by youngsters who have been incited on the basis of false propaganda, such as the fairy tale about prayer in Al-Aqsa, to throw stones and riot. The bulk of the population in the West Bank is not involved in these events; and even today, as I sit here, some 70,000 Arabs from the territories administered by Israel came over to Israel, as they do every day, to work.



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

Today Israel is administering the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Some representatives will doubtless have noted that the situation in the Gaza Strip is marked by complete calm and an absence of any form of disturbance, while the incidents that are taking place are happening in the West Bank. The reason is that, in the pursuance of the enlightened and liberal policy which Israel has applied in the territories administered by the Government of Israel, free and secret elections are scheduled to be held in the West Bank on 12 April.

The nature of the situation in the West Bank being what it is, those elections could well prove to be a tour de force for the first time amongst Arabs on the Palestinian issue. The PLO by its very nature -- a grouping of terrorist organizations which rules by the muzzle of the kalachnikov rifle and the assassin's bullet -- cannot possibly entertain free and secret elections. That is not how its leaders attained their present positions. Accordingly, they are endeavouring as they did four years ago, immediately before the previous elections, to arouse opinion, to incite, to inflame passions in order to head off the elections, the results of which might be somewhat embarrassing for them and which might well bring to the fore a new Palestinian Arab leadership of a responsible nature. They have not succeeded in disrupting elections in the past. They will not succeed this time.

At this Council table on 12 January the representative of the PLO already launched an attack on these elections. This is what is behind these disturbances and that is why they are taking place in the West Bank and not in Gaza.

Here is a blatant attempt by that organization to disrupt orderly elections and to prevent the creation of any alternative grouping amongst the Palestinian Arabs which might give hope for a movement in the direction of peace. The Government of Israel will not be deterred from its policy of preventing that disruptive organization from attempting to bring chaos to the West Bank. They will not succeed, I assure the Council, in trying to do in the West Bank what they attempted to do in Jordan in the bloody days of the so-called "Black September" in September 1970 or what they have succeeded in doing in the tragedy of Lebanon.



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

These disruptive elements about which the President of Egypt said only a few weeks ago that he does not know what they want, which, despite the fact that the representative of Jordan supports them with such moving fervour in this building, are not allowed to show their faces in Jordan and which are in the process of becoming an instrument of Syrian policy, will not be allowed by the Government of Israel to perpetrate their nefarious design against the constructive approach to the problem of the Middle East and of the Palestinian Arabs and will not be permitted by us in any manner to try to move towards the achievement of their aim of destroying the State of Israel. Let that be clear beyond all measure of doubt.

I think that it is time that the world awoke to the inherent destructiveness of the Arab purpose in the world today. The Lebanese crisis highlighted this situation. An Arab nation has been torn apart, and yet the Arab world with its Arab League and Arab summits was entirely incapable of doing anything, because it was torn and disunited and working at cross-purposes at all times. What has happened in Lebanon today should be an object lesson to the world about the so-called unity of the Arabs. Is it not time that the world, instead of looking at propaganda, looked at the facts in the face? Look at the Arab world today: Arabs slaughtering Arabs in Lebanon, Arabs slaughtering Arabs in Oman, and Arabs facing Arabs in battle array in the Sahara, on the Algerian-Moroccan border. For five long years in recent times Arabs waged a bloody war against Arabs in Yemen. Arabs struggled in mortal combat in the streets of Amman in a PLO endeavour to destroy the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan but a few years ago. Tens of thousands of Egyptian Arabs are being expelled these very days from Libya by Arabs. But that is not the only negative aspect of their inherent make-up. In addition to destroying each other, they are incapable of tolerating the presence of any other element in their area.

One cannot ignore the attitude of the Moslem Arabs to various cultural entities in the Middle East. Look at the fate of the Syrian Christians in Iraq and of the Copts in Egypt. One has but to contemplate the sombre and grim fate of the Kurds in Iraq. Hundreds of thousands of blacks were slaughtered



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

and oppressed in southern Sudan. And then we saw and in fact are witnessing a major move to eliminate the Christian community from Lebanon and thus to realize Yasser Arafat's avowed aim -- to quote from a speech of his in Libya last year -- that "there will be no presence but the Arab presence in the area". Add to all this the fate of over 800,000 Jews who lived in Arab countries and have had to leave them in the last 25 years.

In 1947 when the Jewish community accepted the United Nations decision dividing what was then Palestine into two States, one Jewish and the other Arab, the Arab States rejected it and chose instead to try to destroy the infant State of Israel by force of arms. In the subsequent fighting, the Jordanian Army seized the eastern half of Jerusalem and the historic walled Old City, which contains religious shrines sacred to Christians, Jews and Moslems.

For the next 19 years until 1967 Jerusalem remained a city divided, cut in half by barbed wire and ugly walls. For 19 years the Jordanian rule in the eastern half of the city constituted a record of deliberate desecration of Holy Places and complete disregard for an international agreement to provide free access to religious shrines.

It is a record of hundreds of holy scrolls and books reverently preserved for generations plundered and burnt to ashes; of synagogues razed to the ground or converted into hen-houses and stables filled with dung-heaps, garbage and carcasses. It is a record of tens of thousands of tombstones torn up and used as building materials for public latrines and army barracks; of graves gripped open and bones scattered to the four winds and an asphalt road cut through the pitiful remains to provide a short-cut to a new hotel built incongruously on top of the sacred Mount of Olives.

In 1949 Jordan signed an Armistice Agreement with Israel. Article 8 prescribed "free access to the Holy Places and to cultural institutions and use of the Jewish Cemetery on the Mount of Olives". The Jordanian Government never honoured its undertaking. For the first time in centuries Jews were completely barred from the Old City of Jerusalem and its Holy Places. They had no access to the cemetery on the Mount of Olives or any free



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

access to their cultural institutions on Mount Scopus. The functioning of those institutions stopped until June 1967. Moslem residents of Israel were prevented by Jordan from visiting Islam's Holy Places in East Jerusalem.

The Jordanian Government was not content to divide the city in two and ban all and any movements of Israelis -- Jews and Moslems -- to the part which it had annexed by force. It began systematically to eliminate every trace of the city's Jewish past. The Jewish Quarter was laid waste. Fifty-eight synagogues, some of great antiquity, were destroyed or desecrated. Synagogues that were not destroyed were used by the Jordanians as toilets, stables and hen-coops. In the cemetery on the Mount of Olives, hallowed to Jews for thousands of years, 38,000 of the 50,000 tombstones were torn up to pave roads, build fences and install latrines. I myself found the graves of my grandparents and my great-grandmother on the Mount of Olives in June 1967 desecrated, their tombstones destroyed.

For 19 years Jerusalem was bisected by barbed wire and concrete barriers. In May 1967 the Temple Mount which we are discussing today became a military camp for the Jordanian National Guard.

During its occupation of East Jerusalem, the Jordan Government forbade Jewish entry and set out to Arabize the city and erase its Jewish identity; it took action against the Christian inhabitants as well.

In 1958, the Amman Parliament passed a law requiring all members of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre to adopt Jordanian citizenship. Since the fifth century members of that Brotherhood had invariably been Greek.

In 1965 Jordanian legislation was passed restricting the development of Christian institutions by cancelling their right to acquire land in or near Jerusalem.

In 1966 Christian schools were compelled to close on Fridays, the Moslem day of rest; Christian education was restricted, and privileges previously enjoyed by Christian religious institutions were abolished.



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

During the entire period, as these foul acts of desecration were being perpetrated against places holy to the Jewish people, the world remained silent. There was no Security Council meeting when Jewish synagogues were burnt and Jewish graves were defiled, when Jewish shrines were closed off. Indeed, small wonder, when one considers the one-sided pattern of discrimination against our people which characterizes the deliberations in this Organization. I can only repeat the words of a distinguished predecessor of mine in this body:

"I heard not one expression of dismay across the entire human scene when Jordan destroyed ancient synagogues in the Old City in an orgy of hate,"

Abba Eban, Israel's Foreign Minister, told the General Assembly on 12 July 1967.

He went on:

"No United Nations organ expressed any dismay when Jordan, for twenty years, refused any access to the oldest and most revered of all Holy Places: the Western Wall. Nor was there any expression of dismay when tombstones on the Mount of Olives were uprooted to build walls in secular buildings ...".

(A/PV.1550, para. 100)

The city of Jerusalem is a city of unique character. It is a Holy City sacred to millions of members of the three great religions, and its holy shrines and traditions are the heritage of mankind. It is this unique character of Jerusalem that makes all the considerations affecting it so difficult to limit and delineate -- the demographic and the urban, the cultural and the legal, the historical and the religious, the aesthetic and the economic, the parochial and the international are all inextricably associated in the City of Jerusalem.

In the course of history Jerusalem has known many rulers. But only for Jews has it been the capital of the nation living in our land. At all other times Jerusalem was ruled by foreigners who treated it as a provincial town. The Jews of Jerusalem today are the inhabitants with the longest unbroken historical association with it. The story of Jewish attachment to Jerusalem under alien domination is that of an unremitting struggle to preserve a Jewish presence in it, never allowing the link to be broken.

While the Jordanian Government destroyed the ancient Jewish Quarter in the Old City and barred Jews from entry even as tourists, thus preventing them from worshipping at what I have described as Judaism's holiest place,



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

Jerusalem today is an open city -- open to all its citizens, Jews, Moslems and Christians, and to members of all faiths from all nations. It is open even to those who claim to be Israel's enemies. To date, millions of tourists from all over the world, including hostile Arab States, have visited Jerusalem and have enjoyed freedom of access to and worship at their respective holy places.

But Jerusalem is more than a conglomeration of holy places. It is a city, a living and breathing entity, a human community engaged in all the traffic and commerce of everyday life. It is a home for over 215,500 Jews, 61,600 Moslems and 11,500 Christians of all denominations -- Armenians, Copts, Orthodox, Latins, Roman Catholics and Protestants. To all these people Jerusalem is a city in which they work and live, raise families and acquire their education. The unique and the common are deeply mingled in the life of the people of Jerusalem, and it is the first time in history that Jerusalem has reached such a level of harmony and peaceful coexistence among its various communities.

In view of Jerusalem's special universal significance, it was only natural that many distinguished personalities from all over the world should volunteer or be sought out to give advice on the city's future character. Seven years ago, Mayor Teddy Kollek decided to give form and organization to this idea, and he invited some 70 outstanding international personalities -- mainly non-Jews -- to join, as members of the Jerusalem Committee, a world advisory council concerned with the beautification and restoration of the city. The committee's first meeting took place in 1969, and its second session was held in June 1973. Let me quote from the last report of that committee:

"In a world of distressing frictions and intolerance, Jerusalem observes and encourages religious and communal freedom, full access to its Holy Places and shrines of worship, a deep respect for the cultural and historical heritage of all its citizens, and beyond that, for all mankind. Attempts to break the peace through acts of terror or civil disturbance that have recently occurred or may recur should not deflect or deter the responsible guardians of this universal city from the continued policy and practice of ever-increasing inter-communal co-operation.

"The Committee would like to acknowledge the successful efforts made in the field of education. Everywhere we observed the building of new schools, appropriately located, serving all ethnic and religious groups.



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

Especially does the Committee applaud the action within the educational system of Jerusalem, permitting schools, Christian and Moslem alike, to allow their students to choose a curriculum that gives them the opportunity of choice to continue their education in Israeli universities as well as universities in Arab countries.

"The Committee finds it necessary to express its conviction that Jerusalem is and should remain a united City, humane and universal. In the views of the Committee, those at present responsible for administering the City have proved themselves conscious of the trust to serve the best interests not only of its inhabitants but of all mankind.

"Finally, the Committee calls upon the peoples of the world and on all international organizations to recognize their responsibility to assist those engaged in planning and executing the restoration and development of this universal City, Jerusalem, by intensifying their interest and concern and providing support for this important work."

Finally, in the past 2,000 years the city of Jerusalem has not known a more enlightened administration than today's, dedicated to the principles of human tolerance and peaceful coexistence between the various communities which comprise the human mosaic of that unique, immortal and beautiful city. Our Jewish sages said, "Ten measures of beauty were given to the world; nine of them belong to Jerusalem".

Under Mayor Kollek's dynamic and imaginative leadership -- and here I should mention in parentheses that he received more votes in the Arab section, in East Jerusalem than any Arab mayor before him had received in that part of the town -- the city has become a place of beauty in which the cultural, religious and aesthetic mingle together to give Jerusalem its peculiar and unique character. Since the days of King David, when the city was established as the capital of our nation, it has continued to be the centre of Jewish life, hope and yearning. Three times a day for thousands of years Jews have prayed, "To Jerusalem thy city shall we return in joy". For thousands of years, Jews have re-echoed the Psalmists' oath, "If I forget thee O' Jerusalem may my right hand forget its cunning".

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

I offer no excuse for our presence in Jerusalem. I owe no apology. We are there as of right -- a right that has been hallowed by our Bible; a right which has been sanctified by our history, by our sacrifice, by our prayers and by our yearnings; a right which has been strengthened and vindicated by virtue of our creating the only liberal administration giving complete freedom of worship to all faiths which the city has known for the first time without any restraint whatsoever in 2,000 years..

Before the capital cities of the countries represented here -- with the possible exception of China -- existed, Jerusalem was the capital city of the Jewish Commonwealth. While wild herds roamed on the sites of what are today the great capital cities of the world, the prophets of Israel were walking in the streets of Jerusalem and proclaiming in their immortal words the great principles of humanity to mankind for the first time. When many of the great civilizations of today were but primitive societies, the judges of Israel were dispensing justice in Jerusalem on the basis of one of the most advanced and enlightened codes of law in history.



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

We are proud of Jerusalem and all that it stands for. We are proud of the trust we hold in respect of the two other great religions in our capital city. We are proud of the manner in which we carry out this trust before history. It is all there in the open for everyone to see.

Let us not allow the purveyors of hate and discrimination whose diatribes have become the common parlance of this Organization to deflect us from continuing on the road towards peace in the Middle East, with the inspiring model of Jerusalem as it is today as our example. May the prayers of Jews, the call of the muezzin and the pealing of the church bells resound above the majestic mountains of Jerusalem and combine in a prayer for peace in the City of Peace.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The next speaker on the list is the representative of Yugoslavia, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

Mr. PETRIC (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, I am gratified to have this opportunity to greet you in your capacity as President of the Security Council for the month of March as well as representative of Benin, a friendly African and non-aligned country which, like my own, is lending assistance and support to peoples and liberation movements that are fighting for freedom and independence.

We also welcome the arrival of Mr. Scranton in his new capacity as the United States Permanent Representative and we hope to have fruitful co-operation with him.

The most recent aggressive and repressive acts of the occupation forces of Israel in the West Bank, in Jerusalem and in other occupied territories are directed against the Palestinian population living in those territories, with the aim of drastically altering their demographic structure. The changes that the Israeli occupier is trying to introduce into those territories, concerning their demography and administration, in the domain of the economy and in the field of religion, constitute a short-sighted and hopeless



23.3.16

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Mr. HERZOG (Israel): As I listened to the vicious diatribe from most of the speakers until now, it occurred to me that never has the injunction requiring those people who live in glass houses not to throw stones been so applicable. Here one has a group of nations practising everything that they have attributed to Israel, violating every human and natural law in the conduct of their own affairs, engaged in racism as an integral part of their legal system, guilty of massacres, of mass arrests and characterized one by the other as a mass prison.

This is the characterization of Syria in a semi-official Egyptian newspaper, Al-Gumhuriya, in an article only a few months ago. on 9 November 1975, headlined "Syria is one big prison". These are countries which deny any elementary human rights, countries such as Jordan and Egypt which did not do in the West Bank or Gaza what they had in their power to do and what they ask Israel to do today, countries which are actively engaged in all forms of mediaeval, Byzantine types of suppression, torture and oppression and international intrigue which defy description; countries which carry out a continuous and persistent policy of the prosecution of minorities, countries whose conduct in respect of the basic principles of natural law and humanity is a disgrace to mankind, countries such as Yugoslavia, in which we learned the other day that a lawyer was sent to gaol for defending his client.

Indeed, if I mention Yugoslavia, it is because the internal problems in that country must truly be grave if the Ambassador of Yugoslavia feels obliged to divert attention from them by propelling himself to the forefront on every occasion when an anti-Semitic or anti-Israel free-for-all is taking place.

I could go on, but this whole cynical exercise is so disgusting that it hardly merits the time we are taking.

Let me give you a bit of advice, Mr. President. If you want to know the true character of these countries, read what each one of them says about the other. There is a saying in Arabic to the effect that no one knows your secrets except your God and your neighbours. The Arab neighbours know each other so well that I do not have to elaborate in any way on what they say about each other for you to understand their nature.



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

I was very moved by the concern of the representative of the Soviet Union for the religious rights of the Moslem community in Jerusalem. At least he might have limited himself to the falsehoods in the Arab accusations levelled against us. But he goes even further and talks of the use of Israeli forces in Al Aqsa Mosque. May I express the hope here -- which, I am sure, is reflected by millions of Moslems throughout the world -- that his intervention indicates a major departure in Soviet Government policy in regard to the practice of religion.

The representative of the Soviet Union talked about the "anti-human" act involved in attempting to influence school curricula in Jerusalem. I pointed out that these curricula are Jordanian and not Israeli or Christian in accordance with the desire of each Church. I am deeply moved by the solicitude of the representative of the Soviet Union for freedom of education, which, I would like to believe, indicates a new development in the Soviet Union's approach to this freedom.

These two departures prompt me to express the hope that the Soviet Union will now change its attitude and its behaviour towards the Jewish people in the Soviet Union and towards its discriminatory behaviour in respect of Jewish freedom of religion and that it will, since he considers attempting to impose school curricula an anti-human act, remove all disabilities from Jewish education in the Soviet Union and will allow our people to maintain their own curriculum and their links to our ancient heritage. The Soviet Government's attitude to its Jewish population should exercise it before it begins to meddle in other affairs. Indeed, were the Soviet Union to cease meddling in the Middle East, we might achieve peace. Let me quote President Sadat of Egypt, only a few weeks ago, on the role of the Soviet Union in the Middle East, as reported in an Egyptian newspaper:

"The USSR communicates things to certain Arab sides in order to turn us one against each other. It is resorting to the policy of turning the régimes against each other as usual. It is turning Syria against Egypt and Egypt against Syria; Syria against Iraq and Iraq against Syria; Egypt against Lybia and Lybia against Egypt -- and the process is going on."



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

The representative of Egypt asked why the United Nations Commission on the territories is not allowed to visit the territories. He knows as well as I do. He knows that the Government of Israel at the time that that Commission was appointed said that it would only co-operate with that Commission if, in addition to examining Israeli practices in the territories, it would examine Arab practices against Jewish populations in Arab countries. This was refused, and that is the reason why we refused to have anything to do with that Commission.

I was deeply moved by the moving concern of the Egyptian representative for the Palestinian Arabs, but frankly I am perplexed. I have been reading his President's interviews and speeches of late. I read them all, and I detect a certain dissonance between his remarks and those of his President with respect to this issue. I am quite convinced that many of the representatives here will join me in envying him his freedom of action.

He talks about Gaza. Let me quote from a Saudi Arabian newspaper published in 1966, from a resident of Gaza quoted in this newspaper at a time that the Egyptian occupation was in force.

"Gaza is the only remnant of our seized country. I wish it had also been taken so that we could at least know that the one who profanes our honour, hurts us and tortures us is the foreign Zionist oppressor, Ben Gurion, and not an Arab brother named Abdel Nasser. Consider the attitude of Nasser's administration to us and you will find that the Jews under Hitler did not suffer as we do under Nasser. First of all, in order to leave our camps and go to Cairo or to Alexandria or other cities, we have to go through a long drawn-out process. Anyone who requests a travel permit must undergo an inspection and suspicion is cast on his loyalty. The scheming and unscrupulous investigators are liable to land in prison anyone who asks for a travel permit".

Or, let me quote Jidda Radio in Saudi Arabia, again during the period of Egyptian occupation:

"Let us now examine the Cairo rulers' attitude to the Palestinians. Saudi Arabia opened its doors wide to the people of Palestine at a time when Egypt shut its door in their faces. We are aware of the laws which



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

prohibit all Palestinians from working in Egypt with or without pay, a condition which is stamped on the passport of every Arab who enters Cairo. On this occasion, we would like to ask Cairo what is this Iron Curtain which Abdel Nasser and his cohorts have lowered around Gaza and the refugees there? The Military Governor in Gaza has prohibited any Arab from travelling to Cairo by air without a military permit, which is valid for 24 hours. Imagine, Arabs, how Nasser, who claims to be the pioneer of Arab nationalism, treats the Arab people of Gaza, Gaza and its miserable people who starve while the Egyptian Governor of Gaza and his officers and soldiers bask in the wealth of the Strip".

The representative of Jordan represents the country which was the first country in history to bombard the Holy City of Jerusalem. The second time they did it was in 1967, and if you just want to get a measure of the veracity of his remarks, he has talked about Mamillah cemetery being destroyed. Now, I know that quite a number of people seated in this hall have been to Jerusalem and are very familiar with the Mamillah cemetery, which is part of the national park in Jerusalem. They pass it every day when they are at the King David Hotel, and each one of you who has been in Jerusalem of late will know that this is a complete and utter falsehood.

Now he talks about the events of 1948. Let me quote from the book published by Colonel Abdullah Al Tal, who commanded part of the Jordanian forces at that time. In his memoirs, published in 1959 in Arabic at Cairo, because in the meantime as part of the normal procedures that we are aware of in the Arab world he had been obliged to leave Jordan, he says:

"The operations of calculated destruction were set in motion. I knew that the Jewish quarter was densely populated with Jews who caused their fighters a good deal of interference and difficulty. I embarked, therefore, on the shelling of the quarter with mortars, creating harassment and destruction. Only four days after our entry into Jerusalem the Jewish quarter had become a graveyard. Death and destruction reigned over it".

The French consul in Jerusalem, the late Mr. Neuville whom I knew very well at the time, sent a cable to the President of the Security Council which was read by the President at the 301st meeting of the Security Council on 22 May 1948:



(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

"The Arab Legion has heavily shelled the New City and the Jewish quarter in the Old City during the night. The shelling, which started again this morning, has been going on for about two hours. The destruction of the city is proceeding at an ever-increasing rate". (301st meeting, p.28) So much for what happened in 1948 and for the tales told by my Jordanian colleague.

I must say that is very moving indeed to hear the solicitude of the Jordanian representative for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The fact is that the PLO dare not show their noses in Jordan today. Let me quote from two statements recently made. One was made by Mr. Farouk Khaddoumi, a member of the PLO Executive Committee, only a few weeks ago. He said:

"The PLO demands a political and military presence in Jordan, an objective which" -- in his opinion -- "will necessitate a change of the régime in Jordan".

Or Yasser Arafat, who, on 10 November 1974 in a letter addressed to the Congress of Jordanian Students in Baghdad, wrote:

"Jordan is ours. Palestine is ours, and we shall build our national entity on the whole of this land after having freed it both from the Zionist presence and the reactionary traitor presence".

How completely unreal this whole situation really is. Let me ask the representative of Jordan: When the Syrians stabbed you in the back on 9 September 1970 as your forces fought against the PLO in Amman, from whom did you ask for air support against the advancing Syrian tanks?" If you have forgotten, please refresh your memory by reading the Kalb book entitled, Kissinger.

If the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is still independent, it is thanks in no small measure to Israel.

And as we are already talking about occupation let me quote from an interview given by Arab inhabitants of the West Bank who came to Lebanon in 1971, an interview in the Beirut daily, al-Hawadith, written on 23 April 1971. It was a form of public opinion poll about Israeli rule carried out among the West Bankers visiting Lebanon.



(Mr. Herzog. Israel)

"Those arriving from the West Bank define the situation thus: We have not forgotten nor will we ever forget the type of rule which degraded our honour and trampled the human feelings within us, a rule which they built by their inquisition and the boots of their desert men. We have lived a long period under the humiliation of Arab nationalism, and it pains us to say that we had to wait for the Israeli conquest in order to become aware of human relationships with citizens".

(Mr. Herzog, Israel)

Finally, we were asked by the Syrian representative why we were so concerned with Lebanon. Have you ever heard such a cynical question? How revealing it is. Lebanon is bleeding, Lebanon is being torn apart, and we are sitting here engaged in a useless diatribe which can bring no good either to the Israel-Arab problem or to the Middle East or to the peace of the world.

From the time of our meeting yesterday morning to our meeting this morning, 150 people have been killed in Lebanon. And yet this world body is cynically ignoring all that is going on there.

I wish to make just one remark in conclusion. In the process of solving international problems by means of producing facile slogans -- and what is happening in the Middle East is a classic example -- the magic formula of the 1967 borders is produced; indeed, it has been produced again this morning. Everybody pulls this solution out of the hat -- including my Western friends: "If only we would pull back to the 1967 borders, all would be solved".

But for 19 years we sat along the 1967 borders, until the Arabs attacked in 1967. They talk today of aggression in 1967. They talk of occupied territories. But they very conveniently forget the reasons for the occupation of the territories, the historical facts of 1967. For 19 years we sat along those borders. Did they make peace? Did they negotiate for peace?

This is not the problem. If it were the problem, why was it not solved long ago? Why should there have been an Arab attack in 1967? The answer is that, I repeat, this is not the problem. It is not a question of territory; it is not a question of Palestinians -- although both issues are very important. It is a question of a change of heart in respect of Israel on the part of the Arab countries. Until that change is achieved, no meaningful advance can really be made. I repeat that at the heart of the conflict lies the Arab refusal to recognize the right of the Jewish nation to self-determination and national sovereignty. That is the crux of the problem. That is what we should be dealing with if we really wish to tackle the problem, rather than engaging in this facile and useless diatribe now going on here.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.



(א) הרצל מאזכר  
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24.3.76

MOULAYE EL HASSEN (MAURITANIA) SAID THAT FOR SEVERAL DAYS, THE WORLD HAD WITNESSED THE BLOODY CLASHES BETWEEN THE ARAB INHABITANTS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND THE ISRAELI FORCES. THESE EVENTS HAD BEN WITNESSED ON UNITED STATES TELEVISION, WHICH WAS HARDLY ANTI ISRAELI OR PRO PALESTINIAN, HE STATED.

THE TRUE COLOURS OF "THE ONLY DEMOCRACY IN THE AREA" HAD BEEN SHOWN, HE WENT ON. THE METHODS WERE REMINISCENT OF THOSE USED AT SHARPEVILLE BY THE SOUTH AFRICANS.

CONTINUING, THE REPRESENTATIVE MAURITANIA SAID THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES HAD BEEN PHYSICALLY CHANGED, WITH DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES THROUGH ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS AND RELIGIOUS SACRILEGE.

"THE LOWEST FORM OF COLONIALISM WAS SAID TO BE APARTHEID". MR EL HASSEN WENT ON. ISRAELI COLONIALISM, HOWEVER, HAD DISPLACED A WHOLE PEOPLE. EVEN THE APARTHEID REGIME HAD HESITATED TO DO THAT.

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF MAURITANIA WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE EVENTS OF THE WEST BANK H'D EXPOSED ISRAELI METHODS AND HAD SHOWN THE DETERMINATION OF THE PEOPLE TO FIGHT AGAINST THE OCCUPATION UNTIL VICTORY WAS ACHIVED.

THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM WOULD ONLY BE RESOLVED WHEN THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS WERE RESTORED AND ISRAEL HAD WITHDRAWN FROM ALL THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, HE STATED. THE WORLD WAS BEGINNING TO REALIZE THIS.

HE SAID THAT ISRAEL ONLY DELUDED ITSELF BY VARIOUS CONFLICTS AMONG THE ARAB FAMILY. "BUT WHENEVER A FOREIGN ELEMENT COMES IN, SOLIDARITY REASSERTS ITSELF AND THE REJECTION PROCESS TAKES PLACE".

THE COUNCIL HAD TO MAKE ISRAEL UNDERSTAND THE TRUTH REGARDING THE NEED TO RESTORE THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS AND TO END ITS OCCUPATION, HE DECLARED.

המזכיר הכללי ד"ר יצחק מורנו

MR HERZOG (ISRAEL) : I SPOKE YESTERDAY ABOUT THE EXHIBITION OF THOSE WHO LIVE IN GLASS HOUSES THROWING STONES. I DO NOT THINK IT COULD HAVE BEEN BETTER ILLUSTRATED THAN BY THE LAST FIVE SPEAKERS WHO HAVE REGALED US. THE REPRESENTATIVES WILL HAVE NOTED A CONFIRMATION OF WHAT I STATED





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EARLIER ON IN THE DEBATE THAT THIS FORUM IS BEING TURNED INTO AN INSTRUMENT OF AN ARAB DESIGN TO DRAG OUT THIS SESSION FOR POLITICAL REASONS CERTAINLY NOT CONNECTED WITH THE ISSUE IN QUESTION. WE HAVE LONG FORGOTTEN THE COMPLAINT ORIGINALLY MADE AND WHICH WAS FALSE. THIS INTERMINABLE RECITATION OF ANTI-ISRAEL DIATRIBE WILL CONTINUE IF YOU WILL ALLOW IT. MR. PRESIDENT I ASSURE YOU SIR THAT IS HAS NO EFFECT ON US.

BUT WHAT A WASTE OF VALUABLE TIME AND HOW INCONGRUOUS IS THIS EXHIBITION. SINCE OUR MEETING YESTERDAY, OVER 130 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN KILLED IN THE FIGHTING IN LEBANON, FOR A TOTAL OF APPROXIMATELY 280 SINCE WE EMBARKED ON THIS FUTILE DEBATE, AND THIS COUNCIL CONTINUES TO DISREGARD IN THE MOST CALLOUS MANNER WHAT IS HAPPENING IN LEBANON AS A NATION IS TORN APART AND CONTINUES TO HIGHLIGHT A COMPLETE AND TRAGIC LACK OF RELEVANCE OF THIS BODY TO EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THE PRESIDENT (INTERPRETATION FROM FRENCH): THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION HAS ASKED TO SPEAK ON A POINT OF ORDER. I CALL ON HIM.

MR. TERZI: I AM SORRY THAT I HAD TO INTERRUPT AGAIN, BUT THE ITEM WE ARE DISCUSSING IS THE SITUATION ARISING FROM THE HITLERITE ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THE ZIONISTS AGAINST MY PEOPLE IN PALESTINE. WE SHOULD NOT DIVERT THE DISCUSSION TO LEBANON OR ANY OTHER PLACE. WITH YOUR PERMISSION, MR. PRESIDENT I SHOULD LIKE TO DRAW THE ATTENTION OF THE SPEAKER TO CONFINE HIMSELF TO THAT.

THE PRESIDENT (INTERPRETATION FROM FRENCH): THANK YOU FOR THIS CLARIFICATION. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES HAS ASKED TO SPEAK ON A POINT OF ORDER. I CALL ON HIM.

MR. SCRANTON (UNITED STATES OF AMERICA): IT HAS BEEN QUITE CLEAR AS WE HAVE ALL SAT HERE AND LISTENED TO ALL OF THE INTERVENTIONS BY ALL OF THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES REPRESENTED, THAT THIS HAS BEEN AN EXTREMELY WIDE RANGING COMMENTARY ON THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND I FEEL STRONGLY THAT THE REPRESENTATIVE FROM ISRAEL HAS THE RIGHT TO COMMENT THEREON. THIS IS WITHOUT BRINGING TO YOUR ATTENTION WHETHER OR NOT THE INDIVIDUAL WHO HAS INTERVENED HAS A RIGHT TO MAKE A POINT OF ORDER.

THE PRESIDENT (INTERPRETATION FROM FRENCH): I CALL ON THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOVIET UNION.

MR. OVINNIKOV (UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS) (INTERPRETATION FROM RUSSIAN): MR. PRESIDENT, I SHOULD LIKE TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT THE REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL IS

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RESORTING TO COMPLETELY INTOLERABLE METHODS IN HIS STATEMENT. HE PREFERS TO TALK ABOUT WHAT IS HAPPENING IN OTHER COUNTRIES, AND THIS IS NOT A MATTER WHICH IS BEING DISCUSSED. WE ARE DISCUSSING THE SITUATION WHICH HAS ARISEN IN THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED BY THE ISRAELI AGGRESSOR, AND IT IS ONLY ON THIS SUBJECT THAT THE REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL MAY SPEAK.

AS FAR AS THE SOVIET UNION IS CONCERNED —ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS, SHALL WE SAY, ITS OWN VIEWS ABOUT THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF ISRAEL— IN OUR STATEMENT WE DID NOT INTERFERE IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF ISRAEL. I THINK THAT IT WOULD BE ONLY CORRECT IF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL REFRAINED FROM INTERFERING IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANY OTHER COUNTRIES.

THE PRESIDENT (INTERPRETATION FROM FRENCH): I CALL ON THE REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL AND I WOULD ASK HIM TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE VARIOUS STATEMENTS THAT HAVE JUST BEEN MADE.

MR. ERZUG: I CAN UNDERSTAND THE DELICACY OF THE SITUATION AND THE PROBLEMS WHICH ARE BEING RAISED BY THE FACT THAT ONE MENTIONS POINTS WHICH ARE SO INCONVENIENT. HOWEVER, THE MERE INTERVENTIONS THEMSELVES SERVE A GOOD PURPOSE. INCIDENTALLY, I WAS VERY GRATIFIED TO LEARN THAT THERE IS NO REFERENCE BEING MADE WHATSOEVER TO THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF ISRAEL IN THIS DEBATE, AND I SHOULD HOPE THAT THIS SITUATION WILL CONTINUE. MIND YOU, I HAD NOT NOTICED IT, BUT I AM WILLING TO TAKE THE WORD OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOVIET UNION.

THERE ARE GRADATIONS IN THE LACK OF CREDENTIALS TO INTERVENE IN THIS DEBATE, AND I BELIEVE THAT THE IRAQI CREDENTIALS ARE OF THE LOWEST. HOW DARE THE REPRESENTATIVE OF A COUNTRY FROM WHICH AN ANCIENT JEWISH COMMUNITY OF 160,000 HAD TO DEPART AFTER THOUSANDS OF YEARS INTERVENE IN THIS DEBATE? IT LIES NOT IN HIS MOUTH TO TALK ABOUT HUMAN VALUES, THE REPRESENTATIVE OF A COUNTRY WHICH WAS ENGAGED IN THE PUBLIC HANGING OF INNOCENT JEWS IN THE MAIN SQUARE IN BAGHDAD FOR THE EDIFICATION AND AMUSEMENT OF THE ASSEMBLED THROG. I KNOW WHAT THE ANSWER WILL BE, IT WILL BE THAT NOT ONLY JEWS WERE HANGED THEN, THAT CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS WERE AMONG THE VICTIMS THERE— THE IRAQI VERSION OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE ON THE GALLOWS.

I MIGHT REMARK THAT ONE OF THOSE HANGED AT THAT TIME IN IRAQ WAS THE COUSIN OF A MEMBER OF MY DELEGATION AND THAT HIS YOUNG PREGNANT WIFE WAS FORCED TO WATCH THE EXECUTION.

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AND NOW WE HAVE LARNED OF THE EXECUTION OF ALEXANDER AARONSEN, A MALE NURSE, A DUTCH JEW, WHO DEVOTED HIS LIVE TO HELPING THE SICK AND THE INJURED IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF AFRICA AND ASIA--WHICH INCLUDED TH ALBERT SCHWEITZER HOSPITAL IN GABON. WHILE ON A MISSION OF MERCY TO THE KURDS IN NORTHERN IRAQ, HE WAS SEIZED BY IRAQI SOLDIERS ON 24 MARCH 1975 A YEAR AGO TODAY. IT IS NOW APPARENT THAT AARONSEN WAS EXECUTED LAST DECEMBER, AFTER A SECRET TRIAL--

A CUSTOMARY PHENOMENON IN IRAQ. MR. JAN BEEKMAN, A MEMBER OF THE DUTCH PARLIAMENT WHO VISITED IRAQ LAST JANUARY WAS TOLD BY HIGH IRAQI OFFICIALS, INCLUDING THE UNDER SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIR THAT AARONSEN WAS STILL ALIVE THEN. THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF IRAQ AT THE HAGUE INFORMED AARONSEN'S MOTHER BY A SIMPLE TELEPHONE CALL THE OTHER DAY THAT HER SON WAS DEAD.

THIS WAS THE REACTION OF THE DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTRY:

"WE ARE DISMAYED, HORRIFIED AND DEEPLY OUTRAGED, ESPECIALLY BY THE INCREDIBLE WAY THE IRAQI AUTHORITIES HAVE ACTED. THEY HAVE FOOLED US SYSTEMATICALLY FOR AYEAR. WE ARE SIMPLY PERPLEXED."

I HAVE HERE THE LEADING ARTICLES FROM ALL THE DUTCH NEWSPAERS ON THIS BARBARIC ACT. I DO NOT WANT TO WASTE THE TIME OF THIS BODY ON THIS BUT MERELY TO SAY THAT IT LIES NOT IN THE MOUTH OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF SUCH A REGIME TO TALK ABOUT HUMAN VALUES IN THIS OR ANY OTHER FORUM.

FURTHERMORE, I AM NOT CONVINCED THAT BANGLADESH IS IN A POSITION TO LECTURE US ABOUT CIVIL LIBERTIES, INTERNAL STABILITY AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING RESPECT FOR THE LIVES OF POLITICAL OPPONENTS.

TO THE REPRESENTATIVE OF INDIA, I WOULD SAY THAT I WISH THE OPPOSITION IN INDIA THE DEGREE OF POLITICAL LIBERTY ENJOYED TODAY BY THE PALESTINIAN ARABS IN THE WEST BANK, WHO ENJOY TODAY THE GREATEST DEGREE OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND WRITING DESPITE ALL THE PROBLEMS--AND THERE ARE PROBLEMS-- IN THE ENTIRE WORLD. ARAB WORLD. HOW MANY ARABS ARE THERE OUTSIDE ISRAEL WHO ARE FREE TO SPEAK, WRITE AND VOTE OPENLY GAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRY IN WHICH THEY LIVE?

I WAS VERY MOVED BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF MAURITANIA EVINCING SUCH CONCERN FOR THE PALETINIAN ARABS. I HAD NOT NOTICED A SIMILAR CONCERN FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE INHABITANTS OF SPANISH SAHARA. THIS SITUATION WOULD REALLY BE COMIC IF IT WERE NOT SO TRAGIC.

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I AWAITED THE REMARKS OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF TUNISIA WITH GREAT INTEREST. I WAS CONVINCED THAT WE WOULD BE REGALED WITH DETAILS OF THE EVENTS OF THE PAST FEW DAYS DESCRIBED IN SUCH GRIM DETAIL BY THE TUNISIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY AND THE TUNISIAN CHIEF OF POLICE. I REFER TO THE ALLEGED LIBYAN PLOT TO KIDNAP OR KILL THE TUNISIAN PREMIER, TO THE REVELATION THAT, AND I QUOTE HERE FROM REUTERS OF TODAY:

"... OTHER LIBYAN SPECIAL INTELLIGENCE GROUPS HAVE BEEN SENT TO EGYPT, SYRIA, LEBANON, SOMALIA AND ITALY AND THAT MORE THAN 5,000 TUNISIAN WORKERS HAD BEEN EXPELLED FROM LIBYA IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS".

REALLY, HAS THE TUNISIAN REPRESENTATIVE NOTHING BETTER TO OCCUPY HIMSELF WITH?

I DO NOT WISH TO GO ON. I MERELY WISH TO ASK AGAIN, AS I DID YEASTERDAY AND AS I WILL EVERY DAY, WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS DEBATE? IF IT IS TO ACHIEVE ANY FORM OF ACCOMMODATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST, DO YOU REALLY THINK THAT THIS IS THE WAY, THAT THIS IS THE MANNER? DO YOU EXPECT ANY SELF RESPECTING COUNTRY TO AGREE TO THIS FORM OF DIALOGUE OR DIATRIBE? IS THIS THE WAY WE ARE GOING TO ACHIEVE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

MR ZAHAWIE (IRAQ) SPEAKING UNDER THE RIGHT OF REPLY, SAID THAT HE HAD NOT USED DEROGATORY EPITHETS REGARDING THE ZIONISTS. HE SAID GENERAL HERZOG WAS STUNNED. "TRUTH MUST HAVE HURT HIM", HE ADDED.

IT WAS GENERAL HERZOG WHO HAD INJECTED IRAQ INTO THE DEBATE, HE SAID.

"IRAQ WILL NOT BE THE FIRST OR THE LAST TO EXECUTE SPIES", HE DECLARED. IF ISRAEL WANTED TO SEND MORE SPIES, THEY WOULD BE EXECUTED.

REGARDING JEWS IN IRAQ, HE SAID THE TRUTH WAS THAT THE ISRAELI HAD NEVER CARED FOR ANCIENT JEWISH COMMUNITIES. ALL THE ISRAELIS HAD WANTED WAS THAT THEY BE UPROOTED TO SERVE THE ENDS OF ZIONISM.





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להלן המסך המחלף של דברי הרצוג בישיבת אחר הצהריים  
העסק ורשימתו (חובב)

MR. HERZOG: IN MY INITIAL REMARKS TO THIS COUNCIL I DWELT ON THE ABANDONMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF NATURAL LAW IN THE UNITED NATIONS PRACTICE. I POINTED OUT THAT THE CONCEPTS OF IMPARTIALITY IN SUCH A HEARING AS THIS ONE HAD BEEN REPLACED BY THE IDEA THAT UNITED NATIONS ORGANS ARE BOTH PROSECUTOR AND JUDGE.

AN ALLEGATION WAS PREFERRED IN CONNEXION WITH CERTAIN ALLEGED EVENTS IN JERUSALEM CONNECTED WITH AL AQSA JOSQUE. AS I POINTED OUT, THE ALLEGATION WAS NOTHING MORE THAN ALIE AND UTTERED IN A MISCHIEVOUS AND SINISTER ATTEMPT TO INCITE RELIGIOUS FEELINGS FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES. I TRUST THAT I CONVINCED AT LEAST SOME OF THE REPRESENTATIVE THAT INDEED WE WERE DEALING

WITH A FRIVOLOUS ARGUMENT WHICH WAS COMPLETELY UNSUSTAINED BY THE EVIDENCE AND WAS IN FACT A FACETIOUS USE OF THE REPRESENTATIVES' TIME WHAT IS SO SERIOUS, OF COURSE, (IN THIS WHOLE DEBATE IS THE DANGEROUS AND SINISTER PURPOSE BEHIND IT ALL, NAMELY AN ATTEMPT TO INFLAME RELIGIOUS OPINION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD ON THE BASIS OF A FOUL UNTRUTH.

AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO CONDEMN ISRAEL, WHOSE GOVERNMENT IS IN FACT PROTECTING THE MOSLEMS' RIGHTS AND WHOSE SUPREME COURT HAS TWICE UPHELD THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION. I BELIEVE THAT I CONVINCED SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES HERE ON THIS POINT. IN FACT, YOU MAY HAVE NOTICED THAT ALLEGATIONS IN THIS RESPECT HAVE QUIETLY DISAPPEARED FROM THE SPEECHES MADE BEFORE THIS BODY. INSTEAD, WE SUDDENTLY FIND OURSELVES SEIZED OF ALL SORTS OF MATTERS IRRELEVANT TO THE ACCUSATION PREFERRED WHICH DO NOT RELATE WHATSOEVER TO THE ORIGINAL CHARGES IN RESPECT OF



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IN RESPECT OF WHICH THIS BODY WAS HASTILY SUMMONED. THIS IS IN THE ORWELLIAN TRADITION OF THIS ORGANIZATION, TO REBATE SOMETHING THAT NEVER WAS IN THE LANGUAGE WHICH ORWELL COINED "NEWSPEAK" IN WHICH PEACE IS WAR LOVE IS HATE AND TRUTH IS FALSEHOOD. YES, IT MAY BE 1976 OUTSIDE THIS BUILDING BUT THE YEAR INSIDE THIS BUILDING IS 1984.

AND NOW WHAT DO WE DO? THIS ALLEGATION HAVING BEEN PROVED FALSE, ALL FORMS OF SIDE ISSUES WERE INTRODUCED, WHICH ONLY GOES TO REPEAT WHAT I EXPLAINED TO THE COUNCIL AS TO THE REAL PURPOSE OF THE FRIVOLOUS DOCUMENT ORIGINALLY SUBMITTED IN ORDER TO SUMMON THIS BODY.

WHAT WOULD HAVE BEEN EXPECTED OF THIS BODY IF IT HAD BEEN ACTING IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF NATURAL LAW—WHICH SHOULD OF COURSE GUIDE IT? IN THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES, THOSE WHO HAD PREFERRED THIS FALSE CHARGE WOULD HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED NOT ONLY FOR BRINGING IT BEFORE THIS BODY AND WASTING EVERYBODY'S TIME BUT ALSO FOR A FLAGRANT ACT OF RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS INCITEMENT CALCULATED TO LEAD TO A DISTURBANCE OF THE PEACE AND TO INFLAME PASSIONS IN A SITUATION FRAUGHT WITH DANGER. AN IMPARTIAL BODY SEATED AS A JUDICIARY, INDEPENDENT OF THE EXECUTIVE, UNIMPEDED BY CONSIDERATIONS OF EXPEDIENCY WOULD FIRST OF ALL HAVE CONDEMNED THIS DISGRACEFUL ATTEMPT TO FALSIFY THE FACTS, CREATE MISCHIEF, ENCOURAGE RELIGIOUS INCITEMENT AND DO HARM IN A CHARGED ATMOSPHERE TODAY IN A MANNER WHICH IS BEST CALCULATED TO BRING DETERIORATION AND TRAGEDY. THIS BODY WOULD THEN HAVE PROCEEDED, IF INDEED IT WERE AN IMPARTIAL JUDICIARY AND UNIMPEDED BY CONSIDERATIONS OF EXPEDIENCY, TO INVITE THE STATES PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT TO MEET IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338 (1973) FACE TO FACE AND COME TO TERMS WITH THE ISSUES AT STAKE INSTEAD OF WASTING THE TIME OF THIS COUNCIL.

INSTEAD, WHAT ARE YOU DOING? AS I POINTED OUT, SINCE THREE DAYS BEFORE I WAS EVEN GIVEN A CHANCE TO PRESENT OUR CASE YOU HAVE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE INCONGRUOUS PRACTICE WHICH HAS BEGUN TO BE ACCEPTED AS A NORM HERE, EVEN BY THOSE WHO KNOW BETTER BEEN SITTING IN JUDGMENT AND IN FACT WRITING THE JUDGMENT, FOR THAT IS WHAT THE DRAFT RESOLUTION IS, EVEN BEFORE YOU HEARD THE SIDES TO THE CASE. I PROTEST AGAINST THIS DISGRACEFUL BEHAVIOUR WHICH VIOLATES NORMS OF NATURAL LAW AND WHICH IS DESTROYING THE UNITED NATIONS. IN RAISING MY VOICE AGAINST IT MAY I EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THE ENLIGHTENED WORLD COMMUNITY WILL AWAKEN TO THE DANGERS INHERENT IN THIS ABHORENT DEVELOPMENT. TO RETURN TO THE



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QUEEN OF HEARTS. "..... SENTENCE FIRST, JUDGMENT AFTERWARDS".  
HERE YOU ARE DOING IT AGAIN,

THE MANNER IN WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS HAS BEEN DEALING WITH THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM IS A TRAGEDY OF MAJOR INTERNATIONAL PROPORTIONS. ITS IMPLICATIONS ARE TERRIFYING AND SINISTER. IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN ACTING AS A FORUM THE PURPOSE OF WHICH IS TO ENCOURAGE NEGOTIATION, TO STRIVE FOR CONSENSUS AND COMPROMISE, FOR THAT IS THE ONLY MANNER IN WHICH THE PROBLEM OF THE MIDDLE EAST WILL BE RESOLVED. INSTEAD THE UNITED NATIONS BY ALLOWING ITSELF TO BE DOMINATED BY A GROUP OF INTRANSIGENT EXTREMISTS WHOSE DECLARED PURPOSE IS TO FIGHT AGAINST ANY MOVE TOWARDS PEACE, IS ENCOURAGING DISSENT INSTEAD OF ACCORD INTRANSIGENCE INSTEAD OF COMPROMISE FANATICISM INSTEAD OF ACCOMMODATION AND CONFLICT INSTEAD OF PEACE. BY TAKING A SUBJECT WHICH CAN ONLY BE SOLVED BY COMPROMISE AND BRINGING IT TO THE TYPE OF DISCUSSION WHICH WE ARE OBLIGED TO LISTEN TO THE UNITED NATIONS HAS BEEN MANEOVRD INTO THE FOREFRONT OF THOSE ELEMENTS THAT WOULD SABOTAGE EVERY EFFORT IN THE MIDDLE EAST TOWARDS PEACE. BY ALLOWING SMALL GROUPS OF IRRESPONSIBLE EXTREMISTS TO DICTATE TO THE UNITED NATIONS, THE TRAGEDY OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT IS BEING PROLONGED.

I WISH TO EMPHASIZE IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE MANNER THAT THERE IS NO POINT WHATSOEVER IN DISCUSSING OUT OF CONTEXT THE TERRITORIES ADMINISTERED BY ISRAEL. - ANYONE WHO DOES SO IS CONSCIOUSLY DISTORTING THE PICTURE. TWICE BEFORE IN 1949 AND 1957, WE WITHDREW FROM TERRITORIES IN THE HOPE THAT THIS WOULD ENCOURAGE OUR ARAB NEIGHBOURS TO MOVE TOWARDS PEACE. WE WERE GIVEN UNDERTAKINGS OF AN INTERNATIONAL NATURE AT THAT TIME. YET WHEN THE ARABS DECIDED TO ATTACK US IN 1967 ALL THE UNDERTAKINGS WERE FORGOTTEN. THE SANCTITY OF THE 1967 BORDERS WHICH IS CONSTANTLY INVOKED WAS IGNORED.

OUR EXPERIENCE LED US TO THE CONCLUSION THAT WITHDRAWAL ACCOMMODATION AND CONCESSION COULD COME ONLY IN RETURN FOR A STATE OF PEACE. WE DID NOT WANT WAR IN 1967. WE DID NOT SEEK HOSTILITIES WE WERE LIVING BEHIND THE 1967 BORDERS. WE WERE ATTACKED AND PROMISED ANNIHILATION. WE WILL NOT AGREE TO THE CREATION AGAIN OF THE SITUATION WHICH BROUGHT ON THE PREVIOUS WARS OF INDEED TO ANY COMPROMISE UNLESS IT IS IN RETURN FOR

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A MOVE TOWARDS PEACE. THAT WE ARE PREPARED FOR THIS TYPE OF ADVANCE HAS BEEN ADEQUATELY DEMONSTRATED IN THE ISRAEL EGYPTIAN AGREEMENT IN THE SINAI.

FURTHERMORE FOR 19 YEARS AS I POINTED OUT WE SAT ALONG THE 1967 BORDERS WHICH HAVE SUDDENLY BECOME SACROSANCT IN THE EYES OF ALL AND THE SOLUTION FOR ALL EVILS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. DID THE ARAB STATE MAKE PEACE, OR EVEN TALK PEACE? NO. THEY MADE WAR IN 1967. THAT WAR WHICH THEY MADE FOR THE AVOWED PURPOSE - IT IS ALL ON THE RECORD OF THROWING US INTO THE SEA AND DESTROYING US ALL MEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN TO QUOTE THEM AT THE TIME, IS WHAT BROUGHT ABOUT THE PRESENT SITUATION WHEREBY WE ADMINISTER THESE TERRITORIES. DESPITE THE PROBLEMS WE ARE PROUD OF OUR ADMINISTRATION OF THESE TERRITORIES. WE ARE PROUD OF THE FACT THAT DESPITE ALL THE PROVOCATION NOT ONCE HAS THE DEATH SENTENCE BEEN CARRIED OUT. WE ARE PROUD OF THE FACT WE HAVE GIVEN A LARGE PALESTINIAN ARAB POPULATION MORE FREEDOM IN RELATION TO THE GOVERNMENT UNDER WHICH THEY LIVE THAN ANY OTHER ARAB IN THE MIDDLE EAST ENJOYS NOWHERE IN THE ENTIRE ARAB WORLD TODAY NOW THAT THE LEBANON HAS BEEN - I REGRET - SLIPSED TO A GREAT DEGREE IS AN ARAB FREEP

TO SPEAK WRITE AND VOTE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRY IN WHICH HE LIVES. ONLY IN ISRAEL IS THIS POSSIBLE FOR AN ARAB. WE ARE PROUD BECAUSE IN THE WEST BANK AND IN GAZA WHERE WE ARE ENGAGED IN A DAILY DIALOGUE WITH A LARGE PALESTINIAN ARAB POPULATION WE HAVE CONNOSCIOUSLY CREATED A BRIDGE TO THE ARAB WORLD WHICH HAS IN THESE WEEKS STOOD THE TEST OF THE DISTURBANCES BROUGHT ABOUT BY IRRESPONSIBLE INCITEMENT IN WHICH THIS COUNCIL MEETING HAS REGRETABLY PLAYED A PART. LOOK AT THE EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST TODAY CONTEMPLATE ALL THAT IS HAPPENING DOMESTICALLY AND INTERNATION AND GIVE EVENTS THEIR CORRECT PROPORTIONS. IN THE DISTURBANCE WHICH OCCURRED IN PARTS OF THE WEST BANK AND WHICH WERE AROUSED BY RELIGIOUS INCITEMENT SPARKED OFF BY THE STORY OF AL AQSA WHICH HAS NO BASIS IN FACT AND IN WHICH THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL WAS PROTECTING MOSLEM INTERESTS INDEED NOBODY WAS MORE VOCIFEROUS AND ACTIVE IN PACIFYING THE CROUDS THAN THEKADIS AND RELIGIUS LEADERS AT THE AL AQSA MOSQUE. THANKS TO THEM THE DEVELOPMENTS DID NOT GET OUT OF HAND AM NUMBER OF SALIENT FACTS ARE WORTHY OF NOTE. DURING THESE EVENTS THE BRIDGES ACROSS THE JORDAN REMAINED OPEN TO THE MOVEMENT OF THOUSANDS OF ARABS AND OTHERS IN BOTH DIRECTION AND TO TWO WAY TRADE. SEVENTY THOUSAND ARAB WORKERS CROSSED DAILY INTO ISRAEL AS THEY DO EVERY DAY TO COME TO WORK. IN NO CASE WAS THE USE OF FIREARMS AUTOHRISED. FOR THE UNFORTUNATE SHOOTING OF A CHILD



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HAS BENN ARRESTED AND ARRAIGNED. AS I MENTIONED TWO DAYS AGO THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ARRESTS IN THE WEST BANK DURING THIS PERIOD DID NOT EXCEED 48.

LET US LOOK AT THE PICTURE IN PERSPECTIVE. DESPITE THE DISTURBANCES NO ARAB VOICE WAS RAISED IN THE WEST BANK CALLING FOR CANCELLATION OF THE ELECTIONS. IF THE PALESTINIAN ARABS WANT ELECTIONS THEY WILL BE HELD. IF THEY DO NOT WANT THEM IT IS UP TO THEM. CANDIDATES WILL FILE ON THE 28TH OF THIS MONTH NAMELY NEXT MONDAY AND ELECTIONS ARE SCHEDULED FOR 12 APRIL. SO LET US RETURN TO THE PICTURE WHICH HAS BEEN DISTORTED BY ARAB RHETORIC TO ITS TRUE PROPORTIONS. REMEMBER THAT WHILE WE HAVE BEEN LISTENING TO THIS PURPOSELESS DEBATE A CASUALTY LIST OF OVER 200 KILLED WAS RECORDED LAST NIGHT IN THE LEBANON FOR A TOTAL OF APPROXIMATELY 480 SINCE OUR DEBATE BEGAN. AND STILL SILENCE FROM THE SECURITY COUNCIL WHILE TRAGEDY STALKS THE LEBANON THIS COUNCIL CONTINUES TO FIDDLE WHILE THE LEBANON BURNS. NOT RO A MOMENT AS I SUGGESTING NOR HAVE I EVERY SUGGESTED IN THE MEETINGS OF THE UNITED NATIONS THAT THERE ARE NO PROBLEMS NOT FOR A MOMENT ARE WE TRYING TO AVOID THE ISSUES FACING US. THEY ARE THERE FOR US ALL TO SEE AND OUR GOVERNMENTS POLICY AS TO THEIR SOLUTION HAS BEEN MADE CLEAR TIME AND TIME AGAIN BUT CAN MEMBERS OF THE COJNCIL ENVISAGE THE SOLUTION BETWEEN PARTIES TO A PROBLEM WITHOUT NEGOTIATION ONSE? CAN THEY ENVISAGE ANY HUMAN PROBLEMS BEING DECIDED WITHOUT THE INVOLVED PARTIES NEGOTIATING? CAN THEY ENVISAGE ANY FRUITFUL DEVELOPMENT THAT COULD POSSIBLY EMERGE FROM THE TYPE OF DEBATE WHICH WE HAVE HEARD IN THIS CHAMBER OR IN ANY OTHER CHAMBER IN THIS BUILDING? DO THEY HONESTLY BELIEVE THAT ANY SELF RESPECTING INDIVIDUAL LET ALONE ANY SELF RESPECTING COUNTRY WOULD AGREE TO BE BROWBEATEN LIKE THIS AND THEN BE EXPECTED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS AND PUT ITS GOOD FAITH IN THOSE WHO MAKE THESE STATEMENTS?

TWO ARAB REPRESENTATIVES SPOKE IN THIS COUNCIL CHAMBER YESTERDAY IN TERMS OF THE DESTRUCTION OF A MEMBER STATE OF THE UNITED NATIONS THE LIBYAN REPRESENTATIVE A MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AN ORGAN WHICH IS ENTRUSTED WITH THE - PRIMAY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY- CALLED IN THIS CHAMBER YESTERDAY FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF A MEMBER STATED. THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER STATES IN ARTICLE 23 THE FOLLOWING: THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY SHALL ELECT TEN OTHER MEMBERS OF THE UNITED



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NATIONS TO BE NON PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL  
DUE REGARD BEING SPECIALLY PAID IN THE FIRST INSTANCE TO THE CONTRIB<sup>UTI</sup>  
OF MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO THE MAINTENANCE OF  
INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND TO THE OTHER PURPOSES OF  
THE ORGANIZATION.

WHAT MORAL STANDING CAN THIS COUNCIL HAVE WHEN ON IT SITE A  
MEMBER WHO CAN COME BEFORE IT AND CALL FOR THE DESTRUCITON OF A  
STATE MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS?

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF LIBYA STATE YESTERJY BEFORE THIS COUNCIL  
- THIS RACIST ENTITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST MUST BE DESTROED AND IT  
WLL BE DESTROYED ONE DAY-

YET LET IT BE RECORDED THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL REMAINED SILENT  
CAN THIS REALLY BE THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS?  
THAKE THE LIST OF THE ARAB STATES WHOSE REPRESENTATIVES HAVE SPOKEN  
HERE LOOK AT THEIR RECORD NOT TOWARD ISRAEL, BUT ONE TOWARD THE  
OTHER, CONSIDER FOR A MOMENT THEIR RECORD OF LOYALTY TO THEIR  
FRIENDS TO THEIR FELLOW ARABS TO THE COUNTRIES THAT HELPED THEM  
IN THEIR HOURS OF STRESS AND NEED, BOTH MILITARILY AND ACONOMICALLY  
CONSIDER THEIR INTER ARAB RELATIONS, IF I AM NOT MISTAKEN THERE  
IN NOT ONE TREATY THAT HAS BENN SIGNED BETWEEN ARAB COUNTRIES  
MONST THEMSELVES THAT HAS NOT BEEN BRODEN ON ONE OR MORE OCCASION  
CONSIDER ALL THIS AND THEN LET THE CONCIL ASK ITSELF IN ITS HEART  
OF HEARTS WHETHER IT WOULD RECOMMEND TO ISRAEL RECOMMEND INDEED  
TO ANY COUNTRY TO MAKE CONCESSIONS WNDER SUCH CONDITIONS.

I KNOW THAT IT WILL NOT EXPRESS IT SELF BUT AL LEAST LET ITS  
TRUE FEELINGS IF NOT ITS STATEMENTS AND VOTES BE TEMPERED BY  
A DEGREE OF INTELLECTUAL HOMESTY WHEN EVALUATING THIS SITUATION  
IS IT NOT TIMETHAT THE RECORD WHICH IS PALYED TO US DAY IN AND DAY  
OUT AN EVIL RECORD OF UNCOMPROMISING HATE AND INTRANSIGENT  
HOSITILITY A RECORD SO

CRACKED AND WORN OUT BY LONG AND CONSANT USAGE BE REPLACED BY ONE  
MITTING SOUNDS OF HOPEAND EVEN A SMALL MEASURE OF GOOD WILL  
IN IT NOT INTELLECUALLY DEGRADING TO HAVE TO SIT AND LISTEN TO  
THIS CEASELEUS OUTPERING OF NEGATION AND BARREN AND PURPOSELESS  
VITUPERATION UTTERED DAY IN AND DAY OUT YEAR IN AND YEAR OUT  
AT TIMES WITHOUT REFERENCE TO EVEN THE COMMON COURTESIEDS  
APPLICABLE IN INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY? WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF  
THIS UNCOUTH INSULTING EXHIBITION TO WHICH WE ARE SUJECTED TO  
CRITE GOOD WILL AND A MOR E CONGENIAL ATMOSPHERE BETWEEN US AND OUR  
NEIGHBORUS

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF ALL THIS? IS IT NOT TIME THAT SOMEBODY  
POSED THAT QUESTION? I CAN ALREADY HEAR THE STREAM OF RHETORIC  
ANSWERNG ME. LET ME MAKE ONE POINT QUITE CLEAR. IT DOES NOT



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DISTURB ME. FOR NOTHING COULD EXPLAIN OR JUSTIFY OUR ATTITUDES BETTER THAN THE REMARKS OF MY ARAB COLLEAGUES. INDEED EVERY SPEECH HERE MADE BY AN ARAB REPRESENTATIVE VINDICATES OUR STAND. BUT I JUST FAIL TO COMPREHEND THIS BIZARRE PHENOMENON.

I ASK YOU MR PRESIDENT DOES IT MAKE SENSE IF ONE REALLY WANTS PEACE TO SIT AND LISTEN TO WHAT WE HAVE HAD TO LISTEN TO DAY IN AND DAY OUT IN THIS BUILDING? IS THIS THE METHOD ESTABLISHED TO INFLUENCE US TOWARDS ACCOMMODATION AND COMPROMISE? WHAT PURPOSE IS THERE IN ALL THIS HATEFUL EXHIBITION TO WHICH WE HAVE BEEN WITNESS? HAS NOT THE TIME BEEN REACHED WHEN THE MEMBERS OF THIS COUNCIL SHOULD DEMAND, ONCE AND FOR ALL AN END TO THIS CONTINUOUS BARREN DIATRIBE AND OUTPOURING OF VITRIO, WHICH IS GETTING US NOWHERE AND IS ONLY STRENGTHENING INTRANSIGENCE EVERYWHERE, AND SHOULD INSIST THAT THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT SIT DOWN AND DISCUSS AND NEGOTIATE IN A CIVILIZED MANNER? WITHOUT THIS WE SHALL NEVER ACHIEVE ANYTHING. WHY SHOULD NOT THE REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE ARAB COUNTRIES INSTEAD OF VYING WITH EACH OTHER IN LEVELS OF HOSTILITY EACH ONE STRAINING TO OUTDO THE TONES OF HATRED AND BITTERNESS OF HIS NEIGHBOUR IN A FUTILE EXERCISE OF ONE UPMANSHIP SIT DOWN WITH ME TO TALK OVER MATTERS AS CIVILIZED HUMAN BEINGS—HOWEVER HOSTILE ONE TO THE OTHER—SHOULD DO?

WILL RESOLUTIONS HELP? HAVE THEY EVER HELPED? HAS ANY INTERNATIONAL ACCORD BEEN ACHIEVED BY MEANS OF A ONE SIDED RESOLUTION IN THE DRAFTING OF WHICH ONE OF THE SIDES DID NOT EVEN PARTICIPATE LET ALONG BEING CONSULTED?

NOBODY HAS BETTER SUMMED UP THIS ISSUE THAN A FORMER REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOVIET UNION TO THIS ORGANIZATION DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREI VYSHINSKY WHO ON 29 MARCH 1954 ADDRESSED THE COUNCIL AS FOLLOWS:

"YOU CAN SUBMIT WHATEVER RESOLUTIONS YOU LIKE. BUT LIFE DOES NOT CALL FOR RESOLUTIONS IT CALLS FOR DECISIONS WHICH CAN PROMOTE THE SETTLEMENT OF IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS WHICH ARE STILL OUTSTANDING.

"WHAT IS THE PROPER METHOD FOR THIS? THE METHOD IS THAT OF DIRECT NEGOTIATION BETWEEN THE INTEREST PARTIES. ON ONE SIDE WE HAVE THE REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL AND ON THE OTHER THE REPRESENTATIVE OF EGYPT THEY ARE SITTING OPPOSITE ONE ANOTHER. LET THEM SIT DOWN TOGETHER AT ONE TABLE AND TRY TO SETTLE THE QUESTIONS WHICH THE SECURITY COUNCIL CANNOT SETTLE NOW. I AM DEEPLY CONVINCED THAT THEY CAN FIND A BETTER SOLUTION. THAT IS WHY CERTAIN REPRESENTATIVES AND STATES SHOW A STUBBORN



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DISINCLINATION TO PERMIT DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE INTERESTED PARTIES AND ARE TRYING TO INTERFERE IN AND UNFORTUNATELY TO HINDER THOSE NEGOTIATIONS". (664TH MEETING, PARAS. 95 AND 96)

I DECLARE HERE AND NOW THAT I AM PREPARED TO SIT DOWN WITH EACH AND EVERY ONE OF THE AMBASSADORS FROM THE ARAB COUNTRIES TO THIS ORGANIZATION, IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL RESPECT. LET THE REPEAT LAST LINE

ORGANIZATION, IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL RESPECT. LET THEM OVERCOME THEIR DIFFICULTIES IN TALKING TO ME. LET THIS COUNCIL, INSTEAD OF ENCOURAGING HATRED, INTRANSIGENCE AND INCITEMENT BY ITS VERY DELIBERATIONS, MAKE A SIMPLE MOVE FORWARD BY RECOMMENDING THAT AT LEAST HERE WE THE ARAB REPRESENTATIVES AND I, SHOULD SIT DOWN AND TALK. I AM PREPARED TO DO SO AT ANY MOMENT.

I REJECT THE THESIS THAT ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF THE TERRITORIES IS OBSTRUCTING THE PROCESS OF PEACE AS A THESIS BASED ON AN ERRONEOUS PREMISE. THAT IS NOT THE MAIN ISSUE. IF IT WAS, WHY WAS PEACE NOT ACHIEVED BEFORE THE TERRITORIES FELL INTO OUR HANDS IN 1967?

AGAIN I REPEAT THE QUESTION I HAVE ASKED TIME AND AGAIN WITHOUT RECEIVING AN ANSWER. FOR 19 YEARS FROM 1949 TO 1967 THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WERE RULED BY TWO ARAB COUNTRIES. WHAT HAPPENED TO THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN ARABS IN THOSE YEARS? WHY DID THOSE ARAB COUNTRIES NOT DO WHAT THEY ARE ASKING ISRAEL TO DO TODAY? WHY DID THEY NOT ACCORD THE DEGREE OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATION TO THE ARABS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WHICH THOSE ARABS ENJOY TODAY UNDER ISRAEL? FOR 19 YEARS YOU RULED THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. WHAT DID YOU DO FOR THEM? THE ANSWER IS, NOTHING. SO MUCH FOR YOUR CONCERN.

THE ISSUE IS NOT A QUESTION OF TERRITORY. IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN ARABS ALTHOUGH THOSE ARE BOTH IMPORTANT. IT IS A QUESTION OF A CHANGE OF HEART IN RESPECT OF ISRAEL ON THE PART OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES. UNTIL THAT CHANGE OF HEART IS ACHIEVED, NO MEANINGFUL ADVANCE CAN REALLY BE MADE.

I REPEAT: AT THE HEART OF THE CONFLICT LIES THE ARAB REFUSAL TO RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF THE JEWISH NATION TO SELF DETERMINATION AND NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. I CANNOT EXPRESS THIS PROBLEM IN A MORE SUCCINCT AND INSIDE MANNER THAN IN THE WORDS OF A FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY MR CHARLES MALIK OF LEBANON WHO SAID IN AN INTERVIEW LAST YEAR AS REPORTED IN THE SATURDAY EVENING THAT IN HIS OPINION

"THE MAIN ESSENTIAL FOR PEACE —INDEED THE QUINTESSENTIAL—



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IS THE NEED FOR THE ARAB ORLD TO ACCEPT ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE. (MALIK) FELT THAT THIS IS THE LTIMATE ISSUE. UNLESS AND UNTIL THE ARAB POEPLS HAVE A GENUINE CHANGE OF HEART THE MIDDLE EAST WILL VIBRATE FROM ONE CRISIS TO THE NEXT. REPEATED CHANGE OF HEART IN ORDER TO EMPHASIZE HIS BELIF THAT WHAT IS REQUIRED IS NOT JUST A TEMPORARY ACCOMMODATION OR AN EXPEDIENT POLITICAL MANEUVER BUT A GENUINE ACCEPTANCE OF ISRAEL AS A STATE.

IN OUR REGION THE ARAB NATION HAS REALIZED ITS SOVEREIGNTY IN 20 STATES COMPRISING 100 MILLION PEPLS IN FOUR AND A HALF MILLION SQUARE MILES, WITH VAST RESOURCES. THE ISSUE THEREFORE IS NOT WHETHER THE WORLD WILL COME TO TERMS WITH ARAB NATIONALISM TH QUESTION IS TH WHT POINT ARAB NATIONALISM, WITH ITS PRODIGIOUS GLUT OF ADVANTAGE, WEALTH AND OPPORTUNITY, WILL COME QTO TERMS WITH THEMOST BUT EQUAL RIGHTSOF ANOTHER MIDDLE EASTERN NATION TO PURSUE ITS LIFE IN SECURITY AND PEACE.

THUS, INCONCLUSION, LE ME REEMPHASIZE ONCE AND FOR ALL, IF THE ARAB STATES WANT PEACE THEY CAN HAVE IT. WE ARE READY HERE AND NOW AND HAVE ALWAYS BEEN READY TO NEGOTIATE PEACE. BUT THE OPERATIVE WORD IS "NEGOTITE". IN THE COURSE OF THE PROTRACTED STRUGGLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST NOTHING HAS BEEN ACHIEVED WITHOUT NEGOTIATION. ON THE OTHER HAND NO NEGOTIATION HAS EVER TAKEN PLACE WITHOUT SOMETHING POSITIVE BEING ACHIEVED. WHY NOT THEREFORE ENCOURAGE THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION WHICH HAS ACHIEVED RESULTS? WE ARE NOT READY TO BE DICATED TO AND WE WILL NOT ACCEPT A DICTATE. WE WANT PEACE WE HAVE STRETCHED OUT OUR HAND IN AN OFFER OF PEACE WE ARE PREPARED TO MOVE TOWARDS PEQCE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK LAID DOWN BY SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 (1967) AND 338 (1973). WE ARE PREPARED, I REPEAT, TO NTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ARAB STATES AT ANY MOMENT WITHOUT ANY PRECONDITIONS WHATSOEVER. AND, IN SUCH NEGOTIATIONS, ALL STATES WILL BE FREE TO MAKE WHATEVER PROPOSALS THEY WISH TO MAKE.

WE WILL NEGOTIATE ONLY ON THE BAIS OF A RECGNTITION OF ISRAEL'S SOVEREIGN RIHTS. WE WILL NOT NEGOTIATE OUR OWNSUICIDE. FOR THAT IS WHAT WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT CONCFETE MOVES TOWARDS PEACE MEANS. IF THE ARAB COUNTRIES ARE SERIOUS ABOUTTHIS LET THEM STOP THIS HORRIBLE STREAM OF HATE AND INVECTIVE THAT WE HEAR DAY IN AND DAY OUT IN THIS BUILDING AND LET THEM BEGIN TO EHAVE LIKE MATURE NATIONS. I REITERATE ONCE AGAIN ISRAELSS WILLNGNESS TO EGIN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ARAB STATES AT ANY MOMENT DESIGNED TO EAD TO PEACE. FULLY AWARE OF THE FACT THAT Y THEIR VERY NATURE NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE BASED ON MUTUAL



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RESPECT AND COMPROMISE. LET THE SECURITY COUNCIL STOP ENCOURAGING THE TYPE OF USELESS DEBATE WHICH WE HAVE HEARD. MOVE AWAY FROM THE MEANINGLESS RESOLUTIONS WHICH ONLY SERVE THE CAUSE OF INTRANSIGENTS EVERYWHERE, AND ADDRESS ITSELF TO THE PURPOSE FOR WHICH IT EXISTS, TO THE PURPOSE OF ACHIEVING PEACE.

LEHAL AN HANUSACH HAMALEA SHEL HANETZIG HAMERIKAI

MR SCRANTON, I WANT ONCEMORE TO RECOGNIZE AND APPRECIATE THE COMMENTS THAT THREE OR FOUR OF THE REPRESENTATIVES MADE THIS MORNING IN GIVING ME A WARM WELCOME TO THIS COUNCIL AND I AM INDEED GRATEFUL FOR THEIR VERY KIND REMARKS. THIS REMINDS ME INCIDENTALLY THAT THEIR COMMENTS WERE IN SOME CONTRAST TO THE WELCOME I HAD OUTSIDE THE COUNCIL TODAY I DARE SAY I HAVE NOW WRITTEN A NEW RECORD FOR REPRESENTATIVES TO THIS COUNCIL, ONE THAT I THINK NOBODY ELSE CAN MATCH, BY HAVING A DEMONSTRATION REQUESTING MY OUSTER HARDLY BEFORE I HAVE SAT DOWN.

SECONDLY I SHOULD LIKE TO SAY TO THE REPRESENTATIVE OF PAKISTAN HOW MUCH I APPRECIATE THE COMMENTS HE HAS MADE TO ME IN A VERY QUIET A DELIBERATE WAY A FEW MOMENTS AGO, QUOTING SOME OF THE COMMENTS I MADE ON BEHALF OF MY GOVERNMENT ON TUESDAY. I SHALL TRY TO RESPOND AND EXPLAIN OUR VOTE IN THE SAME QUIET AND DELIBERATE WAY, BRIEFLY.

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF PAKISTAN HAS QUOTED TO YOU THAT THREE TESTS I LAID OUT IN THAT INTERVENTION ON TUESDAY, AND I SHALL NOT REPEAT THEM. BUT THEY ARE THE TESTS THAT HAVE BEEN CAREFULLY MEASURED BY MY GOVERNMENT AND WHEN I SAY CAREFULLY I MEAN JUST THAT. WE HAVE CAREFULLY MEASURED THE DRAFT RESOLUTION THAT IS NOW BEFORE ALL OF YOU AGAINST THESE CRITERIA AND HAVE CONCLUDED THAT IT FAILS TO MEET THEM, ESPECIALLY BECAUSE IT REFLECTS OR IMPLIES JUDGEMENT WHICH ON BALANCE DOES NOT CORRESPOND TO THE ACTUAL SITUATION IN THE AREA. PARTS OF THE DRAFT FOR EXAMPLE ARE BASED ON THE JUDGEMENT THAT ISRAELI IS PERSISTING IN A POLICY AIMED AT CHANGING THE RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE CITY OF JERUSALEM WE BELIEVE MY GOVERNMENT AND I THAT THIS CONCLUSION IS INCORRECT. QUITE THE CONTRARY, WE THINK THAT ISRAEL'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE HOLY PLACES IN JERUSALEM HAS LITERALLY AND ACTIVELY MINIMIZED TENSIONS.

SECONDLY, AND I THINK THIS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT, YOU WILL REMEMBER THAT ONE OF THE TESTS WAS WHETHER THE COUNCIL'S ACTION WOULD HELP OR HINDER THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT PROCESS. ON TUESDAY I TOLD

MM..../11



האל"ק 3/1/18

(האל"ק סגור)

אני יושב עתה

(20 עמודים)

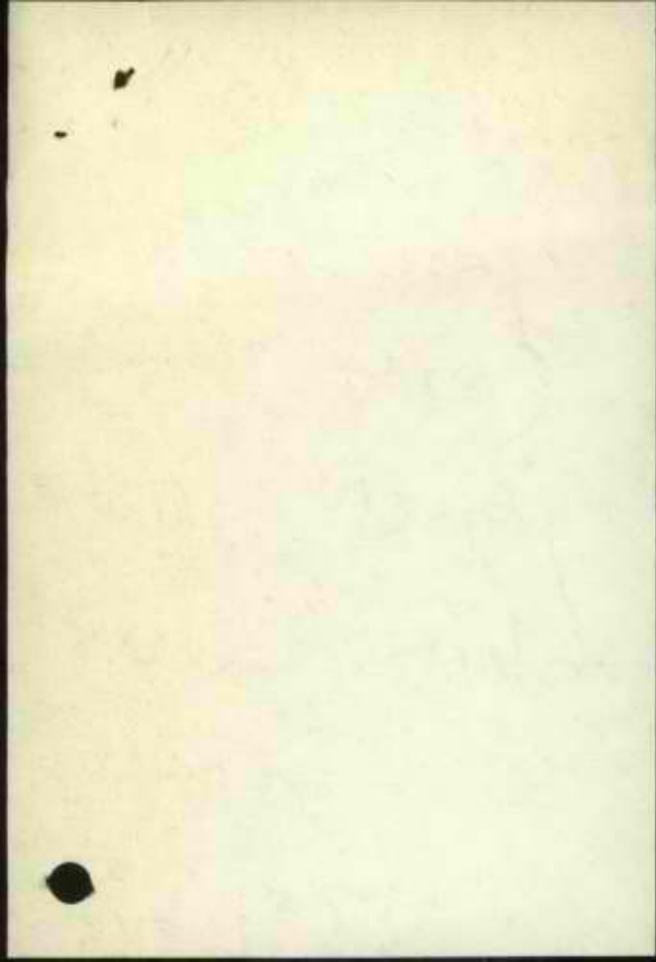
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78. 3. 76





23.3.76 - 23/3/76 11:00 AM  
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Mr. Scranton (United States of America):

Mr. President, first of all, may I say to you that I am very grateful personally for your kind comment at the opening of this hearing and for your extraordinarily calm and measured leadership in this which of all things that face us is among the most passionate.

Likewise, I am equally grateful to all representatives individually who have been kind enough to give me the kind of welcome that is very warming to the heart and I hope that I can live up to some of the very kind things that were said.

Purposely and personally, I have been here for each and every representative who has spoken and I plan to be here if I possibly can for all the other speakers on this very difficult problem with one exception. I have already personally apologized to him and should like to do so publicly.

Yesterday, in the middle of the comments of the representative of Egypt, I had to get up and leave because I was scheduled to be at a small luncheon for the Ambassador from Japan whom we are very sorry to have leave our Council.

But I did read what he had to say and I was here for his reply this morning.

How I too would like to indulge for just a couple of minutes in some personal comments from notes very well aware that this is impossible for a barbarian in the aegis of the gentleman from Saudi Arabia who inimitable wit and remarkable eloquence and most important of all and truly and seriously his very extraordinary knowledge of history.

But nevertheless, I shall try because I want to make it meaningful and personal, just a few comments about what has happened here so far in these deliberations.

First of all, I still am quite concerned and openly say so, at the decision that was made concerning procedures not, and I want this thoroughly understood, because the United States Government or, as far as I can make out, any other Government here, did not want the Palestine Liberation Organization to be heard.



Quite the contrary, we did and we welcome the hearing. But I am concerned personally because I think that unless a major international body of deliberation abides by rules it writes for itself, we can in the future regret it and I can see on the horizon, the number of times that could be forthcoming when forgetting rules and simply doing what the majority wants whatever the majority may be, can come back to haunt that majority at some future time.

I think it is very important for us to have rules of procedure and to abide by them.

Secondly, with regard to this event which is purported to have initiated the recent difficulties in the West Bank and in Jerusalem, many references have been made by other speakers about media reports, some of them based on hear-say on what other persons had said. This is natural and understandable, but it does lead us away from what is extremely important and that is the facts which are important in any kind of deliberation, but particularly so in a deliberation which has to do with such a very emotional part of the world. More, so I suspect, than anywhere in the world, based on its long and enduring, varied cultures, the remarkable differences and yet extraordinary religions and the other emotions that are there in such depth. In the last several years, events have taken place which have deeply hurt us all - terrorist raids and equally senseless retaliations and reprisals. It seems to me that it is our responsibility in this international body not to add fuel to those fires as they individually or collectively arise, but to do everything we can to lessen tensions to deal with facts and to help in every way possible to bring peace there and everywhere else in the world.

As several of you have said and correctly in my judgment, the big issue here is not each of the events to which I have referred as deplorable as they may be.

The big issue is the question of the occupied territories and the people that are there, vis-à-vis Israel's right to be and to be secure to which, as everyone knows, we Americans are strongly and deeply dedicated.

Yesterday, when I left this body, I went to that small luncheon and sat next to a very lovely woman and we were discussing this very major issue and she said to me, rather yearningly: "Can it ever be resolved?". That is clearly the major question here and the one to which we should be devoting



all our efforts. My answer to her was quite simple to say, very difficult to do, for the world's it must be.

And one last personal comment to you all. I really would greatly appreciate it if over the next few weeks and months that I am here, any one of you and all of you would be kind enough to talk with me in the corridors or at social functions or anywhere else, so that I can get as deep and penetrating an understanding of what each of you and your Governments are thinking and was thinking about this, the most critical problem, I think, that besets this world.

And now for some written comments:

Mr. President, at the outset it is especially noteworthy, I think, that Israel has joined in our deliberations and my Government warmly welcomes Israel's decision to do so.

For the events that have brought us together today are a corollary and a consequence of the tragic dispute that has occupied this Council with such regularity over the years. As such they raise two categories of issues that we must have a mind to, if we are to deal with them constructively.

First is the question of bringing to an early end the situation that gives rise to these disturbances and to other forms of violence in the Middle East. So long as the situation persists, we can expect continuing tension and occasional violence, however much we might and must regret it. It is not necessary for me to belabour this point. Surely, it is evident to all of us.

The occupation of territories in the 1967 War has always been seen by the world community to be an abnormal state of affairs that would be brought to an end as part of a peace settlement. Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) adopted by this Council shortly after the end of the 1967 war that led to the occupation established the basic bargain that would constitute a settlement. This bargain was withdrawal of Israeli forces in return for termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and the political independence of every State in the area, and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, free from threats or acts of force.



My Government has committed itself to do all it can to bring about this settlement in the words of Resolution 338 (1973) to implement Council Resolution 242 (1967) in all of its parts and to further negotiations between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East which is what we are here for. We are engaged at this moment in an effort as all members of the Council know, to regain momentum in the negotiating process that has brought some unusual progress, but must bring more.

The second focus of our consideration must be the conduct of the occupation itself. In asking for this meeting, the letter of complaint circulated by the Permanent Representatives of the Libyan Arab Republic and of Pakistan identifies three issues: the administration of the Holy Sites, the situation in Jerusalem and Israeli actions in regard to the civilian population of the occupied territories and the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories.

The position of the United States on these issues is clear and of long standing. I propose to review the United States' position today, once more to point out that there are proper principles and procedures under international law and practice which when applied and maintained will contribute to civil order and will over the longer run, facilitate a just and lasting peace.

First there is the matter of the Holy Sites and practice of religion in the occupied areas. The deep religious attachment of Moslems, Jews and Christians to the Holy Places of Jerusalem has added a uniquely volatile element to the tensions that adhere in an occupation situation. The area known to Moslems as the Haram as-Sharif and to Jews as the Temple Mount is of particular sensitivity. Israel's punctilious administration of the Holy Places in Jerusalem has greatly minimized the tensions.

To my Government, the standard to be followed in the administering of the Holy Sites is contained in Article 27 of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. All parties to the Arab-Israel conflict are signatories of the Convention. Article 27 of the Convention prescribes, *inter alia*:

Protected persons are entitled in all circumstances to respect for their persons, their honour, their family rights, their religious convictions and practices and their manners and customs. With regard to the immediate problem before us, a ruling by a lower Israeli Court, which would have the effect of



altering the status of the (?), it is our view that Israel's responsibilities under Article 27 to preserve religious practices as they were at the time occupation began cannot be changed by the ruling of an Israeli Court. We are deeply gratified that the Supreme Court of Israel has upheld the Israeli Government's position. The status of the Holy Places is, of course, only one facet, however, important and it is very important, of the problem of the status of Jerusalem itself. The United States' position on the status of Jerusalem has been stated here on numerous occasions since the Arab portion of that city was occupied by Israel in 1967.

Ambassador Yose said in 1969:

That the part of Jerusalem that came under the control of Israel in the June War, like other areas occupied by Israel, is occupied territory and hence subject to the provisions of international law governing the rights and obligations of an occupying power. Ambassador Goldberg said in 1968 to this Council: The United States does not accept or recognize unilateral actions by any States in the areas as altering the status of Jerusalem. I emphasize as did Mr. Goldberg, that as far as the United States is concerned, such unilateral measures, including expropriation of land and or other administrative action taken by the Government of Israel cannot be considered other than interim and provisional and cannot affect the present international status, nor prejudice the final and permanent status of Jerusalem.

The United States' position could not be clearer. Since 1967, we have restated here in other forums and to the Government of Israel that the future of Jerusalem will be determined only through the instruments and processes of negotiation, agreement and accommodation. Unilateral attempts to pre-determine that future have no standing.

Next, I turn to the question of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories. Again my Government believes that international law sets the appropriate standards. An occupier must maintain the occupied areas as intact and unaltered as possible without interfering with the customary life of the area and any changes must be necessitated by the immediate needs of the occupation and be consistent with international law. The Fourth Geneva Convention speaks directly to the issue of population transfer in Article 249. The occupying into the territory it occupies. Clearly then, substantial resettlement of the Israeli



civilian population in occupied territories, including East Jerusalem, is illegal under the Convention and cannot be considered to have prejudged the outcome of future negotiations between the parties on the location of the borders of States of the Middle East. Indeed, the presence of these settlements is seen by my Government as an obstacle to the success of the negotiations for a just and final peace between Israel and its neighbours.

The real issues of peace and stability in the Middle East are very difficult indeed and unilateral acts such as civilian population transfers have been taken which serve to influence emotions on both sides.

I welcome the opportunity this meeting of the Council has provided to review the issues involved in the administration of the Holy Sites, the status of Jerusalem and in addition, the question of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories.

Now, as for prospective action by this Council, my Government will apply these tests first, do the facts and judgements on which the Resolution is based correspond to the actual situation? Second, will the Council's action in practice advance the proper administration of the areas involved? Third and most important, of all will the Council's action help or hinder the peaceful settlement process in the framework for which was established by Security Council Resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973)?