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PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

9 December 1977

Excellency,

I have the honour to inform you that a delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross recently visited Israel for the purpose of making its first contact at a high level with the new Government in Israel.

The Delegation was composed of Mr. Richard Pestalozzi, Special Assistant to the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross; and Mr. Jean-Pierre Hocke, Director of the Operations Department of the International Committee of the Red Cross. In Jerusalem and in Tel Aviv, the delegation met with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Moshe Dayan; the Minister of Defence, Mr. Ezer Weizman; the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Yosef Burg; the Minister of Justice, Mr. Shmuel Tamir; the Israel Defence Forces Coordinator for the Territories, General Avraham Orly; and the Assistant Director-General responsible for United Nations Affairs in the Israel Foreign Ministry, Ambassador Eytan Ronn.

His Excellency  
Dr. Kurt Waldheim  
The Secretary-General

Following the visit, the Spokesman of the Israel Defence Forces issued the following statement on 6 December 1977:

"Israel recently informed the International Committee of the Red Cross of a substantial extension of the arrangements for visits by ICRC delegates to security detainees in the territories. According to the new arrangements, the military government authorities will notify the ICRC of the arrest of security detainees within fourteen days of the arrest of security detainees and an ICRC delegate will be entitled to visit without witnesses every such detainee within that period in order to ascertain the detainee's health.

"After the visit, if the ICRC delegate so requests, the detainee may promptly be examined without witnesses by a Red Cross physician.

"Agreement has been reached as to visits in special circumstances within less than fourteen days from the arrest."

A parallel statement was published by the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva on 6 December 1977.

Although Israel does not consider that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to the territories, in practice it applies all the humanitarian provisions contained in it, and the representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross are accorded all the rights and privileges provided for under it.

I should like to emphasize that these new arrangements are in line with the Israel Government's policy of allowing complete and free access to the territories and that the Israel administration in the territories is willing and capable of operating under the full exposure of international opinion. It is hoped that the unusual and unprecedented step of allowing Red Cross delegates, accompanied, if necessary, by a Red Cross doctor,

to visit detainees during the initial period of interrogation will go a long way towards quashing once and for all the empty allegations of Arab propaganda which have been raised once again in the course of the current session of the General Assembly.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 57.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Chaim Herzog  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

*Israel*



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RA  
8/12*

PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

*cc. SG  
cc. Mr. Buffet  
Mr. Gumpert  
Mr. Ugoletti  
AR JMB*

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017  
OXFORD 7-5500

*W*

6 December 1977

*RA*

Excellency,

I have the honour to draw your attention to the following extracts from an interview which was conducted on 4 December 1977 with the President of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on the ABC television network programme, "Issues and Answers". The interviewers were Mr. Bob Clark and Mr. Frank Reynolds, both of ABC Television.

In reply to a question as to whether Libya would accept the right of Israel to exist if a United Nations resolution stated that there would be a Palestinian homeland, Colonel Qaddafi, speaking through an interpreter said:

"If a homeland is established for the Palestinians, this means that the Palestinians have returned to their homeland. But if you mean the establishing of a Palestinian state in the West Bank only, or Gaza Strip, this, in the point of view of Yasir Arafat, and all the Palestinian leaders, is only as a base for them to continue their struggle for the liberation of their homeland. And this is the point of view of all Palestinians from the right to the left.

"They are viewing this subject as a precise determination that they should continue their struggle from the river to the sea. This is the truth, because I don't want to deceive the public opinion."

His Excellency  
Dr. Kurt Waldheim  
The Secretary-General

In reply to a question as to whether he, perhaps jointly with the other "rejectionist" Arab leaders who met in Tripoli last weekend, would be willing under any circumstances to meet anywhere with the Prime Minister of Israel, as did President Sadat of Egypt, Colonel Qaddafi replied:

"We reject this. Not only we, but from the point of principle. We reject to negotiate with an enemy, who are occupying our land. Also, we know the so-called Begin, that he has no right as a civilized, or a decent individual, because he used to be a terrorist."

"He used to be a terrorist, and he is anti-Semitic."

This response led to a discussion of international terror:

"Reynolds: Colonel Qaddafi, on that subject. Don't you support groups that in many parts of the world are considered terrorists?"

"Qaddafi: This is the claim of the Zionists and the Americans, without any proof, or without any foundation. We challenge those who accuse us to bring any proof. We are a great nation, which has very high values, and it is a nation, who make the international civilization, so our behaviour, and our values cannot permit us to make any terrorist actions.

"But the United States, which has two hundred years old, and which has been touted (?) as a state, because of the terrorist actions in Europe, has now been making terrorist actions against the countries of the world.

"Clark: But, Colonel Qaddafi, you have --

"Reynolds: Where? Where? Wait a moment. Where are we, where is the United States making terrorist actions? If I understood, Colonel --

"Qaddafi: The United States, the United States is making terrorist actions against people by making warnings that the United States will occupy the oil fields of certain countries. The United States prevents the sale of foodstuffs, and, to poor nations, and also warning the many countries of the world by its fleets and its armed arsenals, and also with the mercenary, merciless mission against the, against people in many countries.

"Clark: Colonel, if I may interrupt--

"Qaddafi: And also making the world fearful of the United States atomic bomb.

"Clark: Colonel--

"Qaddafi: So, the United States is rightfully the leader of the international terrorists."

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"Qaddafi: (in English) He (President Carter) is not the leader of the United States forever. He is only the temporary President.

"Clark: You don't hold him responsible, then, for what you consider past actions?

"Qaddafi (in English): No. I mean, the policy for the United States of America is responsible for that terrorism in the world."

I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated as a document of the General Assembly under agenda items 31, 50 and 118.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.



Chaim Herzog  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

*Israel*



PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

cc. SG  
Orig. Mr. Beyar to ...  
cc. Mr. Buffet  
Mr. Gueffier  
Mr. Uguibert  
AR IFMK  
800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017  
OXFORD 7-5500  
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Chaim Herzog  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

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Rec'd 7-11-77



PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

CC SG  
BIG GLEISSNER  
CC SHEVCHENKO  
FARAH  
AR/FMG  
RA

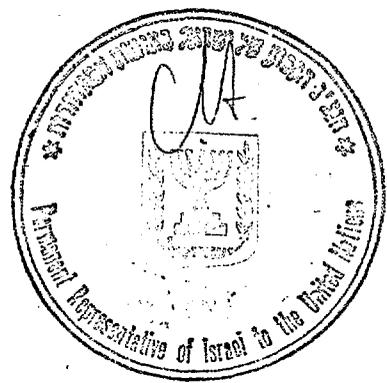
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OXFORD 7-5500

The Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and, in reference to his letter PO/230 SOAF of 10 November 1977, has the honour to inform him that, in the formulation of its policy, Israel will be guided by Security Council Resolution 418 (1977) on the question of South Africa adopted by the Security Council on 4 November 1977.

The Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations requests the Secretary-General to have this letter circulated as a document of the Security Council.

The Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations avails himself of this opportunity to renew to the Secretary-General of the United Nations the assurances of his highest consideration.

New York  
7 December 1977



*Teddy Kollek***JERUSALEM**

**T**he place of Jerusalem in the process of seeking peace in the Middle East is unique. Its historical, emotional and international complexities set it apart from other issues which may be solved on the basis of mutually agreed boundaries. The questions that the Arabs raise about Jerusalem cannot be decided by drawing a line. The future of Jerusalem cannot be resolved by division.

This does not mean that Jerusalem is "an insoluble problem." It means that Jerusalem's people of differing faiths, cultures and aspirations must find peaceful ways to live together other than by drawing a line in the sand with a stick. It is no solution to build again concrete walls and barbed wire through the middle of the city.

The problem of Jerusalem is difficult because age-old and deeply felt emotions are encrusted over the rationality necessary to find solutions. But I am convinced that these solutions can be found by men of good will.

Let me be perfectly candid. The thing I dread most is that this city, so beautiful, so meaningful, so holy to millions of people, should ever be divided again; that barbed wire fences, mine fields and concrete barriers should again sever its streets; that armed men again patrol a frontier through its heart. I fear the re-division of Jerusalem not only as the mayor of the city, as a Jew and as an Israeli, but as a human being who is deeply sensitive to its history and who cares profoundly about the well-being of its inhabitants.

Jerusalem is, of course, one of the oldest cities. Signs of human habitation have been found dating back at least 4,000 years. In the course of these millennia it has been coveted and conquered by a host of peoples: Canaanites, Jebusites, Jews, Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Crusaders, Mamelukes, Ottomans, British, Jews. But throughout those thousands of years, Jerusalem has been divided for less than two decades — from 1948 to 1967. It must never again be divided. Once more to cut this living city in two would be as cruel as it is irrational.

Why have all these successive peoples sought this city? It has no

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Teddy Kollek has been Mayor of Jerusalem since 1965.

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natural resources; it has no port; it has no material wealth. It has been coveted primarily for spiritual reasons; it was the site of the Temple of the Jews, the site of the Crucifixion of Jesus and the place from which Mohammed rose to Heaven.

The fact that all three great monotheistic religions find meaning in Jerusalem cannot be a random accident. I think the reason is clear. First of all, Jerusalem is a beautiful place set in the mystical Judaean Hills, conducive to meditation and thought and wonder at the meaning of life. And secondly, for all their tensions and exclusiveness, the three great religions are historically deeply inter-related. Jesus came to Jerusalem because he was a Jew who made the pilgrimage to the City of David and the Temple. Mohammed, whose roots were in Mecca and Medina, is said to have visited Jerusalem during his night ride because his ideas and his vision were interrelated with Judaism and Christianity. We must live with the reality of these connections. For centuries men have fought and died because of them. But I am not alone in feeling intensely that men can also live in brotherhood because of them.

These very connections make any division of Jerusalem a senseless exercise. The remaining Western Wall of the Temple enclosure, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Dome of the Rock are all in the Old City within yards of each other. The Dome of the Rock is actually on top of the Temple Mount, the very site of the Temple of the Jews.

In 1947, as the British were about to relinquish their Mandate over Palestine, the United Nations, in addition to its partition recommendations, proposed to make Jerusalem an internationalized city. This solution proved unacceptable to both Muslims and Jews. Immediately following the passage of the United Nations resolution the Arabs initiated violent attacks on the Jews of Jerusalem. At the end of the generalized and prolonged fighting which followed, the Arabs held East Jerusalem and the Old City, and the Jews, West Jerusalem.

The Vatican supported internationalization at that time. But the Roman Catholic Church, although of great influence in the world, is only one element among the more than 30 Christian denominations in Jerusalem. The Catholics, for example, own about 17 percent of the Christian Holy Places. Apart from this, however, for various reasons the emphasis of the Vatican seems over the years to have been greatly modified. Nor is internationalization supported by other leading Christian communities in Jerusalem.

The religious tenets of the Muslims exclude internationalization because they reject the idea that the Temple Mount—the Haram—

should be ruled by infidels. From that point of view Dr. Waldheim is as much an infidel as I am. Moreover, it does not accord with their political aspirations. As to the Jews the centrality of Jerusalem in Jewish faith and tradition and the intensity of Jewish feeling about Jerusalem are reflected in the 2,000-year-old prayer repeated throughout the centuries, "Next year in Jerusalem." This symbolizes not only a religious hope but memories of ancient glories under Jewish rule and an unyielding struggle for their revival. All this is expressed for Jews in the word "Jerusalem." The Jewish people cannot give up Jerusalem, nor can or will they ever again remove their capital from Jerusalem.

But independent of these intense feelings, internationalization will not work for pragmatic reasons. Past experience, whether in Trieste or in Danzig, has shown its unworkability. In the case of Danzig indeed it contributed to bringing on a world war.

A city cannot be run by a committee, particularly a city of such complexities and diversities as Jerusalem. Before building a road or a sewage system, the committee members would have to refer back to their foreign offices or to a United Nations bureaucracy. And who would pay the bills? Jerusalem is not an industrial city; its economy is based on government and education and tourism, and it does not have the taxing power to pay for itself. Today it is supported by the state of Israel. To this should be added that Israel's experience in the United Nations of recent years has been traumatic and there is little or no confidence that an international body, which presumably would operate under the authority of and reflect various power elements in the United Nations, would be either impartial or effective.

The mayor of Jerusalem does not make foreign policy; that is the function of Israel's national government. But when I look at the future of Jerusalem, there are two premises with which virtually everyone in Israel agrees. Those are the premises I have already suggested: that Jerusalem shall remain undivided and that it shall remain the capital of Israel. All Jerusalemites of every persuasion demand that, under whatever political solution, the city will remain accessible to all and the rights of every religion to its holy places will be preserved.

These two conditions have now existed for ten years—since the city was so unexpectedly unified when the Jordanians attacked Israel in the June 1967 War. And I think that the history of relations in Jerusalem between Jews, Arabs and Christians during this decade points to the kind of solution we should eventually evolve for Jerusalem.

Tensions do exist today in the city and nobody can deny them. But it was a much less happy city when walls and barbed wire divided it; and it was certainly a more violent city than it is today. We have made progress towards a city of tolerant coexistence in which common interests are emerging, and we have established crucial principles that make continuing progress possible. Four of these principles are:

1. There shall be free access to all the Holy Places and they shall be administered by their adherents.

2. Everything possible shall be done to ensure unhindered development of the Arab way of life in the Arab sections of the city and to ensure the Arabs a practical religious, cultural, and commercial governance over their own daily lives. The same holds true, of course, for the various Christian communities.

3. Everything possible should be done to ensure equal governmental, municipal and social services in all parts of the city.

4. Continuing efforts should be made to increase cultural, social and economic contacts among the various elements of Jerusalem's population.

And, in fact, civic affairs, law enforcement, infrastructure services, urban planning, marketing and supply, and to a great extent specialized medical services are centrally provided to all Jerusalemites.

Let me briefly discuss these four principles.

First, the Holy Places. Throughout their occupation of East Jerusalem from 1948 to 1967, the Jordanians reneged on their commitments under the Armistice Agreement to permit Jews to have access to and to pray at the Western Wall. Instead, there was a mass destruction of Jewish synagogues, and other religious shrines were desecrated. There was a ban on the acquisition of land by Christian churches in any part of East Jerusalem. We have no reason to think the Arabs would act differently in the future. They have not in the meantime become more tolerant.

Ever since the reunification of the city by Israel, access has been opened to all Holy Places for all religions and sects. Today Christians administer Christian Holy Places and Muslims administer Muslim Holy Places. Israel is a tolerant enclave in an intolerant part of the world.

In practice satisfactory working arrangements have evolved for the Holy Places. The Arabs have independent administration without interference, and we maintain sovereignty. International law-

yers would no doubt find it a problem to formulate these arrangements in a way satisfactory to both sides. But in practice it exists and works well.

The Temple Mount—a small area of 40 or 50 acres—is the most delicate problem. It is under Arab administration and Israeli sovereignty. After the fire set by a demented Australian fundamentalist Christian to the Al Aksa Mosque on the Temple Mount in 1969, the Arabs asked us to help guard this "Holy Enclosure." For the previous years, we had had no actual signs of our sovereignty on the Temple Mount. But then, at the Muslims' request, we appointed policemen to protect the Muslim Holy Places. No details were discussed, but the police unit guarding the Temple Mount is commanded by a Muslim officer and manned by a mixture of Muslim, Jewish and Christian policemen. This arrangement is based on a tacit de facto understanding emerging from the necessities of a complicated situation.

More recently, tension was caused when a group of young Jews attempted to pray on the Temple Mount in violation of present regulations and despite the fact that the Chief Rabbinate of Israel has prohibited religious Jews from even visiting the Temple Mount, because they may inadvertently step on the place where only the High Priest was allowed in ancient days.

Arab members of the Israeli police force stationed on the Temple Mount arrested the young men and brought them to trial. The magistrate found in favor of the Jewish boys and ruled that there is an inherent Jewish right to pray on the Temple Mount. Sensing a storm, I pressed the government for an immediate policy statement. In response, the Minister of Police issued a statement forbidding prayers on the Temple Mount. But the crisis was more serious than the government anticipated. Arabs, drawing on their concept of their own governments and courts, could not believe that a magistrate would make such a decision without prior authorization from a political authority. They suspected a salami tactic to take the Temple Mount from them slice by slice.

A reassuring statement from either the Prime Minister or the Minister of Justice might perhaps have been helpful. But the facts that the affair was still in judicial hands and that there is in Israel a clear distinction between judicial and administrative functions were no doubt inhibiting factors. Meanwhile, against the background of the fighting in the Lebanon and unrelated tensions in the West Bank, the fat was in the fire. There followed a series of serious demonstrations in the city.

Fortunately, however, the vast majority of Muslims in Jerusalem

did not participate in the disturbances. Subsequently the Israel High Court overruled the decision of the magistrate. To me the whole incident was proof that there is a possibility of living together.

## III

Second, unhindered development of the Arab way of life in the Arab sections of the city and Arab autonomy over their own daily lives:

We are, in American terms, a moderate-sized city—in all 370,000 of whom about 260,000 are Jews, about 90,000 Muslim Arabs and 15,000 Christians. Of the Christians, the majority are Armenians, Greeks, Ethiopians and members of various other venerable denominations. Roughly the same proportion between Jews and non-Jews has continued since the first unofficial census was taken in 1840 when the Jews were first recorded a majority in the city.

We are not trying to create a monolithic melting pot in Jerusalem. What we are trying to do is preserve, in this multi-cultural mosaic of a pluralistic society, the traditions that have existed in the city for centuries.

If you had walked into the city a hundred years ago, you would have found the same patterns. It comprised then only the small area enclosed by the City walls, just about one square kilometer. Entering through the Jaffa Gate, you would have found an Armenian Quarter, a Greek Quarter, a Latin Quarter, several little enclaves of Copts, Abyssinians and other Christian groups, a very large Muslim Quarter and an even larger Jewish Quarter. There was no intermarriage and not much social contact but relations were on the whole reasonable and bearable. The basic idea was that each person felt himself superior to everyone else.

These separate entities still exist today and we have built on them and on that tradition. Jerusalem's Jews consist of oldtimers and natives of the city and recent immigrants, coming from over a hundred different cultural backgrounds. This great Jewish variety has its own loyalties and aspirations. Among the Christian groups are Arabs—mainly Protestants and some Uniates—who have Arab national loyalties. Sometimes these feelings are very strong because minorities tend to try to give proof of stronger loyalties than secure majorities.

The majority of Christians in Jerusalem have only one desire, namely to continue their own way of life as they have done for a very long time. The Greek Patriarchs go back to the first century; the Armenians have been here since the fifth century. The Chris-

tians in the city measure every government by the freedom given them to run their affairs undisturbed. That is their loyalty.

We don't interfere with them, their Holy Places, their pilgrimages or their schools. We help wherever and whenever we are asked to do so. The Jordanians had imposed two restrictive laws. One forced the Christian schools to give equal time to the Bible and the Koran; the other restricted Christian orders or foreigners from buying land or building churches. We have abolished both laws, and in fact four new major churches have since been built or are under construction. Like the Muslims, the Christians have authority over their own institutions and Holy Places. We do everything possible to help them maintain them.

The Arabs are in a difficult position: some, perhaps many, must have been proud when Arafat appeared before the United Nations. And yet I believe that most of them do not really expect or wish the Palestine Liberation Organization to solve their intricate problems nor regard the PLO ideology as desirable, let alone tenable. This is not because they are pro-Israel or pro-Zionist. Their fundamental goal is to remain in Jerusalem and to preserve the Arab character of their part of the city. That is their loyalty. The PLO threatens to put all this in jeopardy.

During the 19 years of Jordanian rule, Jerusalem experienced an emigration of Arabs. It was a dead-end city and all the opportunities were in Amman or in the oil countries. Christians tended to emigrate to North and South America. In order for the Arabs to remain here, they need a flourishing economic life. Today, they have economic prosperity and employment. And since their economy is to a great extent based on cooperation with the Jewish economy, terrorism and the PLO are not in the interests of local Arab nationalism and the continuation of the Arab presence in Jerusalem.

They face another danger. When the Mufti of Jerusalem fought the British and the Jews in the Palestine of the British Mandate in the 1930s, more Arabs who opposed him were killed by him and his henchmen than were British and Jews put together. About 500 Jews and 150 British lost their lives, while about 1,200 Arab civilians and 2,000 gang members were killed by their own brother Arabs. The Mufti was the father of the present-day PLO ideology of a monolithic and militant Arab Palestine nationalism. Jerusalem's Arabs fear a repetition of such internal terrorism if the PLO were to take over, particularly in the light of what has happened in Algeria and Lebanon.

There is, unfortunately, little tolerance today in Islam. To those

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who follow it closely, Islam seems on the march again, riding on the power and riches of oil which are expected to revive ancient glories and make amends for Tours and Vienna.

Many have already suffered at the hands of this revived intolerance: the Christian Maronites of Lebanon, the black Christians and pagans in the Sudan, the Jews in Syria, the Copts of Egypt and the Kurds of Iraq (for not being ethnically Arab). All have experienced varying degrees of persecution or outright genocide.

But to return to Jerusalem, our efforts to help the Arabs preserve their way of life in the city during the past decade have taken many forms:

The only place in the Arab world where there is a free press—free not only to criticize the Israeli government in the most violent terms, but also to criticize Arab leadership—is in Jerusalem, where three Arab dailies are published. This contrasts with the fact that several months before the Six Day War the Jordanian government decided to suppress the semi-independent newspapers of Jerusalem and replace them by a single government-controlled daily.

There is freedom to travel. A Jerusalem Arab is free to decide any morning to cross the bridge into Jordan and to go from there to any country. He can go whenever he likes and come back whenever he likes. 150,000 Arabs come to Jerusalem every year from Jordan, Egypt, Kuwait and Libya and everywhere else in the Arab world. They carry passports of countries that are at war with us. And they are welcome, because we have undertaken to make the Holy Shrines accessible to everyone.

There is an Arab curriculum in the schools for Arab children, and these schools are entirely maintained by the city. During their three final school years, Arab children have the choice of a course of study designed to qualify them for acceptance by an Arab university in the neighboring Arab countries. This course is acceptable even to the Arab League, and inspectors recognized by the Jordanian Ministry of Education come to Jerusalem to supervise the university entrance examinations. If they so prefer, Arab students can take a different course of study during those last three years at school and go to an Israeli university.

The beginnings of post-secondary education started by a Catholic college in Bethlehem and continuation classes in the Anglican school are also contributing to the raising of Arab educational achievement.

The only change introduced into the former Jordanian curriculum—besides eliminating hate propaganda—provides for Arab children to learn Hebrew. At the same time Israel is making special

efforts to encourage the study of Arabic.

We have encouraged the growth of economic opportunities. We have built Arab vocational training schools and hope to build more, offering sophisticated subjects, such as electronics, computer technology, and others that will give Arab youth a chance to improve their standard of living and their self-respect. We are doing what we can to encourage Arab self-confidence and at the same time strengthen the Arab economy in Jerusalem.

And, finally, with few exceptions, the Arabs of Jerusalem are not only citizens of the city but remain citizens of Jordan at the same time. Few have in fact applied for Israeli citizenship and no pressure has been exerted on them to do so. We do not seek nor do we have any interest to break their ties to their families, their heritage and their culture. On the contrary, we encourage such links.

The Arab community of Jerusalem continues its public activities in various fields. Jerusalem houses the Association of Arab Free Professions of the West Bank, it has several Arab clubs, charitable societies, private schools and orphanages, etc.

All the measures we have taken thus far have been unilateral decisions of the Israeli government and the municipal administration. I have constantly advocated and called on the Arab citizens of the city to share actively in the decision-making process but so far with little success. Our efforts have been handicapped by the refusal of the Arab leadership to hold political office or openly to participate in the city's elected government. At the same time, many Arabs hold high appointed municipal office and well over 20 percent of the city's employees are Arabs, while almost all the former Arab municipal employees have continued in their jobs. Thousands of Arabs vote in our municipal elections (without accepting the principle of Israeli sovereignty); but fears lest running for municipal office be interpreted as accepting Israeli governance have prevented local leaders from standing for election in the municipal administration.

In practice we have overcome this problem in several ways. There is a Supreme Muslim Council which serves as the authority for Muslim affairs under non-Muslim rule. The Council was originally created by the British in 1921, later suspended by the Jordanian government and transferred to Amman, and reestablished in Jerusalem after the Six Day War. Though it is a self-appointed body not officially recognized by Israeli authorities, we deal with its leaders on day-to-day matters on a de facto basis.

We on our part have appointed an adviser on East Jerusalem affairs. He is a Jew and two of his three assistants are East Jerusa-

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lem Arabs. They keep in touch with the Arab community in many informal ways, learning its needs and helping to solve its problems.

Communication is also maintained through the ancient system of Mukhtars, or district leaders, each of whom is responsible for such matters as registering births, deaths, and land ownerships and notarizing documents in his locale. The 60 Mukhtars are not democratically elected by their constituents, but they act in the local tradition and perform useful functions.

The Chamber of Commerce of East Jerusalem performs numerous tasks which make possible the free flow of people and goods across the open bridges on the Jordan River. These include providing powers of attorney, authenticating high school diplomas for those wishing to study in Arab universities and so on. It also serves as a channel through which substantial amounts of Jordanian money are brought in to pay salaries to lawyers, teachers and others who in 1967 decided not to resume their work under the Israeli authorities.

In this manner and spirit we do our utmost both to retain flexibility and to reinforce contacts of all kinds with the Arab community of the city.

For some time now, I have envisioned a future structure in Jerusalem under which the city would be governed through a network of boroughs. Each borough would have a great deal of autonomy over its own municipal services and its life style. It would decide its own needs and priorities. It would be modeled not on the boroughs of New York but on those of London, which have their own budgets and a great deal of independence.

Of course, the borough idea is not a panacea. The Arabs will want the Temple Mount to be in their borough, and no Jew would agree to that. But the proposal does suggest an approach under which many of the aspects of everyday life can be delegated to local authorities, and the people of the various neighborhoods can feel some increasing control over their own lives and decisions.

By making our efforts permanent, by assuring their administration of the Temple Mount and by increasing their local autonomy, we hope to diminish any feeling among Jerusalem's Arabs that their way of life is threatened by Israeli sovereignty. We want to create a secure future for Arabs within the capital of Israel.

### IV

The third principle we follow is that everything possible should be done to provide equal municipal and social services in all parts of the city.

We are doing this despite the fact that Jerusalem is a poor city. It has no great industrial base. Although presently there is full employment, the people have not been able to accumulate capital. The population of this city of immigrants, both Jews and non-Jews, has grown by 350 percent in 25 years—a record increase! Most of the city's Jews—60 percent—are refugees from Arab countries who arrived without means and without useful skills. We also have a great number of elderly people, including aged Jewish immigrants who have prayed all their lives to come to Jerusalem. And we have a disproportionate share of young people in schools—90,000 from nursery schools to the Hebrew University. Our actual labor force is smaller than in other places.

In spite of these difficulties, we have done a great deal to improve local services and to equalize opportunities. We have created jobs. We have made it possible for Arab lawyers and judges, doctors, dentists and pharmacists to practice their professions without passing Israeli qualification exams. We have permitted corporations and other businesses to operate without the licenses and registrations required by Israeli law. We have extended our social welfare program to East Jerusalem where none existed before. We have opened community health centers in Arab neighborhoods. We have improved schools and built new ones. We have brought roads and electricity to outlying districts for the first time. The East Jerusalem sewage system, which existed only within the city walls, is at least 300 years old and some of it goes back to Roman times. It could not absorb the great new quantities of water we provided, and we are now spending considerable public funds to improve it.

Let me cite one specific example to illustrate some of the problems we face and how we go about solving them: Within the boundaries of Jerusalem, there is an Arab village called Silwan with about 17,000 inhabitants. In 1948, there was no road at all to Silwan. The people used a donkey path that went through an ancient Jewish cemetery. In 1956, the people of Silwan decided they needed a paved road for vehicular traffic and so they poured concrete over the Jewish graves and built a road.

When the Jews returned in 1967, they set about restoring the graves of their grandfathers and great-grandfathers and proceeded to chop up the Jordanian road. The Arabs from Silwan naturally objected vociferously. Within days we took a decision to build an alternative road that would skirt the graves. We allocated \$1.5 million, raised the money and completed the road, preserving the graves and providing Silwan with an alternative road, thus

## 712 FOREIGN AFFAIRS

avoiding a possible serious clash.

The fourth principle by which we administer the city is that continuing efforts shall be made to increase cultural, social and economic contacts among all the various elements of Jerusalemites.

I see the future of the city dependent in considerable part on the close relationships that can develop between its various components. Today we have joint youth camps in the summer attended by 15,000 youngsters, Jews, Christians and Moslems. We have art classes for Arab as well as Jewish young people at the Israel Museum. Hundreds of Arab children attend these classes. Arabs visit and use Jewish clinics and hospitals. We have even built a garden for the blind, on a former battleground, where Jewish and Arab blind now meet. Of course, we are lucky in one respect: there is no color bar. You can walk through Jerusalem's streets and find Jews and Arabs working side by side, and you will not be able to differentiate between them.

Despite all our efforts, it is obvious that the Arabs in Jerusalem still do not accept being included within Israel's frontiers. But then it must not be forgotten that the city's Arabs also complained about occupation when the Turks, the British and the "Jordanian Bedouin" were in control. And they called it "occupation" even then! Under Jordanian rule, they felt that Jerusalem was neglected and that Amman was favored over Jerusalem, as indeed it was. The Jordanian government rejected the idea of establishing its capital in Jerusalem after it had decided to annex the West Bank and incorporate it in the Hashemite Kingdom. Instances of Jordanian neglect—and disrespect—for Jerusalem were numerous. To quote some: contrary to expectation and hope, the Jordanian government rejected a plea to establish an Arab university in Jerusalem and instead they built it in Amman. When the Hospital of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem was about to be built, the Jordanians tried to persuade the Order of St. John to build its hospital in Amman. Only after the Order threatened not to build its hospital at all did it finally get the necessary permission to build in Jerusalem. No industry was started in Jerusalem. The largest single enterprise in Jordan-controlled Jerusalem, outside of hotels, was a cigarette factory that employed 12 people. Under Jordan's rule nothing was done to improve Jerusalem and there was widespread unhappiness during that time. People tend to forget such past unhappiness.

In the divided city there was, too, more violence than there is today. There was intermittent shooting across the border that ran through the city. Every year, people were killed or wounded. There was a feeling of claustrophobia in the city then. There was

no sense of freedom. Everywhere one went, the street ended abruptly with a sign: "Stop. Frontier. Danger Ahead." Today this is but a faint unpleasant memory of the past for Jew and non-Jew alike.

## v

We do not want to make of Jerusalem a parochial city but to restore its ancient glory. We have built a handsome Israel Museum, perhaps the major museum of international art and archaeology between the Eastern Mediterranean and Tokyo. The Jerusalem Museum of Islamic Art and Culture, opened only a couple of years ago, is one of outstanding excellence. The Jerusalem Theater has given us a home for the performing arts. We have built an embryonic center for writers, artists and musicians, at Mishkenot Sha'ananim, to which such world-renowned figures as Pablo Casals, Isaiah Berlin, Friedrich Dürrenmat, Richard Burton, Saul Bellow, Stephen Spender, Alexander Calder, Robert Rauschenberg, Isaac Stern, Simone de Beauvoir, have already come and worked and contributed to the cultural life of the city.

We are deeply immersed in city planning to improve the quality of life in Jerusalem. Our present planning focuses on the Old City and its immediate surroundings. We are developing a green belt around the Old City at great expense. Jerusalem is, I believe, the only city in modern times to create, by purchase, a large central green area such as was preserved by the Boston Common, New York's Central Park, London's Hyde Park, and the Bois de Boulogne of Paris more than a century ago.

To guide us in our planning, we have established a Jerusalem Committee, a unique group of more than 60 eminent people from all over the world: philosophers, historians, theologians, city planners, educators, architects, writers, artists. They gather in Jerusalem periodically and observe what we are planning and what we are doing. Sometimes they criticize us severely; sometimes they praise us. We take the criticism to heart and carry out practically all their recommendations. As a result, Jerusalem is becoming increasingly a more beautiful city literally day by day.

Despite our good intentions and care, there have been controversies. One was over the building of housing for Jews in East Jerusalem outside the Old City walls. This dispute was hardly justified since we did not infringe on any Arab housing. We built mainly on rocky ground newly incorporated into the city. We used no wooded land or land that was employed for agriculture. We removed nothing of value. Our plans call for no further land expropriation in the future.

## 714 FOREIGN AFFAIRS

At the same time, we have provided for Arab expansion too. Jerusalem's Arabs have the highest birthrate in the world and need more and more room in which to live. City-guaranteed mortgages have encouraged several times the amount of annual housing construction that was carried out under Jordanian rule.

We have paid much attention to the beauty of the Old City. We have permitted no changes there. We are rebuilding to scale the Jewish Quarter that was destroyed by the Jordanians in 1948. We have started to replace the forest of television antennas that disfigure the Old City with a central antenna and cables.

We have been improving living space in the poorer neighborhoods. We have planted trees and modernized schools and improved roads and built playgrounds. We have taken special pains with garbage clearance. We have worked hard to make neighborhoods in which young people will not be ashamed to live. We do not want the younger generation to move out.

Another area of controversy has been our eagerness to reveal and preserve the great heritage of Jerusalem's past. We are preserving more than anyone ever thought could be preserved. For this we were condemned by UNESCO, which charged that we were changing the character of Jerusalem with our archaeological digs.

Arabs living far from Jerusalem and not knowing the truth may perhaps have been worried by our archaeological activities. Some Arabs may even fear that we want to rebuild the Temple and that to this end we would undermine or remove the buildings on the Temple Mount. Their fear is groundless. Jews are not allowed to build the Temple since Jewish religious tradition holds that the Temple is already built and is waiting in heaven for the Messiah to come, when it will descend into its appropriate place. Unless and until the Messiah should come, there is therefore no chance of our disturbing the Muslim Holy Places.

What has actually happened is entirely different. More Muslim antiquities have been unearthed by Israeli archaeologists in these past ten years than in all previous history, thus enriching tremendously the world's knowledge of the Muslim past.

We have other complications. For example, we are now building a road from Mount Zion toward the Dung Gate to relieve traffic in the Old City. In our work, we came upon several levels of remains, remnants of Jewish houses destroyed by Titus in 70 A.D., a Roman road of the second century, the ruins of a large church built by Justinian and on top of that several Crusader towers, and above this again, a moat of a 500-year-old Ottoman city wall which badly needed repair because of neglect by the Jordanians. Not only have

we changed the alignment of the road at substantial cost and inconvenience, but have also invested much effort and money in preserving the discoveries.

My point is that there is no connection between the complaints about our archaeological digs and reality. People abroad devise stories to feed their political propaganda. In reality we are beautifying, restoring, and preserving Jerusalem, not damaging it. The members of the Jerusalem Committee, people of standing, integrity and independent judgment, came and saw and approved.

## VI

Jews care intensely about Jerusalem. The Christians have Rome and Canterbury and even Salt Lake City; Muslims have Mecca and Medina. Jerusalem has great meaning for them also. But the Jews have only Jerusalem and only the Jews have made it their capital. That is why it has so much deeper a meaning for them than for anybody else.

When the city was reunited ten years ago, all Jews, not only the religious but also the secular, felt the ancient prophecy fulfilled. Jerusalem was our capital even when we were not here—for 2,000 years. Nobody else ever made it their capital: on the two occasions the Arabs could have made Jerusalem their capital, they did not. In the Middle Ages they chose Ramle, near Tel Aviv, on the way to Jerusalem, and in 1948 they chose Amman, which they preferred to Jerusalem.

We do not aspire to find solutions to all the problems of the Middle East in Jerusalem. This is a complicated city with conflicting interests and it is impossible to satisfy all the wishes of everybody.

Sometimes people outside the Middle East ask: What is the relevance of what we are doing in Jerusalem in making the city viable, beautiful, peaceful, to the ultimate question of the sovereignty of the city?

We can only look at the situation realistically: If, at worst, Muslim and Jewish differences prove irreconcilable, we will have to live in tension for a long time. All the more reason to care for the city as much as we can to ensure its welfare and well-being in spite of the strains and stresses. If, at best, Jews and Arabs find accommodations that are acceptable to the aspirations of all three faiths, no one would argue that what we are doing for Jerusalem today has been irrelevant.

We want Jerusalem to remain a multi-cultural city—a mosaic of people. By trying to live together, by joining in many activities, and

## 716 FOREIGN AFFAIRS

by equalizing opportunities and social services, we hope to reduce clashes and lower tensions. There are certainly differences of religion, language, cultural attitudes and political aspirations. But I believe that if the Arabs of Jerusalem are encouraged to feel secure, it should be possible for all to live together in reasonable neighborly relations.

The bottom line is that Jerusalem must never again be divided — with barbed wire through its center, with separate police forces and separate flags. Let it be clearly understood, however, Jerusalem is and will remain the capital of Israel. Given that axiom, we have proven that others can coexist with us. By contrast, during the 19 years of Arab rule, Jews were totally eliminated and limitations imposed on Christians.

In this undivided city our objectives are free movement of people and goods, access to the Holy Places for all, the meeting of local needs, reasonable urban planning and development, the reduction of intercommunal conflicts and the satisfaction of international interests.

It is impossible to find a solution which will be fully satisfactory to everyone, and Jerusalem is not unique in this. One cannot make all the people happy all the time. But I feel we can justly claim that under our administration more problems have been solved for more people than under any previous administration.

To enable the city government to carry out the necessary adjustments, it has been suggested that a special Jerusalem law be promulgated, delegating to the city greater autonomy and greater rights, and putting at its disposal additional financial resources, as is done in many countries with regard to their capital cities. This will help provide the elasticity needed to cope with the problems of a multi-ethnic, multi-religious city, with sometimes sudden tension.

Within an undivided city, everything is possible, all kinds of adjustments can be made, all kinds of accommodations can be considered, all kinds of autonomy can be enjoyed, all kinds of positive relationships can be developed.

In 1967, when attacked by the Jordanians, the Jews were willing to sacrifice their lives for Jerusalem. They would again. There are some Israelis who would give up the Golan, some Israelis who would give up the Sinai, and some who would give up the West Bank (But I do not think you can find any Israelis who are willing to give up Jerusalem. They cannot and will not.) This beautiful golden city is the heart and the soul of the Jewish people. You cannot live without a heart and soul. If you want one simple word to symbolize all of Jewish history, that word would be Jerusalem.

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MS - Israel  
Rec'd 11-11-77



PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

cc. S-G  
Orig. Mr. Gazarian  
cc. Mr. Gleissner  
Mr. Shevchenko  
Mr. Buffum  
Messrs. Guyer / Urquhart  
AIR / FMG  
PA(2)

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017  
OXFORD 7-5500

11 November 1977

Excellency,

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to draw your attention to the developments along the Lebanese border.

Following the internecine Arab slaughter which took place in Lebanon over the past two years, the situation in the south of the country bordering on Israel has remained unsettled. P.L.O. forces in that area have attempted on numerous occasions to annihilate the Lebanese Christian community there, numbering some 50.000 men, women and children. The Government of Israel has committed itself to the defense of the lives of those Christians. After serious outbreaks of violence over the summer between the P.L.O. and the Christians, a cease-fire in southern Lebanon entered into force on 26 September 1977.

Negotiations were set in train for the withdrawal of the P.L.O. forces from the area, and for the re-entry of the reconstituted Lebanese Army into southern Lebanon. Various elements within the P.L.O. declared themselves opposed to the cease-fire, and announced that they would take steps to sabotage it. These elements, which apparently include Fatah, the principal organization in the P.L.O., and the "Popular Front", which is part of the so-called "Rejectionist Front", sought to reactivate military action in the area not only to prevent the Lebanese Army from re-establishing itself over sovereign Lebanese territory, but also to prejudice the current negotiations for the reconvening of the Geneva Peace Conference.

His Excellency  
Dr. Kurt Waldheim  
The Secretary-General

To this end, P.L.O. elements acted subversively in southern Lebanon and also, from the end of September to the beginning of November, launched eight rocket attacks across the border with Israel on northern civilian targets at Safed, Kiryat Shmona, Nahariya, Acre, Metulla and Ramat Alma. Several civilians were injured in these attacks and considerable damage was done to property. Over the last ten days, the P.L.O. also stepped up their attacks on the Christians in southern Lebanon, using inter alia rockets and artillery. Then, on 6 November 1977, a Katyusha rocket attack using 122 mm. rockets with a range of 22 km. was mounted against the town of Nahariya. In this attack, two civilians were killed. On 8 November, a further barrage of twenty-two Katyusha rockets was launched against Nahariya, with the result that one woman was killed and five were injured.

In these circumstances and in the light of intelligence indicating that the number of such attacks on Israeli civilian targets was to increase in scope and intensity, the Government of Israel was left with no alternative but to strike at the sources of fire with a view to preventing further escalation of the violence and the serious danger of jeopardizing the current moves toward accommodation between the parties to the Geneva Peace Conference.

Accordingly, on 9 November an aerial bombardment was carried out by the Israel Defense Forces against the sources of attack as follows:

- a. Ras Al-Bayde, the terrorist headquarters and ammunition base in south-western Lebanon.
- b. Tel Armis, a terrorist base in the area from which the Katyusha shells were fired against Nahariya on 8 November.
- c. Al Aziya, a terrorist training camp.
- d. Al Haniya, a terrorist camp, and arms and weapons store.
- e. An ammunition store north of Burt Al Shamli.
- f. Wadi Al Aswad, the terrorists' principal ammunition store in south-western Lebanon.

It would appear that in the course of this action, the ammunition stores were hit, and resulted in extensive chain explosions, thus causing considerable damage, and apparently leading to civilian casualties. The fault for this lies entirely with the P.L.O. terrorist groups which as a matter of policy locate their military installations in or near civilian centres in the hope of inhibiting action against them. This fact was testified to by the Lebanese Ambassador when he addressed the General Assembly on 14 October 1976:

"For years, they (the P.L.O.) steadily increased the influx of arms into Lebanon -- arms of all calibres and from various sources. They transformed most of the refugee camps, if not all, into military bastions around our major cities, in the heart of our commercial and industrial centres, and in the vicinity of large civilian conglomerations".  
(A/31/PV.32, pp. 41-42)

Since then, Christian and Muslim leaders in Lebanon have been emphatic in their condemnation of the P.L.O. presence in the south of Lebanon. For example, Camille Chamoun, said on 22 September 1977, "The armed Palestinian presence in the south is the reason for the incidents and the acts of hostility against Lebanon. The agreements whereby Palestinians should have withdrawn from the south have not been implemented until now because of the opposition of Arafat". Pierre Gemayel, speaking on the Phalangist Radio on 9 September 1977, said that "one thing is required - that the Palestinians return to their camps without conditions, and without having any further military or political influence on Lebanese territory".

Moreover, on 15 August 1977; the Beirut newspaper al-Anwar quoted Kazim Al-Khalil, a Shi'ite Muslim Member of Parliament from the Tyre region, as saying: "It is the massive Palestinian presence in the south which led to the crisis in the south".

I take this opportunity to emphasize that the Government of Israel remains willing to play its part in maintaining peaceful conditions along its border with Lebanon, on a reciprocal basis. It must be clearly understood that Israel reserves its right to self-defence.

I should be grateful if Your Excellency would cause this letter to be circulated as a document of the General Assembly under agenda item number 31, and of the Security Council.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Chaim Herzog', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Chaim Herzog  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations



cc SGV ✓ Rec'd 11-11-77  
cc Mr Garatman  
cc Mr Buffum  
Messrs Gnyel / Urguhart  
AR/FTG  
RA (2)

PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

11 November 1977

Excellency,

I have the honour to draw your attention to the following statement, broadcast over television by the Prime Minister of Israel to the people of Egypt on 11 November 1977:

"Citizens of Egypt: This is the first time that I address you directly, but it is not for the first time that I think and speak of you. You are our neighbours, and always will be.

"For the last twenty-nine years, a tragic, completely unnecessary conflict continues between your country and ours. Since the time when the Government of King Farouk ordered to invade our land, Eretz Israel, in order to strangle our newly-restored freedom and independence, four major wars took place between you and us. Much blood was shed on both sides. Many families were orphaned and bereaved, in Egypt and Israel. In retrospect, we know that all those attempts to destroy the Jewish State were in vain, as all the sacrifices you were called upon to make - in life, in development, in economy, in social advancement. All these superfluous sacrifices were also in vain. And may I tell you, our neighbours, that so it will be in the future.

"You should know that we came back to the land of our forefathers, that it is we who liberated the country from British rule, and we established our independence in our land, for all generations to come.

His Excellency  
Dr. Kurt Waldheim  
The Secretary-General

"We wish you well. In fact, there is no reason whatsoever for hostility between our peoples. In ancient times, Egypt and Israel were allies, real friends and allies, against a common enemy from the north. Yes, indeed, many changes have taken place since those days, but perhaps the intrinsic basis for friendship and mutual help remains unaltered.

"We, the Israelis, stretch out our hand to you. Ours is not, as you know, a weak hand. If attacked, we shall always defend ourselves, as our forefathers, the Maccabees, did - and won the day.

"But we do not want any clashes with you. Let us say one to another, and let it be a silent oath by both peoples, of Egypt and Israel: no more wars, no more bloodshed, and no more threats. Let us not only make peace, let us also start on the road of friendship, sincere and productive cooperation. We can help each other. We can make the lives of our nations better, easier, happier.

"Your President said, two days ago, that he will be ready to come to Jerusalem, to our Parliament - The Knesset - in order to prevent one Egyptian soldier from being wounded. It is a good statement. I have already welcomed it, and it will be a pleasure to welcome and receive your President with the traditional hospitality you and we have inherited from our common father, Abraham. And I, for my part, will, of course, be ready to come to your capital, Cairo, for the same purpose: no more wars - peace - a real peace, and for ever. It is in the Holy Koran, in Surah 5, that our right to this land was stated and sanctified. May I read to you this eternal Surah:

"Recall when Moses said to his people: Oh my people, remember the goodness of Allah towards you when he appointed prophets amongst you... Oh my people, enter the Holy Land which Allah hath written down as yours..."

"It is in this spirit of our common belief in God, in divine providence, in right and in justice, in all the great human values which were handed down to you by the Prophet Mohammed and by our prophets - Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel - it is in this human spirit that I say to you with all my heart: Shalom.

"This means "Sulh". And vice-versa: Sulh means "Shalom"."

I should be grateful if you would cause this letter to be circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda item number 31.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Chaim Herzog', written over a horizontal line.

Chaim Herzog  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

SG informed by me on  
telephone - 12-xi-77

ME. 00  
Rec'd 11-11-77



MP

cc. S-G

Orig. Mr. Gazarian

cc. Mr. Gleissner

Mr. Shaschek

Mr. Buffum

Messrs. Gujer / Urquhart  
AIR / F.M.L.  
RA (2)

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

11 November 1977

SG  
RA  
11/11

PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

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Chaim Herzog  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

ME Israel

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NOTE FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

According to Israeli sources, Ambassador Herzog is leaving his post at the end of the year.

Rudi

Rudolf Stajduhar  
9 November 1977  
3.25 p.m.

CONFIDENTIAL

*Israel*  
cc: SecGen ✓  
REG  
BEU  
JOCJ  
Central

Meeting in the Secretary-General's Office  
at 10.00 a.m. on Wednesday, 5 October 1977

Present: Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan  
Ambassador Herzog  
Ambassador Ron  
  
The Secretary-General  
Mr. Guyer  
Mr. Urquhart

The Secretary-General welcomed Foreign Minister Dayan and asked him how he saw the situation about the possible reconvening of the Geneva Conference.

Mr. Dayan said that after two weeks of meetings with the United States Administration and with the President, a working paper had now been agreed on the procedure and opening of Geneva. Secretary of State Vance would now discuss this paper with the Arabs. Obviously some compromises would be necessary, but it was a good start. It only dealt with procedural matters. He believed that all parties wished the Geneva Conference to start. If the Arabs were prepared to go along with the United States suggestion the procedure might be agreed on and Geneva might be reconvened by the end of the year.

The Secretary-General said that Egypt certainly wanted the Conference to be reconvened and was more flexible on the Palestinian issue, while Syria was more reluctant, especially in regard to PLO representation. He felt that the United States formula would have a chance of success, although Syrian agreement would be difficult to get. He hoped that an acceptable compromise would emerge. If the Conference was reconvened, the question was whether there would be again a general debate and how the working groups would be organized. The idea of a special working group on the West Bank and Gaza seemed to have some promise.

Mr. Dayan said that if Syria insisted on PLO participation there would be no Peace Conference. New parties, except for Lebanon, could not be introduced, and Israel would not sit down with the PLO in any forum. Israel wished to go to Geneva and negotiate peace as soon as possible but within defined terms and on the basis of geographical working groups.

The Secretary-General asked about Palestinian representation in a Pan-Arab delegation.

Mr. Dayan said that Israel wished to discuss the West Bank and Gaza with Palestinian representatives, but not as a separate group equal to other delegations. The reason for this was that Israel would not discuss a Palestinian State. There was nothing in Resolution 242 about this and they were going to Geneva on the basis of Resolution 242 and the previous arrangements for the Conference. They wanted Palestinian representatives to be there but not the PLO. They could be in a united Arab delegation which would function as such only for the opening session. Thereafter the Conference would break up into working groups without the Palestinians. It was now necessary to wait for Secretary Vance to talk to the Arabs about the working paper. The contents of the paper must be kept in the greatest confidence. It was more important to make progress on the substance of the problem than to please the press.

The Secretary-General said it was a good idea to keep things confidential and he hoped that Mr. Dayan refused to comment at all on the working paper in public. The PLO had been asking for an amendment on Resolution 242 or a new resolution on their political rights and there had been some hints of a non-aligned move in this direction which, for the time being, the United States had apparently put a stop to. There was another idea of a declaration in Geneva on the Palestine dimension.

Mr. Dayan said that this was the first time he had heard of such an idea. Israel had an agreement from 1975 with the United States on the blocking of efforts to change or amend Resolution 242. It was important to remember that no one could make peace without Israel. Israel would not negotiate on a Palestinian State or sit down with the PLO even if they were to accept Resolution 242 and recognize the right of Israel to exist. This was a United States not an Israeli formula. Israel wanted to resume the Geneva Conference and to negotiate with Arab countries on their problems. They wanted Palestinian representatives in

on the negotiations on the West Bank and Gaza. Israel recognized that the settlement of the refugees was a major problem which also included Jewish refugees who had left Arab countries. Israel believed that Palestinian refugees must be settled in countries where they now were since in any case there would not be room for them in the West Bank and in Gaza. If the refugees had not been held hostage for thirty years there would be no West Bank problem. Israel would certainly take its share in compensation of the refugees, but thought they should be settled where they are.

The Secretary-General said he thought all the Arab countries wanted negotiations for different reasons. The question of the UNDOF mandate would shortly come up. He had asked Foreign Minister Khaddam about this but Khaddam had been evasive. He did not think, however, that Syria would object, but would probably agree to the prolongation at the last minute. UNEF would also be coming up shortly, but that did not usually present much of a problem.

Mr. Dayan said if the Syrians did not want UNDOF Israel could easily do without it. It must be made very clear that the U.S.-Soviet statement had nothing to do with the Geneva Conference. Israel did not accept the statement as binding or as having any relevance to the Conference. It was quite unacceptable to Israel and the U.S. had said it was not the basis for the Geneva Conference. The statement did not mention Resolution 242. Not that Israel was crazy about 242, but it suddenly was not mentioned. The statement mentioned Israeli withdrawal but no secure and recognized boundaries. It contained a new element over the rights of Palestinians. The Soviet Union apparently felt that Israel should withdraw to its 1967 borders and the Red Army would then take care of the security of its boundaries. This was not Israel's idea.

The Secretary-General mentioned Southern Lebanon and the efforts that UNTSO was now making to assist in the meeting between the Lebanese and Israel. Foreign Minister Butros had told him that he did not object to an increase in the observers in Southern Lebanon provided they are from the same countries as before.

Mr. Dayan said Israel wanted the Lebanese army to take over in Southern Lebanon and wanted the Palestinians to withdraw north of the Litani. They expected the Lebanese authorities to take care of this and look after the Christians. If that was done Israel had no interest in being involved in Southern Lebanon. The question was whether the Lebanese wished to discuss the problems of the area and especially the removal of Palestinians.

The Secretary-General expressed his appreciation for Israel's co-operation in the peace-keeping operations. He also mentioned the problem of freedom of movement for the Polish contingent which still remained as a problem of principle, although practical measures by Israel had improved the situation considerably.

Mr. Dayan said that the Israeli position in principle was firm, but they would always be prepared to make practical arrangements to ease the situation wherever possible. As a result, Soviet observers could go to Israel with their families and Polish officers could go to UNTSO Headquarters in Jerusalem for business. He expressed warm appreciation for the work of the peace-keeping operations and especially for the work of General Siilasvuo.

-----

ME Israel

21 Oct. 1977 H. Gleissner 3519 5258

PSCA 059

(ADDRESSES LISTED ON THE ATTACHED SHEET)

ETATPRIORITE

\_\_\_\_\_ I HAVE THE HONOUR TO TRANSMIT HERewith THE TEXT OF  
RESOLUTION 416 (1977) ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT  
ITS 2035TH MEETING ON 21 OCTOBER 1977:

QUOTE /ATTACHED TEXT/ UNQUOTE

HIGHEST CONSIDERATION

KURT WALDHEIM  
SECRETARY-GENERAL

P.K. Banerjee, Deputy to the Under-  
Secretary-General for Political and

Separate telegrams, please, one address per telegram

HIS EXCELLENCY

Mr. MOSHE DAYAN

MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF ISRAEL

MINISRAEL

JERUSALEM

HIS EXCELLENCY

Mr. ISMAIL FAHMY

MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF EGYPT

KHARGIA

CAIRO (EGYPT)

R249

R 1

T.L.S.G.  
R.S.

Very urgent  
Re Israel

AM-ISRAEL-TEXT 10-13

JERUSALEM (UPI) -- FOREIGN MINISTER MOSHE DAYAN IN A SURPRISE MOVE THURSDAY RELEASED THE TEXT OF THE JOINT U.S. -ISRAELI "WORKING PAPER" ON A RENEWED MIDDLE EAST PEACE CONFERENCE IN GENEVA.

DAYAN, SPEAKING TO THE KNESSET (PARLIAMENT) ON TERMS OF THE WORKING PAPER, READ THE SEVEN POINTS OF THE DOCUMENT. THEY ARE:

"1. THE ARAB PARTIES WILL BE REPRESENTED BY A UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION, WHICH WILL INCLUDE PALESTINIAN ARABS. AFTER THE OPENING SESSION, THE CONFERENCE WILL SPLIT INTO WORKING GROUPS.

"2. THE WORKING GROUPS FOR THE NEGOTIATION AND CONCLUSION OF PEACE TREATIES WILL BE FORMED AS FOLLOWS:

"A. EGYPT-ISRAEL

"B. JORDAN-ISRAEL

"C. SYRIA-ISRAEL

"D. LEBANON-ISRAEL

"3. THE WEST BANK AND GAZA ISSUES WILL BE DISCUSSED IN A WORKING GROUP TO CONSIST OF ISRAEL, JORDAN, EGYPT, AND THE PALESTINIAN ARABS. (ALL THE PARTIES AGREE THAT LEBANON MAY JOIN THE CONFERENCE WHEN IT SO REQUESTS.)

"4. THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF THE ARAB REFUGEES AND OF THE JEWISH REFUGEES WILL BE DISCUSSED IN ACCORDANCE WITH TERMS TO BE AGREED UPON.

"5. THE AGREED BASIS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS AT THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST ARE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 224 AND 338.

"6. ALL THE INITIAL TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE REMAIN IN FORCE, EXCEPT AS MAY BE AGREED BY THE PARTIES."

UPI 10-13 04:24 PED

SG has copy  
re Israel

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM INTERIEUR

TO: The Secretary-General  
A:

DATE: 5 October 1977

REFERENCE: \_\_\_\_\_

THROUGH:  
S/C DE:

FROM: Hugo Rocha, OPI  
DE:

SUBJECT:  
OBJET: JOINT U.S.-ISRAEL STATEMENT ISSUED WEDNESDAY MORNING

0904:MIDEAST-STATEMENT:

UNITED NATIONS, OCT 5, REUTER - FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED EARLY TODAY BY THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL:

+THE U.S. AND ISRAEL AGREE THAT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 REMAIN THE AGREED BASIS FOR THE RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE AND THAT ALL THE UNDERSTANDINGS AND AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THEM ON THIS SUBJECT REMAIN IN FORCE.

+PROPOSALS FOR REMOVING REMAINING OBSTACLES TO RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WERE DEVELOPED. FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN WILL CONSULT HIS GOVERNMENT ON THE RESULTS OF THESE DISCUSSIONS. SECRETARY VANCE WILL DISCUSS THESE PROPOSALS WITH THE OTHER PARTIES TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

+ACCEPTANCE OF THE JOINT U.S.-U.S.S.R. STATEMENT OF OCTOBER 1, 1977, BY THE PARTIES IS NOT A PREREQUISITE FOR THE RECONVENING AND CONDUCT OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.+

(Reuters)

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM INTERIEUR

TO: The Secretary-General  
A:

DATE: 27 September 1977

THROUGH:  
S/C DE:

REFERENCE: \_\_\_\_\_

FROM: Hugo Rocha, OPI  
DE:

SUBJECT: "The Minister and His Mystery Trip"  
OBJET:

In an exclusive report, Time (3 October 1977) reports it has learned "that the reason for Dayan's mysterious disappearance and his unscheduled return to Israel was a rendez-vous with Morocco's Hassan II at the King's summer palace in Tangier...The Tangier summit was arranged because Hassan had a message for Dayan from King Khalid of Saudi Arabia...The gist of the message, as conveyed by Hassan :

- 1) If negotiations break down and the alternative is war, Egypt would have to seek Russian military aid -- a prospect that would threaten the moderate regime of President Anwar Sadat.
- 2) Egypt would consider interim talks as a fallback if Geneva negotiations failed. Syria is against interim agreements. But Saudi Arabia, whose views the Syrians obviously must respect, also favors limited talks to preserve momentum should Geneva not succeed.
- 3) Arab leaders are gravely concerned about the Begin policy of encouraging new Jewish settlements on occupied territory, particularly the West Bank."

th S.G



R.S.

Handwritten signature or mark

PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL TO THE UNITED NATIONS

800 SECOND AVENUE NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR CHAIM HERZOG IN RESPONSE TO THE ATTACK ON ISRAEL BY THE OUTGOING PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF SRI LANKA

The partisan and biased statement on the issue of Israel by the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka in his capacity as the outgoing President of the General Assembly on the occasion of the opening of the thirty second Assembly was a crude and unprecedented abuse of the Presidency.

It is regrettable that the fairness and wisdom which characterized the Presidency of Ambassador Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe was abandoned by his successor for a day.

Israel does not owe its existence to the United Nations. Israel was a sovereign state in its historic homeland thousands of years before practically all the members of the United Nations came into existence.

Israel's prophets were expounding the principles which are being trampled underfoot by the General Assembly of the United Nations millenia before this Organization was even conceived.

The United Nations like the League of Nations preceding it merely confirmed the inalienable rights of the Jewish People to national independence in its historic homeland.

New York 20 September 1977

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM INTERIEUR

S.G. Israel  
RA  
17/9

TO: The Secretary-General

DATE: 9 September 1977

THROUGH:  
S/C DE:

REFERENCE

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

FROM: The Legal Counsel

SUBJECT: Israeli Settlements in the Occupied West Bank

1. During the last few months decisions of the Israeli Government to establish new settlements in the occupied territory of the West Bank have given rise to several protests which were based inter alia upon the illegality of such measures. In particular, it has been alleged that these measures are a breach of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (August 12, 1949). Article 49 of this Convention stipulates that "the Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies".

2. I wish to inform you that over the last few years the Geneva Conventions of 1949 have been subject to revision and that an Additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions, and relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts, has been adopted on 10 June 1977.

Article 85 of this Protocol contains an enumeration of "grave breaches", amongst these is the following: "the transfer by the Occupying Power of parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies, or the deportation or transfer of all or parts of the population of the occupied territory within or outside this territory, in violation of Article 49 of the Fourth Convention (of 1949)". In addition, paragraph 5 of this Article stipulates: "without prejudice to the application of the Conventions and of this Protocol, grave breaches of these instruments shall be regarded as war crimes".

3. As you can see from this new text, there is a considerable development in the legal appreciation of the transfer by the Occupying Power of civilian population into the occupied territory. I wish to add, however, that this Protocol has only been adopted two months ago and that it is not yet in force. But it is the product of a very influential, thorough, and high-level diplomatic Conference.

# UNITED NATIONS



NC-Israel

## GENERAL ASSEMBLY SECURITY COUNCIL

Distr.  
GENERAL

A/32/202  
S/12392  
31 August 1977

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
Thirty-second session  
Item 31 of the provisional agenda\*  
THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

SECURITY COUNCIL  
Thirty-second year

Letter dated 31 August 1977 from the Permanent Representative of  
Israel to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

The Central Council of PLO met in Damascus on 25 and 26 August 1977 and once again gave expression to its record of intransigence, inherent negativism, and its declared aim of destroying the State of Israel.

This is the burden of the statement issued at the end of the Central Council meeting, an unofficial translation of which is attached. It begins by reaffirming all the resolutions previously adopted by PLO's highest body, the National Council. It scorns any attempts to encourage PLO to modify its uncompromising attitude towards Israel, as set out in the "Palestinian National Charter", 1/ article 19 of which claims that the establishment of the State of Israel is fundamentally null and void and article 15 of which asserts that it is a "national duty" to purge Palestine of the "Zionist presence" (or, in plain language, to purge Palestine of the State of Israel).

The second point in the statement reiterates the PLO's complete rejection of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, as authoritatively determined in the 15-point programme adopted by the National Council at its thirteenth session, held in Cairo from 12 to 20 March of this year. The third point calls for an increase in the armed struggle against Israel, and threatens those Arabs in the territories administered by Israel since 1967 who, now wholly disillusioned with PLO and its murderous activities, are actively contemplating the possibility of negotiating their own future with Israel. Moreover, it refers to areas within Israel, such as the Galilee, as "occupied territories", thereby confirming PLO's repeated designs on Israel as a whole.

\* A/32/150.

1/ See Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1977, document S/11932, annex.

NG Israel

RECEIVED

1 AUG 31 1977

3.0 (P)

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500



cc SG  
orig GAZARIAN  
cc Gleissner  
Buffum  
Shvedenko  
Guyer  
Ugurbark  
AR/FMG  
PA

PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

31 August 1977

Excellency,

The Central Council of the P.L.O. met in Damascus on 25 and 26 August 1977, and once again gave expression to its record of intransigence, inherent negativism, and its declared aim of destroying the State of Israel.

This is the burden of the statement issued at the end of the Central Council meeting, an unofficial translation of which is attached. It begins by reaffirming all the resolutions previously adopted by the P.L.O.'s highest body, the National Council. It scorns any attempts to encourage the P.L.O. to modify its uncompromising attitude towards Israel, as set out in the "Palestinian National Charter"\*- article 19 of which claims that the establishment of the State of Israel is fundamentally null and void, and article 15 of which asserts that it is a "national duty" to purge Palestine of the "Zionist presence" (or, in plain language, to purge Palestine of the State of Israel).

His Excellency  
Dr. Kurt Waldheim  
The Secretary-General

\*Circulated as S/11932 of 14 January 1976

The second point in the statement reiterates the P.L.O.'s complete rejection of Security Council Resolution 242, as authoritatively determined in the 15-point programme adopted by the National Council at its 13th session in Cairo from 12 to 20 March of this year. The third point calls for an increase in the armed struggle against Israel, and threatens those Arabs in the territories administered by Israel since 1967 who, now wholly disillusioned with the P.L.O. and its murderous activities, are actively contemplating the possibility of negotiating their own future with Israel. Moreover, it refers to areas within Israel, such as the Galilee, as "occupied territories", thereby confirming the P.L.O.'s repeated designs on Israel as a whole.

The Central Council is the intermediate body in the P.L.O.'s political hierarchy, ranking above the Executive, but subordinate to the National Council - and the absolute opposition of both those bodies to the existence of Israel is well documented. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the Central Council has not moderated its position in any way whatsoever, despite the unfounded and optimistic assessments of certain observers who predicted some unspecified form of P.L.O. acceptance of Security Council Resolution 242, the only basis for the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East agreed to by Israel and the neighbouring Arab States:

Lest there be any doubts about the National Council's position, as reaffirmed in the Central Council's statement, a translation of the 15-point programme of March 1977 is also attached. Significantly, it opened by recalling the "Palestinian National Covenant". It rejected Security Council Resolution 242 out of hand; and pledged the P.L.O. to pursue the armed struggle and also all forms of political and mass struggle. It forswore any peace with, or recognition of Israel; and presumed to claim a right to invalidate any settlement affecting the Palestinians reached without the P.L.O.

I wish to emphasize that the statement issued by the Central Council, taken together with the recent indiscriminate outrages against civilians by the P.L.O. demonstrate yet again that that grouping of Arab terrorists cannot be a partner to any steps leading to a settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict, because of its essentially vicious nature and its remorseless commitment, explicitly declared, to the destruction of the State of Israel.

I have the honour to request that this letter and its attachments be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 31 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.



Chaim Herzog  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

## ANNEX I

Statement Issued After Meeting of Palestinian Central Council, Damascus, 25 and 26 August, 1977  
(According to AP, from Damascus, 26 August)

Point 1. Condemnation of all the United States and Zionist maneuvers ignoring the right of our people to return, to self-determination, to establish an independent state on its national soil\* and to gather under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

On this basis the council reiterates its rejection of any attempt aimed at liquidating the resolutions of the Palestinian National Council and to change the Arab attitude as decided during the Arab summit conferences of Rabat and Cairo, as far as the rights of our people and their representation are concerned and also as far as the Arab world national commitment to the Palestinian cause is concerned.

Point 2. The council stresses the resolution of the Palestine National Council adopted during its last session and the 15-point political program adopted at the time, especially the National Council resolution regarding United Nations Resolution 242, which ignores the national rights of our people and which deals with our cause as a refugee case.

It also stresses the need for the implementation of General Assembly resolutions relevant to the Palestinian cause, in particular Resolution 3236 as the cornerstone for the Palestinian policy. The Central Council appeals to the Arab nations on both official and popular levels to live up to the national responsibility and confront the plot forged by those powers that are the enemy of our people, such as Zionism and American imperialism, and to extricate themselves from the confines of hesitation into confrontation. These are plots aimed at striking against the Arab liberation movement and at liquidating the Palestinian cause.

\* which, in P.L.O. jargon, includes the area of the State of Israel.

Our council reiterates its insistence that the Palestinian cause is the crux of the Middle East conflict and warns against giving credence to imperialist and Zionist promises and that it is impossible to achieve a just and lasting peace but on the basis of securing the rights of our people.

Point 3. The Central Council has discussed the situation in occupied Palestine\* and warns those cowards and those suspected of cooperating with the plans of the Zionist enemy. The council also highly praises the heroic and struggling role of the masses of our people in the occupied territories and its national leaderships in Galilee, the West Bank and Gaza and the loyalty of these masses to the P.L.O. The council also insisted on the importance of increasing our continuous armed struggle against Zionist occupation.

Point 4. The council also discussed the prevailing situation in south Lebanon and the dangers resulting from the continuation of aggressive acts and the repercussions on the situation in Lebanon and the Middle East as well as on the Palestinian revolution. The council also insists on the implementation of the Cairo and Chtoura agreements through cooperation with the legitimate authorities of Lebanon and the Arab deterrent force. In order to restore peace in the south the council appeals strongly to all Arab states to shoulder their responsibilities vis-a-vis the plans of Israel and its allies, which constitute a threat to the whole Arab world.

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\* which, in P.L.O. jargon, includes the area of the State of Israel.

15- Point Programme Adopted at the 13th Session of the  
Palestinian National Council.

Cairo, 12 to 20 March 1977

Pursuant to the Palestine National Charter and to resolutions adopted at previous sessions,

Determined to preserve the victories and gains achieved by the Palestine Liberation Organisation on both Arab and international levels during the period following the Twelfth Session,

Having considered and discussed the latest developments in the problem of Palestine, and various aspects of Palestinian activities under the leadership of the PLO, internally, on the Arab level and internationally,

Having also considered the Arab and international situations,

Asserting its support to the Palestinian national struggle and the realization of its objectives in all international and Arab forums,

Asserts the following:

1. The problem of Palestine is the essence and origin of the Arab-Zionist conflict. Resolution 242 of the Security Council ignores the national rights of the Palestinian people and its inalienable rights to its homeland.\* The Council therefore reiterates both its rejection of this Resolution, and its refusal to deal with it on the Arab level as well as internationally.
2. Reaffirms the determination of the PLO to pursue the armed struggle and all forms of political and mass struggle for the attainment of the national inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

---

\* Which, in PLO jargon, includes the area of the State of Israel.

3. The struggle in the occupied territories\* in all its aspects - military, political and popular - constitutes the central link in its struggle programmes. On this basis, the PLO strives to escalate the armed conflict in the occupied territories\* and all other forms of struggle, and to provide all forms of material and moral support to the masses of our people in the occupied land\*, for the purpose of escalating the struggle and strengthening their steadfast stand in order to defeat and eliminate occupation.
4. The Palestinian National Council endorses the position of the PLO in rejecting all forms of American capitulationist settlements and all liquidationist plans\*\*. It endorses the determination of the PLO to oppose and defeat any settlements which would be at the expense of our people's national inalienable rights. It calls on the Arab Nation to carry out its national responsibilities and to mobilize all its potentials to confront these zionist imperialist schemes.
5. It reaffirms the importance and necessity of preserving national unity, militarily and politically, among all groups in the Palestinian Revolution, within the framework of the PLO, as a basic condition for victory. It is essential, therefore, to consolidate national unity on all levels, on the basis of abiding by these resolutions and drawing up programmes for their implementation.

---

\* i.e., including the area of the State of Israel

\*\* i.e., no peace with Israel.

6. It reaffirms the right of the Palestinian Revolution to be present in the territory of fraternal Lebanon, in accordance with the Cairo Agreement and its Annexes concluded between the PLO and the Lebanese authorities. It is determined to abide by and implement this Agreement both in letter and spirit, including the right to preserve the weapon of the Revolution within the camps. It rejects any unilateral interpretation of this Agreement and its Annexes, while expressing its respect for the sovereignty and security of Lebanon.
7. It salutes the heroic fraternal Lebanese people and reiterates the concern of the PLO to preserve the territorial integrity of Lebanon, the unity of its people, its security, independence, sovereignty and Arab character; it expresses its pride in the support given by that heroic people to the PLO, which is struggling for the recovery of the national rights of the Palestinian people in their homeland\* and their right to return to it. It emphasizes the necessity of deepening and consolidating the cohesion of all nationalist Lebanese forces and the Palestinian Revolution.
8. It reaffirms the necessity of reinforcing the Arab Front participating in the Palestinian Revolution, and of deepening its cohesion with all forces which have joined it in all countries of the Arab homeland. It also reiterates the need to escalate the joint Arab struggle, and to promote the modalities of the Palestinian Revolution towards confronting Zionist and imperialist plans.
9. It decides to promote Arab solidarity and struggle against imperialism and Zionism, to strive towards the liberation of all Arab occupied territories\*, and to commit itself to supporting the Palestinian Revolution in its determination to regain the national inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, without reconciliation or recognition [of Israel].

---

\* i.e., including the area of the State of Israel.

10. It reaffirms the right of the PLO to exercise its responsibilities of struggle on the Arab and national levels, and through any Arab territory for the liberation of the occupied land\*.
11. It decides to pursue the struggle to regain the national rights of our people, first and foremost of which are the rights to return, to exercise self-determination and to establish its own national independent state over its national soil\*.
12. It stresses the importance of promoting cooperation and solidarity with the socialist, non-aligned, Islamic and African states, and with all national liberation movements in the world.
13. It salutes the attitudes and the struggle of all democratic states and forces against zionism, as a form of racism, and against its aggressive practices.
14. It reaffirms the importance of relations and coordination with progressive, democratic Jewish forces within and outside the occupied homeland\*, which are struggling against the zionist ideology and its practices. It calls on all freedom-loving states and forces struggling for peace and justice in the world to stop all forms of assistance and cooperation with the racist zionist regime and to reject any contacts with it, or with its tools and symbols.

---

\* i.e., including the area of the State of Israel.

15. Bearing in mind the important achievements accomplished on the Arab and international levels since the 12th Session, as reviewed in the Political report submitted by the Executive Committee, the Palestinian National Council decides the following:

- (a) to affirm the right of the PLO to participate in all international conferences, forums, and efforts dealing with the problem of Palestine and the Arab-Zionist conflict, on an independent and equal footing, on the basis of the General Assembly Resolution 3236, for the fulfilment of our national inalienable rights, which have been recognized by the General Assembly of the United Nations since 1974, particularly in Resolution 3236;
- (b) to declare that any settlement or agreement affecting the rights of the Palestinian people and reached in its absence, is null and void.

cc 26  
Mr. Goren  
Mr. Buffum  
Mr. Shalchendo  
AR 17116  
R

Israel  
delivered to land to 1976  
by Gen. Landau 17-8-77



PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017  
OXFORD 7-5500

16 August 1977

Excellency,

On instructions of my Government, I have the honour to inform you that Israel has decided to withdraw its participation from the World Conference for Action against Apartheid, to be held in Lagos, Nigeria, from 22 to 26 August, 1977.

Israel's decision stems principally from the refusal of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the Organizers of the Conference, to agree to the participation of the World Jewish Congress at Lagos, despite the fact that the body, which is one of the major and most respected Jewish organizations in the world, has enjoyed consultative status as a non-governmental organization with the Economic and Social Council since 1947, as well as with UNESCO, the International Labour Organization, the Organization of American States, and the Council of Europe. Among its aims is a commitment to work for human rights generally. When its application to go to Lagos was declined, it was not advised of the selection process or of the criteria applied in granting some requests for an invitation and rejecting others.

His Excellency  
Dr. Kurt Waldheim  
The Secretary-General

By way of contrast, the organizers of the Conference agreed to the participation of the P.L.O., even though that terrorist organization has absolutely nothing to do with the aims of the Conference, and its racist attitudes, akin to the worst forms of anti-Semitism, are written into its so-called "National Covenant". Moreover, at the insistence of the P.L.O., the "Committee for the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People" has now been invited to Lagos, even though its mandate is in no way connected with the Conference, and it was originally not invited for precisely that reason. In addition, it is now patently clear from discussions which took place in recent meetings of the Special Committee against Apartheid, that certain States propose to abuse the Conference and convert it into yet another platform for their unremitting political and propaganda warfare against Israel.

The Government of Israel has reached its decision only after careful consideration, and with no small measure of reluctance, since its opposition to apartheid, as enunciated by the then Foreign Minister of Israel on 7 October 1976 before the General Assembly of the United Nations remains clear and unequivocal. He said: "Racism and racial discrimination, in any guise, including apartheid, are abhorrent to my country and my people. The basic tenets of Judaism are irreconcilable with any form of racism and racial discrimination".

However, the Government of Israel cannot pass over in silence the decision to preclude the World Jewish Congress from Lagos. Not only is that decision an insult to the Jewish people as a whole, but it is also a blatant act of discrimination, in flagrant violation of the spirit of the Lagos Conference itself.

At the same time it should be stressed that the host Government of Nigeria, on its part, has been most cooperative in providing all requisite facilities for Israel's participation at the Conference.

Once again, a conference of great importance not only to Africa but to all states, is under threat of emasculation by Arab extremists for their own partisan purposes. The Government of Israel can neither ignore such behaviour, nor let it be ignored.

I have the honour to request that this letter be circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under item 74 of the provisional agenda.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'C. Herzog', with a long horizontal line extending to the right from the end of the signature.

Chaim Herzog  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

J-6's file  
*[Signature]*

ME Isra

FIL/PMT

16 August 1977

The Secretary-General has not yet been the official text of the recent decision of the Government of Israel in relation to the West Bank and Gaza. Therefore, at this stage, he wishes only to express the view that all the governments and parties concerned in the Middle East conflict should refrain from any moves which might heighten tension or affect the current efforts to resume the negotiating process on the Middle East. Moves which contravene the spirit or the letter of the United Nations resolutions on the Middle East should particularly be avoided.

Messrs Guyer / Voquhart



**THE LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES**

Office of the Permanent Observer to the United Nations

747 THIRD AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

(212) 838-8700

August 15, 1977  
AL/1277

Your Excellency,

His Excellency Mr. Mahmoud Riad, Secretary General of the League of Arab States, has asked me to convey to Your Excellency the attached cable regarding putting into force the Israeli laws in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Amin Hilmy II".

Amin Hilmy II  
Ambassador  
Permanent Observer of the League  
of Arab States to the U.N.

H.E. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim  
United Nations  
New York, N.Y. 10017

RECEIVED  
AUG 15 1977

Translated from Arabic

Cable

Date: 15 August 1977

To: H.E; the Secretary-General of the United Nations

From: Mahmoud Riad, Secretary General of the League of Arab States

News has reached us that the Israeli Government has announced its firm intention to apply Israeli laws in the fields of health, labour and other services to the Arab population of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and has announced that this step is not a decision for annexation, inasmuch as the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are territories actually belonging to the people of Israel and that the territory of Israel cannot be annexed by the people of Israel.

As you know, the Government of Israel has already promulgated since 1967 a series of laws and measures for the annexation of the city of Jerusalem, which has prompted the General Assembly and the Security Council to adopt a number of resolutions condemning all the measures taken to change conditions in Jerusalem, declaring these measures invalid and calling upon Israel to rescind them.

In spite of that, the Government of Israel has continued to flout and violate these resolutions and recently announced the accordance of legal status to three of the settlements which have been established on the West Bank. Indeed, Menahem Begin, the Israeli Prime Minister, announced on 19 May 1977 that this measure did not mean annexation of the West Bank inasmuch as it was liberated Israeli territory.

These measures reflect flagrant challenges calling for your swift intervention and the adoption of the necessary steps, pursuant to the powers conferred upon you, to put an end to Israel's arbitrary actions, which are not in accord with the Charter of the United Nations and its recent resolutions.

You undoubtedly share my view that these measures and their continuation will definitely impede the efforts currently being expended to achieve a just peace and that they constitute a threat to international peace and security.



UNITED NATIONS  
SECURITY  
COUNCIL



Distr.  
GENERAL

S/12376  
29 July 1977

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 29 JULY 1977 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF OMAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

On behalf of the Arab Group, I should like to draw attention to the following:

On 26 July 1977, Israel took it upon itself to legalize three Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territory near the towns of Kafr Kaddum, Khan Al-Ahmar and Ramallah. This latest measure in Israel's persistent policy of expansion and colonization violates the Charter of the United Nations, the Geneva Convention and the numerous resolutions and decisions by the Security Council. It aggravates further an already explosive situation.

We wish to recall the consensus statement adopted by the Security Council on 11 November 1976 (see document S/12233):

"Following the request submitted by Egypt on 20 October 1976, the Security Council held four meetings between 1 November and 11 November 1976 to consider the situation in the occupied Arab territories, with the participation of the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization. After consulting all the members, the President of the Council states that the Council has agreed on the following:

"(1) To express its grave anxiety and concern over the present serious situation in the occupied Arab territories as a result of continued Israeli occupation;

"(2) Reaffirmation of its call upon the Government of Israel to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the territories and to facilitate the return of those inhabitants who have fled the areas since the outbreak of hostilities;

"(3) Its reaffirmation that the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War is applicable to the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967. Therefore, the occupying Power is called upon once again to comply strictly with the provisions of that Convention and to refrain from any measure that violates them. In this regard the measures taken by Israel in the occupied Arab territories that alter their demographic composition or geographical nature and particularly the establishment of settlements are accordingly strongly deplored. Such measures which have no legal validity and cannot prejudice the outcome of the search for the establishment of peace constitute an obstacle to peace;

"(4) It considers once more that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, including expropriation of land and properties thereon and the transfer of populations which tend to change the legal status of Jerusalem, are invalid and cannot change that status, and urgently calls upon Israel once more to rescind all such measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any further action which tends to change the status of Jerusalem. In this connexion the Council deplores the failure of Israel to show any regard for Security Council resolutions 237 (1967) of 14 June 1967, 252 (1968) of 21 May 1968 and 298 (1971) of 25 September 1971 and General Assembly resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V) of 4 and 14 July 1967;

"(5) Its recognition that any act of profanation of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites or any encouragement of, or connivance at, any such act may seriously endanger international peace and security.

"The Council decides to keep the situation under constant attention with a view to meeting again should circumstances require."

The Permanent Representatives of the Arab States to the United Nations and the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization have asked me to bring to your attention and through you to the attention of the members of the Council, this latest threat to peace and security and to request that the Council assume its responsibility in maintaining peace by taking immediate action to put an end to one of the causes of this latest threat to peace - namely, the prolonged illegal occupation and the persistent Israeli measures.

I kindly ask you to circulate this letter as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mahmoud ABOUL-NASR  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of Oman  
to the United Nations  
Chairman of the Arab Group

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UNITED NATIONS  
SECURITY  
COUNCIL



Distr.  
GENERAL  
  
S/12377  
29 July 1977  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

LETTER DATED 28 JULY 1977 FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE  
EXERCISE OF THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE  
ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

On 26 July 1977, the Prime Minister of Israel decided officially to approve the establishment of three Israeli settlements at Camp Kadum, Ofra and Maale Adumin, situated on the West Bank of the Jordan, which Israel has been illegally occupying since June 1967.

In this connexion it is my duty, as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, to express to you my deep concern regarding this decision, which is completely incompatible with the recommendations contained in the Committee's report, which - I would recall - were endorsed by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session. I am referring here in particular to the recommendations made in paragraph 72 (c) and (d) of the Committee's report (document A/31/35), which request Israel to desist from the establishment of new settlements in the occupied Arab territories and to withdraw from settlements established since 1967.

In addition, I should like to draw your attention to the fact that the Israeli Prime Minister's decision constitutes a violation of the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of General Assembly resolutions 3525 (XXX) and 31/106, of Security Council resolutions 237 of 14 June 1967 and 252 of 21 May 1968, and of the statements made on behalf of the Security Council by its President at the 1922nd meeting, on 26 May 1976, and the 1969th meeting, on 11 November 1976.

The official approval of the establishment of Israeli settlements cannot therefore have any legal validity and in fact merely aggravates the tensions in the region, artificially erects an additional obstacle to the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, and undermines efforts to promote a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this letter to be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Médoune FALL  
Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the  
Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People

THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE PEACE-MAKING PROCESS

BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBORS

1. The Government of Israel will be prepared to participate, beginning October 10, 1977, in a new additional session of the Geneva Peace Conference to be convened by the two co-chairmen on the basis of Paragraph 3 of Security Council Resolution 338 of 21 October 1973 which states: (The Security Council)  
"decides that, immediately and concurrently with the cease-fire, negotiations start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East."
2. Resolution 338 includes and makes reference to Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967.
3. Accredited delegations of sovereign states will participate in the reconvened session of the Geneva Peace Conference, namely : the representatives of Israel, Egypt, Syria and Jordan.
4. The participating states in the Geneva Peace Conference will present no prior conditions for their taking part in the Conference.
5. At the public session of the reconvened Geneva Peace Conference the representatives of the parties will make opening statements.
6. At the conclusion of the public session three mixed commissions will be established, namely: Egyptian-Israeli; Syrian-Israeli; Jordanian-Israeli.

7. In the framework of these mixed commissions, peace treaties between the parties concerned will be negotiated and concluded.
  8. The chairmanship of each mixed commission will be fixed by the rule of rotation between an Israeli representative and a representative of the neighboring state.
  9. Having reached agreement on the substance of the peace treaties -- i.e. the termination of the state of war; the determination of permanent boundaries; diplomatic relations, the economic clauses, etc.: - a public session of the Conference will again be convened for the purpose of signing the peace treaties.
-

THE ALTERNATIVE

(Two Possibilities)

In the event that the states bordering on Israel refuse to participate in the Geneva Peace Conference in accordance with the established framework determined by the precedent of the first session of the Conference on grounds of insistence that the organization called PLO be added to the sovereign state delegations, it is proposed:

To establish through the good offices of the United States the aforementioned three mixed commissions in keeping with the method used during the Rhodes negotiations of 1949.

Or: In accordance with the principle of "proximity talks," with a view to conducting in the framework of such mixed commissions the negotiations on the conclusion of peace treaties.

-----

## ROUTING SLIP

## FICHE DE TRANSMISSION

TO: Sr. Roberto Guyer  
A:

FROM: Mr. Ferdinand Mayrhofer  
DE:

| Room No. - No de bureau | Extension - Poste | Date                       |
|-------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| 3802                    | 5034              | 23/07/77                   |
| FOR ACTION              |                   | POUR SUITE A DONNER        |
| FOR APPROVAL            |                   | POUR APPROBATION           |
| FOR SIGNATURE           |                   | POUR SIGNATURE             |
| FOR COMMENTS            |                   | POUR OBSERVATIONS'         |
| MAY WE DISCUSS?         |                   | POURRIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ? |
| YOUR ATTENTION          |                   | VOTRE ATTENTION            |
| AS DISCUSSED            |                   | COMME CONVENU              |
| AS REQUESTED            |                   | SUITE A VOTRE DEMANDE      |
| NOTE AND RETURN         |                   | NOTER ET RETOURNER         |
| FOR INFORMATION         |                   | POUR INFORMATION           |

We received this just after the Secretary-General's departure.

You may wish to acknowledge it on the Secretary-General's behalf.

Please return original and copy of your acknowledgement for the Secretary-General's file.



PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

July 22, 1977

His Excellency  
Dr. Kurt Waldheim  
Secretary-General

Excellency,

Further to your meeting this morning with Prime Minister Begin, I have the honour, on the instructions of the Prime Minister, to forward to you the enclosed copy of "THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE PEACE WORKING PROCESS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBOURS", which was presented by him this week to the President of the United States.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Chaim Herzog', with a horizontal line underneath.

Chaim Herzog  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

RECEIVED  
JUL 22 1977

Israel

JJ/PMT

26 July 1977

Excellency,

On behalf of the Secretary-General, I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 22 July 1977 by which you transmitted a copy of "The Framework for the Peace Working Process between Israel and Its Neighbours", which was presented by Prime Minister Begin to the President of the United States.

As you may be aware, the Secretary-General is away from Headquarters and the text of Prime Minister Begin's paper is being brought to his attention.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Roberto E. Guyer  
Under-Secretary-General  
for Special Political Affairs

His Excellency  
Mr. Chaim Herzog  
Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations  
800 Second Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10017

Israel

cc: SecGen ✓  
REG  
BEU

Meeting in the Secretary-General's Office  
at 12.15 p.m. on Friday, 22 July 1977

Present:           The Secretary-General  
                    Prime Minister Menahem Begin  
                    Ambassador Herzog  
                    Ambassador Eliaf  
                    Mr. Guyer  
                    Mr. Urquhart

The Prime Minister raised the question of the Christian minority in Southern Lebanon who were desperately in need of help and protection.

He suggested that a political truce should be declared until the Geneva Conference and there should be an embargo on all political statements. He asked the Secretary-General to make this proposal to Arab leaders. He hoped all the Foreign Ministers would come to the General Assembly and that it might be possible to bring them together, even indirectly. The political truce would help in this process, especially as far as the United Nations was concerned. President Sadat had already made some gestures which were appreciated, such as the withdrawal of the excess troops in Sinai and the return without conditions of 19 Israeli bodies.

The Secretary-General said he would certainly convey this idea to the Arab delegations. Sadat, when he had spoken to him in Libreville, had been less skeptical than other Arab leaders and had said he could agree on a reasonable procedure for PLO participation, although he did not specify how.

The Prime Minister said he would give the Secretary-General a paper on his proposed plan. His idea was to go to Geneva on 10 October as convened by the two Co-Chairmen.

The Secretary-General said that the last time the Co-Chairmen had asked the Secretary-General to convene the meeting and that he had acted as Chairman.

The Prime Minister said there would be opening statements at the first session and then instrumentalities for building peace would be set up with the aim of writing peace treaties. The procedure would be along the lines of the very successful procedure in Rhodes under Dr. Bunche, with mixed commissions which concluded the Armistice Agreements. In this case the mixed commissions would draft peace treaties. PLO participation contradicts the precedent and it was Israel's position that only states should participate. In any case, any change in participation had to be agreed by all the parties. The Europeans should be very careful of making proposals which would result in spilling further Jewish blood. The rivers of Europe were red with Jewish blood. The United Nations should remember that the League of Nations provided the mandate for a national home for the Jewish people. A Palestine state would be a mortal danger to Israel and would mean permanent bloodshed. Israel could not negotiate with the PLO, who were the most implacable enemies of the Jews since the Nazis. Their basic target is genocide. Israel cannot be pressured into accepting the PLO. Before World War II Jews were often advised not to take Mein Kampf seriously, but they had learned their lesson. If the Arabs insisted on PLO participation, they would make Geneva impossible. Palestinian Arabs could participate in the Jordanian delegation.

If Geneva was impossible, either mixed commissions could be established with the good offices of the United States to provide the framework, with rotating chairmanship, for direct negotiations, or there could be proximity talks in New York or elsewhere with the United States in the middle.

The Secretary-General said he appreciated the Prime Minister's frank and candid approach, although his ideas did not wholly coincide with United Nations resolutions; for example on withdrawal or on the Palestinian dimension.

The Prime Minister said that the 1947 resolution spoke of a Jewish State and a Palestinian State. Israel wanted to live in peace with the Palestinian Arabs. Terrorism was

an ugly phenomenon of the modern world.

The Secretary-General said he always spoke out against terrorism wherever it took place. In the United Nations he and his colleagues wished to do everything possible to help and to contribute to a solution of the Middle East problem in the framework of the resolutions and agreed guidelines. He stressed the good will of the Secretariat and was gratified that Mr. Begin had taken note of this in his talks with General Siilasvuo. The Secretariat did its best to help the parties and to be objective and fair.

The Prime Minister asked what could be done to prevent a majority in the Assembly from adopting an abomination such as the Zionist resolution. It was deeply wounding for the generation of Buchenwald to be called racists.

The Secretary-General said this had been a highly controversial resolution, but the United Nations was a parliamentary institution. He had the impression that there was now a change in attitude and that governments on the whole were more realistic and less emotional.

The Prime Minister raised the question of the 4,000 Jews in Syria. Even Iraq had let the Jews leave. He asked the Secretary-General to write to President Assad and urge him to let the 4,000 Jews in Syria go.

The Secretary-General said he had taken this up with President Assad before and would certainly take it up again.

As to Geneva, he had last year proposed the possibility of working groups. The Arabs did not accept working groups on a geographical basis, but would accept functional working groups on such matters as withdrawal, secure boundaries, the Palestinian dimension, etc.

The Prime Minister said the idea should be tried again. Israel was speaking about peace treaties not piecemeal arrangements. The United States now supported this idea. The mixed commissions should deal with all the details.

The Secretary-General said that in Geneva Mr. Gromyko had stressed the need for reconvening Geneva, but had said that if the United States tried to use the Conference as a cover for bilateral diplomacy, the Soviet Union would walk out of the Conference, slamming the door.

As far as Lebanon was concerned, if there was any question of a United Nations force, the Security Council and the governments concerned would have to be consulted.

The Prime Minister said that the United States wished to rebuild the Lebanese army, but this would take time. In the meantime, Israel would not object to United Nations forces, provided they came from countries which had diplomatic relations with Israel and provided the force could deal with the 5,000 members of the PLO in South Lebanon, who must be moved north of the Litani. The United Nations force would only be in Lebanon.

The Secretary-General said the next step would be Mr. Vance's Middle East tour, followed by talks with the Foreign Ministers in the General Assembly.

He expressed his appreciation to the Prime Minister for coming to the United Nations.

The Prime Minister reciprocated his appreciation.

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Israel



UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY



Distr.  
GENERAL

A/32/151  
20 July 1977  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-second session  
Items 30 and 31 of the preliminary list\*

QUESTION OF PALESTINE

THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Letter dated 18 July 1977 from the Permanent Representative of Portugal  
to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a communiqué issued by the Permanent Mission of Portugal to the United Nations concerning the establishment of diplomatic relations between Portugal and Israel.

I should be grateful if you would have the aforementioned text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under items 30 and 31 of the preliminary list.

(Signed) Vasco FUTSCHER PEREIRA  
Ambassador

Permanent Representative of Portugal  
to the United Nations

\* A/32/50/Rev.1.

ANNEX

Communiqué issued on 18 July 1977 by the Permanent Mission  
of Portugal to the United Nations

The Permanent Mission of Portugal to the United Nations, referring to the recent establishment of diplomatic relations between Portugal and Israel, is in a position to provide the following clarification:

1. Since 25 April 1974, all the provisional Governments have stated in their foreign policy programmes that their first objective was to free the Portuguese nation from "the isolation to which it had been condemned because of the colonial war".
2. The decision to establish diplomatic relations with all the countries of the world was solemnly reaffirmed in the programme of the first constitutional Portuguese Government, submitted to the Assembly of the Republic by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mario Soares.
3. Faithful to this programme, Portugal has, in the past three years, established diplomatic relations with all countries, regardless of their socio-political régime and their various foreign policy positions.
4. In the particular case in question, it should be remembered that the State of Israel had been represented in Lisbon since 1959 by a Consulate-General which had always functioned without interruption. In the circumstances described above, the Portuguese Government considered that the transformation of this Consulate-General into an Embassy was a logical consequence of the policy defined in the preceding paragraph. However, its views on this point should in no way be interpreted as signifying any change in Portuguese policy, as defined clearly with regard to the problem of the Middle East in general and the question of Palestine in particular.
5. The recent establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel does not reflect the slightest change in the general policy which the Portuguese Government has defined and maintained in considering the various resolutions submitted to international bodies. In this connexion, the vote of the Portuguese delegations on each of those resolutions has in fact been cast solely in the light of the text and its implications.
6. The Portuguese position on the problems of the Middle East and Palestine thus remains unchanged as regards both the application of United Nations resolutions by the parties concerned and the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories and the creation of a homeland for the Palestinian people. That position was, moreover, unequivocally affirmed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal, Mr. José Medeiros Ferreira, in his statement during the general debate at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly:

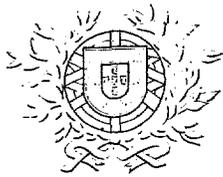
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"We also express our concern at the situation in the Middle East, where the Palestinian people continues to see the homeland to which it is entitled unjustly disputed. We support the rapid convocation of the Geneva Conference and hope that it will recognize the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, as well as provide guarantees for the security of Israel." a/

7. Hence, this position, which has been defined so clearly, cannot be considered as having been affected by the establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel, especially since Portugal also, and at the very outset, established diplomatic relations with the Arab States, to which the Portuguese people is linked by profound cultural and historical affinities. Moreover, it should be noted that all the foregoing considerations have been emphasized in a number of recent statements by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal.

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a/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings, 22nd meeting, para. 275.



MISSÃO PERMANENTE DE PORTUGAL  
JUNTO DAS NAÇÕES UNIDAS  
NEW YORK

Israel

h: 79

New York, le 18 juillet 1977

Excellence,

J'ai l'honneur de transmettre ci-joint le texte d'un communiqué publié par la Mission Permanente du Portugal auprès des Nations Unies au sujet de l'établissement de relations diplomatiques entre le Portugal et Israel.

Je vous serais reconnaissant de bien vouloir faire circuler le texte sus-mentionné comme document officiel de la 32ème Session de l'Assemblée Générale, au titre des points 30 et 31 de l'ordre du jour préliminaire annoté.

~~Vasco Futscher Pereira~~  
Ambassadeur  
Représentant Permanent du Portugal  
auprès des Nations Unies

Son Excellence  
Monsieur Kurt Waldheim  
Secrétaire-Général des Nations Unies  
NEW YORK

RECEIVED  
JUL 19 1977

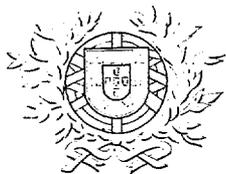


MISSÃO PERMANENTE DE PORTUGAL  
JUNTO DAS NAÇÕES UNIDAS  
NEW YORK

La Mission Permanente du Portugal auprès des Nations Unies, se reportant au récent établissement de relations diplomatiques entre le Portugal et Israël, est en mesure de fournir les précisions suivantes:

1. Dès le 25 avril 1974, tous les Gouvernements Provisoires ont déclaré dans leurs programmes de politique étrangère que leur premier objectif était celui de libérer la Nation Portugaise de "l'isolement auquel elle avait été vouée du fait de la guerre coloniale";
2. La décision d'établir des relations diplomatiques avec tous les pays du monde fut solennellement réaffirmée dans le Programme du premier Gouvernement Constitutionnel Portugais, présenté à l'Assemblée de la République par le Premier Ministre, M. Mario Soares;
3. Fidèle à ce programme, le Portugal a établi, au cours de ces trois dernières années, des relations diplomatiques avec tous les pays, indépendamment de leur régime socio-politique et de leurs diverses positions en matière de politique étrangère;

.../...



MISSÃO PERMANENTE DE PORTUGAL  
JUNTO DAS NAÇÕES UNIDAS  
NEW YORK

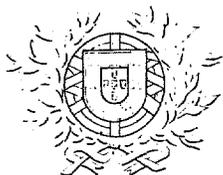
- 3 -

6. La position portugaise au sujet des problèmes du Moyen-Orient, et de la Palestine, reste donc inchangée, en ce qui concerne l'application par les parties intéressées des résolutions des Nations Unies comme en ce qui concerne le retrait d'Israel des territoires occupés et la création d'une patrie pour le peuple palestinien. Cette position a d'ailleurs été affirmée, sans équivoque, par le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères du Portugal, M. José Medeiros Ferreira, dans le discours qu'il a prononcé à l'occasion du débat général lors de la 31ème session de l'Assemblée Générale des Nations Unies:

"Nous sommes également préoccupés devant la situation au Moyen-Orient, alors que le peuple palestinien se voit toujours disputer de façon injuste la patrie à laquelle il a droit. Nous appuyons la convocation rapide de la Conférence de Genève et espérons qu'elle reconnaitra les aspirations légitimes du peuple palestinien et apportera des garanties pour la sécurité d'Israel".

7. On ne saurait donc considérer cette position, si clairement définie, comme ayant été affectée par l'établissement de relations diplomatiques avec Israel, d'autant plus que le Portugal a également, et en tout premier lieu, noué des relations diplomatiques avec les

.../...



MISSÃO PERMANENTE DE PORTUGAL  
JUNTO DAS NAÇÕES UNIDAS  
NEW YORK

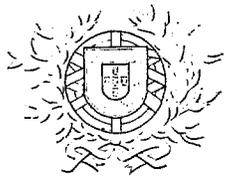
- 2 -

4. Dans le cas particulier en cause, il convient de rappeler que l'Etat d'Israel était déjà représenté à Lisbonne depuis 1959 par un Consulat-Général qui a toujours fonctionné sans interruption.

Dans le contexte décrit ci-dessus, le Gouvernement Portugais a estimé que la transformation de ce Consulat-Général en Ambassade s'insérait logiquement dans la politique définie au paragraphe précédent. Mais son jugement sur ce point ne saurait aucunement être interprété comme signifiant un changement quelconque dans la politique portugaise, telle que celle-ci a été clairement définie en ce qui concerne le problème du Moyen-Orient en général et la question de Palestine en particulier.

5. En effet, l'établissement récent de relations diplomatiques avec Israel ne traduit pas la moindre modification de l'orientation générale que le Gouvernement Portugais a définie et maintenue lors de l'examen des diverses résolutions soumises aux instances internationales. En cette matière, le vote des délégations portugaises sur chacune de ces résolutions n'a, en fait, été émis qu'en fonction du texte et de ses implications.

.../...



MISSÃO PERMANENTE DE PORTUGAL  
JUNTO DAS NAÇÕES UNIDAS  
NEW YORK

- 4 -

Etats arabes, auxquels le peuple portugais est lié par de si profondes affinités, culturelles et historiques. Il est à remarquer, d'ailleurs, que tout ce qui précède a été souligné dans plusieurs déclarations récentes du Ministre des Affaires Etrangères du Portugal.

New York, le 18 juillet 1977



Israel  
cc: of this page to  
ECOSOC



המשלחת הקבועה  
של ישראל לאומות המאוחדות  
PERMANENT MISSION OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017  
OXFORD 7-5500

11 July 1977

*I told Mr. Eliav that the allocation of the IB's report to item 23 was decided by ECOSOC during its organisational meeting early this year. To change this the Council would have to take a new decision. The Secretariat therefore can't do anything in this matter. I agreed with Mr. Eliav that for the moment no written reply was necessary.*

Excellency,

I have the honour to refer to document E/6005 of 22 June 1977, submitting to the Economic and Social Council a report on "Assistance to the Palestinian people", as requested in Council resolution 2026 (LXI). *pl. h.*

That resolution was adopted by the Council during its 61st session, under agenda item 19 (Operational Activities for Development). However, document E/6005 is presented under agenda item 23, to which it certainly does not belong. Instead, the document should have been listed under item 20 of the agenda of the 63rd session (Policy Review of Operational Activities), which corresponds to item 19 of the 61st session. *MR/R/p*

I should like to request that a Corrigendum relating the report to the item under which it was requested by the Economic and Social Council, be issued speedily in view of the fact that the subject is before ECOSOC now.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

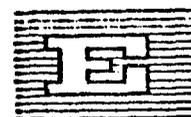
Yours sincerely,

*Pinhas Eliav*  
Pinhas Eliav  
Ambassador

Acting Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

His Excellency  
Dr. Kurt Waldheim  
The Secretary-General

UNITED NATIONS  
ECONOMIC  
AND  
SOCIAL COUNCIL



Distr.  
LIMITED

E/AC.24/L.528  
27 July 1976

Original: ENGLISH

Sixty-first session  
POLICY AND PROGRAMME CO-ORDINATION COMMITTEE  
Agenda item 19

OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES FOR DEVELOPMENT

Draft resolution submitted by Egypt on behalf of the Group of 77  
Assistance to the Palestinian people

The Economic and Social Council

Recalling General Assembly resolutions 3210 (XXIX), 3236 (XXIX) and 3237 (XXIX), and Council resolution 1978 (LIX),

1. Invites the United Nations Development Programme, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to intensify, as a matter of urgency and in co-ordination with the Economic Commission for Western Asia, their efforts in identifying the social and economic needs of the Palestinian people;

2. Requests the above-mentioned agencies and organizations to consult and co-operate with the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, with a view to establishing and implementing concrete projects to ensure the improvement of the social and economic conditions of the Palestinian people;

3. Urges the heads of the organizations and agencies concerned to formulate and submit to their respective governing and/or legislative bodies proposals for ensuring the implementation of operative paragraphs 1 and 2;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Council at its sixty-third session on the steps taken to implement this resolution.

AR. RA  
13/7

UNITED NATIONS  
TELEGRAM  
71

TELEGRAM

|  |                              |                      |
|--|------------------------------|----------------------|
| Date of Telegram<br>12 July 1977<br>5067<br>E.3060 | Authorized by<br>D. Cordovez | Department<br>ECOSOC |
|--|------------------------------|----------------------|

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UNATIONS  
NEW YORK

ECOGN 330

TEXT (Typed in capitals and double spaced)

3 JUL 1978 09 10  
COMMUNICATIONS

(PLEASE SEND ~~ATTACHED~~ BY FACSIMILE)

AHMED

FURTHER OUR TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT CHAIRMAN OF POLICY AND PROGRAMME COORDINATION PROPOSED THAT SEPARATE DISCUSSION BE HELD UNDER REPEAT UNDER ITEM 23 OF DOCUMENT E/6005. COMMITTEE AGREED TO THIS PROPOSAL AND CONSIDERATION OF ITEM HAS PROCEEDED ACCORDINGLY.

DIEGOCORDOVEZ

RECEIVED BY FACSIMILE



**UNITED NATIONS  
ECONOMIC  
AND  
SOCIAL COUNCIL**



Distr.  
GENERAL

E/5900  
16 December 1976

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Organizational session for 1977  
Agenda item 3. Basic programme of work  
of the Council for 1977

DRAFT BASIC PROGRAMME OF WORK OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1977

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| II. MATTERS ARISING FROM THE ACTIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS<br>THIRTY-FIRST SESSION THAT ARE RELEVANT TO THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL                            |             |
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15900



# UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL



Distr.  
GENERAL

E/DEC/204-212 (ORG-77)  
10 February 1977

## DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL AT ITS ORGANIZATIONAL SESSION FOR 1977

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UNITED NATIONS  
ECONOMIC  
AND  
SOCIAL COUNCIL



Distr.  
LIMITED

E/L.1757  
15 April 1977

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Sixty-second session  
Agenda item 16. Consideration of the  
provisional agenda for the  
sixty-third session.

DRAFT PROVISIONAL AGENDA FOR THE SIXTY-THIRD SESSION

Note by the Secretariat

1. In accordance with rule 9 of the rules of procedure, the draft provisional agenda for the sixty-third session is submitted for consideration by the Council. It has been drawn up in the light of the basic programme of work adopted by the Council in decision 204 (ORG-77).
2. Although this document would normally be issued towards the end of the current session, it is being circulated at this stage in response to the decision taken by the Council at its 2046th meeting on 12 April 1977, to review the documentation for the sixty-third session.
3. The present draft provisional agenda might have to be modified to take into account the decisions adopted at the Council's sixty-second session; for instance, an item on "Social development questions" might have to be added, for consideration at the resumed sixty-third session, should the Council approve a recommendation of the Commission for Social Development presently under consideration by the Council.



UNITED NATIONS  
ECONOMIC  
AND  
SOCIAL COUNCIL



Distr.  
GENERAL

E/6005  
22 June 1977  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH

Sixty-third session

Agenda item 23. Implementation of the  
Declaration on the Granting of  
Independence to Colonial Countries and  
Peoples by the specialized agencies  
and the international institutions  
associated with the United Nations

ASSISTANCE TO THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

Report of the Secretary-General

Introduction

1. The present report is submitted to the Council in accordance with its resolution 2026 (LXI) under which the Secretary-General was requested to prepare a report on the steps taken to implement the provisions of that resolution.
2. The first part of the report relates to action taken by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Economic Commission for Western Asia (ECWA). In paragraph 1 of the resolution the Council invited UNDP as well as the other organizations of the system to intensify, as a matter of urgency and in co-ordination with ECWA, their efforts in identifying the social and economic needs of the Palestinian people. The second part of the report contains material submitted by the agencies and programmes of the United Nations system on action taken by them in implementation of the above paragraph of the resolution as well as paragraphs 2 and 3, under which the Council requests the organizations "to consult and co-operate with the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, with a view to establishing and implementing concrete projects to ensure the improvement of the social and economic conditions of the Palestinian people", and urges the executive heads to formulate and submit to their respective governing and/or legislative bodies proposals for ensuring the implementation of the resolution.

**ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL**

**Sixty-third Session**

**6 July-5 August 1977**

**Geneva**

**PROVISIONAL AGENDA**



**UNITED NATIONS**

Weizman: We cannot accept Carter's position. But let us first discuss our concepts. I hope that the Americans really want to find out what the majority of the Israeli people want. If the United States is a real democracy, it will listen to the majority will of our people.

STERN: But surely you reckon that pressure from Washington will increase?

Weizman: Let it! We will have to adapt to it. But it would really be the first time that the United States would want to force something on a country by saying: "If you do not do what we want we will discontinue our aid to you." This would be the first time--and I am speaking here of administration and not of the CIA.

STERN: Would you, if necessary, renounce U.S. aid to remain loyal to your political basis positions?

Weizman: We wish to remain allies of the United States as long as we can. For we believe that there is a lot of common ground between our two states. This begins with the concepts of a democratic form of government. The Israeli Government has now changed in a democratic way, and the Americans will have to live with it. It is time for President Carter not only to speak of a political homeland for the Palestinians but also to recall the wishes of the Israeli people.

STERN: The international reaction to the victory of your party was quite negative, not only in the Arab countries but also in the United States and in Europe. Did this hurt you?

Weizman: Yes, it did. What perplexed me in particular was the intensity of this animosity in the United States. I think this was unfair and undemocratic. I think the Americans are about to regret it themselves.

STERN: Your enemies call the designated prime minister, your party colleague Begin, a "terrorist." Your party, in contrast, calls PLO leader 'Arafat a "terrorist," Both of them claim the title of a "freedom fighter" fighting for the national rights of his people. Is it conceivable that they [might] negotiate with one another on an equal footing?

Weizman: We will fight 'Arafat for our lifetime. Whenever he raises his head I will shoot at him as he will at me. For 'Arafat wants to destroy my Israel; he wants his Palestine. Begin, however, fought against the British, who wanted to chase him out of the country. He has never gone as far as 'Arafat. He never dropped bombs in schools, on market squares and bus stations. It is true indeed that some unpleasant things have happened. But when the King David Hotel was blown up, for example, the attack was aimed at the British headquarters located there. Begin fought against the British Army and not against civilians. You cannot compare him with 'Arafat.

STERN: How do you get along with Begin personally? You have said once that you are "opposite poles" and do not have great sympathy for each other.

Weizman: Yes, that is true. We do not go to the movies together. We are two different characters, but we not have a common political goal. Besides, I respect men; I only love women.

STERN: People like to call you and Begin "superhawks." Does this bother you?

Weizmann: Well, you know, it makes no difference to me whether I am called a hawk or a dove. But I would not like to be a lame duck sitting on its behind.

STERN: Would you sit at a table with an Arab leader? And if so, with whom?

Weizmann: I would like to meet with As-Sadat, 'Arafat, Al-Asad, Husayn, and Al-Qadhdhafi, as well as their mothers and grandmas. Only--they are fighting against me. If we could get in a car and drive to Amman, believe me, I would do it immediately.

STERN: Egypt recently gave Israel another 6 months to withdraw from the occupied territories. Iraq has asked the Arab states to take immediate military action against Israel. Is there any chance at all under these circumstances to prevent the next Middle East war?

Weizmann: Yes, in that we Israelis are strong and desist from always asking forgiveness for our existence. The compromising attitude to former governments led to three Middle East wars, perhaps our firm stance can prevent the next one. We at any rate would like to go to Geneva for the Middle East conference and negotiate there without any preconditions.

STERN: Can you imagine a situation in which you would feel compelled to deal the first strike?

Weizmann: I can do that very well indeed, yes. But I hope that this will not happen. We need not start a war with the borders which we now have, or with very slight changes on them.

STERN: Begin is considered hostile to the Germans. Do you believe that the German-Israeli relations will worsen?

Weizman: I see no reason for that. I believe I can reveal it now for the first time that I once was a secret guest of the German Air Force--in 1962 I was in Muenster for a whole week. I remember that they had very good liquor there at the time.

#### YEDI'OT AHARONOT VIEWS ARAB MILITARY THREAT

TA081727Y Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 8 Jun 77 p 2 TA

[Editorial: "Another Trance"]

[Text] The Arab countries have again entered into a war "trance."

A security threat between Syria and Lebanon is being considered, and if it is signed it will mean Lebanon's incorporation into the Syrian war machine. Furthermore, arms have begun streaming into Iraq for the USSR, which does not intend to equip the dictatorship in Baghdad for a war on America or Russia...and more: As-Sadat is attempting to improve his relations with Libya and Saudi Arabia with a view to the military option to which he is again resorting. Jordan is beginning to be incorporated into this combination of alliances. The Egyptians have already begun to violate the agreement in Sinai, this time on a particularly large scale, bringing in about 17 infantry battalions to the east bank of the canal....

File No  
Israel

v. 9 Jun 77

N 5

ISRAEL

GENERAL WEIZMAN INTERVIEWED ON DEFENSE POLICY

DW081228Y Hamburg STERN in German 8 Jun 77 pp 154-156 DW

[Erich Follath and Shabtai Tal interview with Israeli Gen Ezer Weizman, the designated defense minister in Tel Aviv--"last week"]

[Text] STERN: The election victory and, thus, also your victory has not only baffled Europe but also took many Israelis by surprise.

Weizman: Me too, as far as the obviousness of the victory is concerned. This was no usual election victory; it was a revolution. The Labor Party has had a sort of government monopoly for 30 years. Now the Israelis want a change.

STERN: Where do you see the reasons for the victory?

Weizman: First of all in the absolute decline of the Labor Party and in all its scandals. Then in the total lack of political leadership forces in the Labor Party. And last but not least in the clear statements of our party on the Israeli borders. This impressed the voters.

STERN: What impressed the voters?

Weizman: Our positive statement: We shall remain wherever we are now. I do not believe, by the way, that we are so very different in that respect from the Rabin government. That government also termed the Jordan River our "security border." We only have different ideas of what is to become of the West Bank occupied by Israeli troops.

STERN: What should become of it in your opinion?

Weizman: Part of Israel.

STERN: That is, you are ruling out any withdrawal?

Weizman: There will be no withdrawal from the West Bank! It is different with the Sinai and the Golan Heights. In these cases we can talk about border corrections, but then, only about minor corrections of the present borders--not those prior to 1967.

STERN: If we understand you correctly, you would at least fully annex the West Bank and introduce Israeli law in this territory?

Weizman: Yes, right away. I think extending Israeli law to this territory would only be fair, if you can talk of fairness at all in a matter between Arabs and Israelis.

STERN: Would you also favor founding new Israeli settlements on the West Bank?

Weizman: We must have the right to settle wherever we want, under one condition--that we do not take any land away from the Arabs. But if we can buy land or if free land is available, then we should set up Israeli settlements.

STERN: With such an attitude you will burden your relations with the United States considerably. After all, President Carter has more than once spoken of the necessity of a "homeland" for the Palestinians. This "homeland" can only be on the West Bank and in Gaza. How do you propose to get along with Carter under these conditions?

Israel

AR/mem

SC /

28 June 1977

Thank you very much for your thoughtful letter of 21 June 1977. I have greatly enjoyed our relationship over the years when you were Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel. I have appreciated your frank and friendly co-operation and the spontaneous and helpful way in which we have been able to discuss our mutual problems even in the most difficult circumstances. As you rightly say, we have shared a mutual interest in the promotion of peace in the Middle East and in the arduous effort to make progress towards that peace. I hope very much that we shall have opportunities to continue the conversations which we have had in the past few years.

With my warmest personal regards and good wishes for the future,

Yours sincerely,

Kurt Waldheim

His Excellency  
Mr. Yigal Allon

AR/pg  
cc: SG ✓  
b.f.: RA/AR/JPB/FMG/MP/MC/IL

28 June 1977

Mr. Ambassador,

The Secretary-General would appreciate it very much if you could forward the enclosed letter to His Excellency Mr. Yigal Allon.

A copy of this letter is enclosed for your information.

Accept, Mr. Ambassador, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Albert Rohan  
Deputy Executive Assistant  
to the Secretary-General

His Excellency  
Mr. Pinhas Eliav  
Deputy Permanent Representative of  
Israel to the United Nations  
New York

Rec'd 28-VI-77

סגן ראש הממשלה  
ושר החוץ

DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER  
AND  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

*Mr. Waldheim will  
be received*

*[Signature]*  
28/6

Jerusalem, 21 June 1977

*[Handwritten mark]*

Dear Kurt,

As you know I am about to hand over my responsibilities to my successor in the new government.

I take the opportunity to express to you my very sincere appreciation for the constant and effective cooperation you and your collaborators have so kindly accorded us during my three years in office. I am confident that a similar close relationship will be maintained with the incoming Foreign Minister, based as it is on common principles as well as on our mutual interest in respect for agreements and in the promotion of peace.

Please accept, Mr. Secretary-General, my renewed thanks, best wishes and cordial personal regards.

Very sincerely yours,

*[Signature]*  
Yigal Allon

His Excellency  
Dr. Kurt Waldheim  
Secretary-General of the  
United Nations  
New-York.

AC Israel

cc: SecGen ✓  
PSCA  
UNRWA  
SPA  
Registry

The Secretary-General of the United Nations presents his compliments to the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations and has the honour to refer to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 31/15 E of 23 November 1976, adopted under the item concerning the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East and entitled "Palestine refugees in the Gaza Strip".

It will be recalled that in a note verbale dated 13 January 1977 addressed to the Permanent Representative of Israel, the Secretary-General drew attention to his reporting responsibility under paragraph 2 of that resolution and requested the Government of Israel to forward to him as soon as possible any relevant information on the implementation of the respective provisions.

The Secretary-General would be grateful if the Government of Israel would make the required information available to him not later than 31 August 1977, as he plans to submit the report that has been requested of him by the General Assembly by the opening of its thirty-second session.

The Secretary-General takes this opportunity to renew to the Permanent Representative of Israel the assurances of his highest consideration.

24 June 1977

Message from RA via Janet

The SG said that he was willing to speak but that he will probably have to leave around 12.30 or earlier as he has such a heavy schedule for that day.

jeb

Sub. M. Tall and Mr M. Sam (OAK)  
have been informed

*MS*

14/11/77

cc: H  
TS  
12.13/6/72 9-6-77

SECRETARIAT EXECUTIF DE L'ORGANISATION  
DE L'UNITE AFRICAINE AUX NATIONS UNIES



EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT OF THE ORGANIZATION  
OF AFRICAN UNITY TO THE UNITED NATIONS

211 EAST 43RD STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017  
697-8333

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| RECEIVED IN RECORDS CONTROL            |                   |
| 9 - JUN 1977                           |                   |
| ACTION TO:                             |                   |
| 1                                      | <i>Mr. Ahmed</i>  |
| 2                                      |                   |
| 3                                      |                   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> PUT AWAY      |                   |
| INITIALS                               |                   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> BRING FORWARD |                   |
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| TO:                                    |                   |

N° INV/276/OUA/77

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New York, 3 June 1977

Mr. Secretary-General,

→ PU 211 SE USA NY  
NO PU 112/2

I have the honour to invite you to a solemn commemorative meeting of the African Group of States at the United Nations which will be held on Thursday 16 June 1977 in observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa which was proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly in its resolution 31/6I of 9 November 1977.6

You may wish to deliver at the meeting a short statement which should not be more than ten minutes.

The venue and the time of the meeting will be published in the Journal of the United Nations in due course.

Please accept, Mr. Secretary-General, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Médoune Fall  
Permanent Representative of  
Senegal to the UN  
Chairman of the African Group  
for the month of June

H.E. Mr. Kurt Waldheim  
Secretary-General  
United Nations  
New York, N.Y.



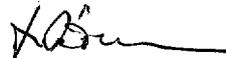
Mr. Ahmed,



This is the first time that the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (anniversary of the Soweto massacre) will be observed. The solemn commemorative meeting will be held on 16 June at 11 a.m. in Conference Room 4, with the participation of the Secretary-General (first speaker), the President of the General Assembly, the President of the Security Council, the Chairmen of the regional groups and representatives of the liberation movements of South Africa.

The Deputy Executive Secretary of the OAU says that Ambassadors Barton and Amerasinghe indicated to him today that they will participate. He would like to have the confirmation of the Secretary-General's participation.

Mr. Farah recommends that the Secretary-General should participate in the meeting and he is preparing a statement.



M.K. Pédanou  
14 June 1977

5. Mr. Mustafa Sam, the Assistant Executive Secretary of the OAU to the UN, informed me by telephone this afternoon, of the incident. He said that the press and others were attempting to create an issue out of a matter which was essentially the concern of the African Group.

Mr. Sam said that the meeting was not a UN meeting but had been convened by the African Group. As such, the African Group was entirely free to invite any state or organization or person to its meetings and was not accountable to anybody for its actions. This privilege and freedom was enjoyed by all regional groups.

Mr. Sam said that it was not his intention to issue a press statement but he had expressed his views to some members of the press. He had explained that because of Israel's occupation of part of Africa (the Sinai Peninsula), the OAU had not invited Israel to any of its functions whether in New York or elsewhere since 1973 - the year when most African states severed diplomatic relations with Israel.

AIDE MEMOIRE

TVE

W

Subject: Protest by Israel

1. On 3 June 1977 the Chairman of the African Group addressed a letter to the Secretary-General inviting him "to a solemn commemorative meeting of the African Group of States at the United Nations which will be held on Thursday 16 June 1977 in observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa which was proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly in its resolution 31/61 of 9 November 1976."

The letter added that the venue and the time of the meeting would be published in the Journal of the United Nations in due course.

2. In the United Nations Journal dated 16 June 1977 the following announcement appeared under the heading "Other Meetings": Solemn Commemorative Meeting in Observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa - 11.00 a.m. - 1.00 p.m. - closed meeting - Conference Room 7.
3. The Secretary-General was not informed by the OAU of other invitees apart from the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Security Council and the Chairmen of the Regional Groups. It was assumed that the meeting would be confined to the OAU membership and selected guests.

## ROUTING SLIP

## FICHE DE TRANSMISSION

TO: Mr. Mayrhofer-Grunbuhel  
A:

FROM: Guennadi Oudovenko  
DE:

| Room No. - No de bureau | Extension - Poste | Date                        |
|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1527-E                  | 6537              | 17.vi.77                    |
| FOR ACTION              |                   | POUR SUITE A DONNER         |
| FOR APPROVAL            |                   | POUR APPROBATION            |
| FOR SIGNATURE           |                   | POUR SIGNATURE              |
| FOR COMMENTS            |                   | POUR OBSERVATIONS           |
| MAY WE DISCUSS?         |                   | POURRIIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ? |
| YOUR ATTENTION          |                   | VOTRE ATTENTION             |
| AS DISCUSSED            |                   | COMME CONVENU               |
| AS REQUESTED            |                   | SUITE A VOTRE DEMANDE       |
| NOTE AND RETURN         |                   | NOTER ET RETOURNER          |
| FOR INFORMATION         |                   | POUR INFORMATION            |

Attached is a copy of the letter from  
the OAU - as discussed by you and  
Mr. Rutledge.

*G. Oudovenko*

SECRETARIAT EXECUTIF DE L'ORGANISATION  
DE L'UNITE AFRICAINE AUX NATIONS UNIES



EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT OF THE ORGANIZATION  
OF AFRICAN UNITY TO THE UNITED NATIONS

SG has seen

211 EAST 43RD STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017  
697-8333

New York le 13 Juin 1977

GA/294/OUA/77

SERVICE DES CONFERENCES  
United Nations, Room 1B-2B  
New York, N.Y. 10017

Att: Mrs. M. MALCOLM

Suite à notre conversation téléphonique, j'ai l'honneur de vous confirmer que tous les Etats membres accrédités auprès des Nations Unies, les Directeurs des Agences spécialisées et les Observateurs Permanents assisteront à la réunion solennelle qui se tiendra le jeudi 16 juin 1977 à 11 heures à la Salle de Conférence No 4 à l'exception des deux Etats membres suivants: AFRIQUE DU SUD ET ISRAEL

ORGANISATION DE L'UNITE AFRICAINE



Re Israel

NOTE FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

W

Mr. Katz, special representative of Mr. Begin, met today with Brzezinsky. According to US source, he is trying to explain to the White House that the image of Mr. Begin presented in the United States news media was distorted and incorrect. Mr. Begin and his Government would show flexibility on the Middle East problem.

Mr. Katz had a number of meetings with representatives of various Jewish organizations in the United States in an effort to convey the same message regarding Mr. Begin and his forthcoming Government.

Rudi

R. Stajduhar

4.50 p.m.

8 June 1977



Israel  
2-11-77

PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

cc SG  
Orig GAZARIAN  
cc GUYER  
KROWHART  
ARFIMB  
RA

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017  
OXFORD 7-5500

The Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and has the honour to refer to his note NV/77/10 of 24 May 1977, with which he transmitted a statement issued by the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic. This statement, purporting to address itself to African affairs, contains yet another unbridled attack on the part of Syria against Zionism and Israel. In effect, it called for the destruction of the State of Israel under the guise of "struggling vehemently" for the final elimination of the national liberation movement of the Jewish people.

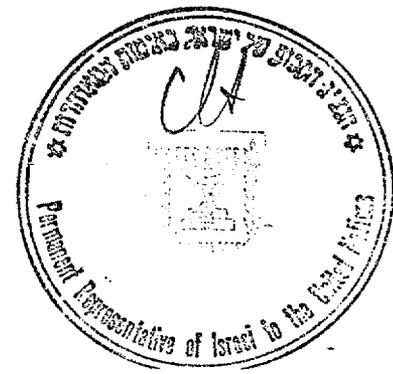
The Government of Israel cannot but regret that the Government of Syria should have chosen to exploit the African Liberation Day in this undisguised manner for the purposes of its unrelenting political warfare against Israel. Its statement gives the lie to the fulsome professions of peaceful intentions voiced recently by Syrian leaders. It also undermines the efforts currently being made to advance the process of negotiation towards a genuine peace in the Middle East.

For its part, Israel reiterates that it is ready at any time to conduct peace negotiations with Syria in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 and 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973.

The Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations has the honour to request that this note be circulated as an official document of the United Nations.

The Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations avails himself of this opportunity to renew to the Secretary General of the United Nations the assurances of his highest consideration.

New York  
31 May 1977



File Israel

UNITED NATIONS  NATIONS UNIES

POSTAL ADDRESS—ADRESSE POSTALE UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. 10017  
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REFERENCE. NV/77/13

The enclosed communication dated 31 May 1977 is transmitted to the Permanent Missions of the States Members of the United Nations at the request of the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations.

2 June 1977



PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

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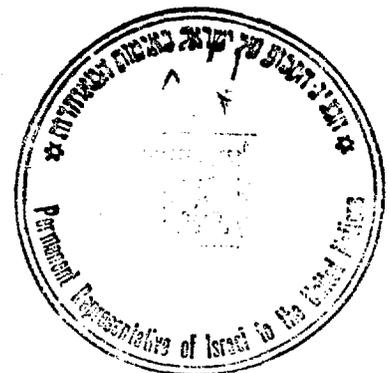
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New York  
31 May 1977



UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM INTERIEUR

TO: Mr. Kurt Waldheim  
A: The Secretary-General

DATE: 25 May 1977

REFERENCE: \_\_\_\_\_

THROUGH:  
S/C DE:

FROM: A. N. Shevchenko. Under-Secretary-General  
DE: Department of Political and Security Council Affairs

SUBJECT: Analysis of Israeli Election Results  
OBJET: Analysis of Israeli Election Results

I believe that you may be interested in  
..... reading the attached analysis of the implications  
of the Israeli election results.

Israel

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND  
SECURITY COUNCIL AFFAIRS

CONFIDENTIAL

JSS:aw

Political Affairs Division

25 May 1977

A FIRST LOOK AT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS

## A First Look at the Implications of the Israeli Elections

The official results of the Israeli elections will be announced on 26 June, following which the President of Israel will consult all the parties in the Knesseth and then call on one man to try to form a government. The preliminary election results now indicate the following distribution of seats in the 120-seat Knesseth:

|                                     |       |
|-------------------------------------|-------|
| Likud                               | - 43  |
| Labour Alignment                    | - 32  |
| Democratic Movement for Change      | - 15  |
| National Religious Party            | - 12  |
| Orthodox Religious Parties          | - 5   |
| Democratic Front (Communist)        | - 5   |
| Independent Socialists              | - 2   |
| Shlomzion (right-wing independents) | - 2   |
| Others                              | - 4   |
|                                     | <hr/> |
|                                     | 120   |

While the official results may show a shift of one or two seats it is possible now to draw the following conclusions concerning the implications of the vote distribution:

1. The very heavy loss in Labour's strength was due primarily to the formation of the Democratic Movement for Change, made up largely of former Labour members. Since the foreign policy platform of the DMC is hardly distinguishable from that of Labour, the major loss of Labour clearly does not result from foreign policy considerations. The 15 seats won by the DMC do not represent votes for either a harder or softer line on a peace settlement.

2. Likud's gain of four seats, while impressive, would not indicate a major reorientation of Israeli thinking on foreign policy. What it does suggest is that the element in the population which favors a hard line, including retention of all or most of the West Bank and Gaza, has been and remains substantial and has increased rather than declined. Putting this together with the other results one must conclude that to the limited extent that the election results show movement on foreign policy it is toward a harder line. No new party or faction favoring a softer line emerged during the elections.

3. Likud, which as the largest party will presumably be asked first to form a government, has at least two coalition possibilities and should be in a favorable bargaining situation. It starts from the fairly firm base of its own 43 seats, plus 12 seats of the National Religious Party and the 2 seats of Schlomzion (both of which share Likud thinking on the West Bank and Gaza) for a total of 57 seats. Since a minimum of only four additional seats is required for a majority, participation of either the orthodox religious parties with 5 seats or the DMC with 15 would suffice. Participation of both would give the government a comfortable majority of 16.

4. While the Likud bargaining position is favorable, it cannot form a government without either the DMC or the orthodox parties and neither shares the Likud position on the West Bank and Gaza. This means that at least some moderation of the extreme Likud foreign policy position is likely in the formation of a government.

5. The Labour position, should it eventually be asked to form a government, is much less favorable. Assuming a base of 49 seats made up of Labour, DMC and independent socialists, it is mathematically impossible for Labour to form a Labour-led majority government without the participation of the National Religious Party or both the orthodox and communist parties. Since the communists, because of their non-Zionist policy, are probably excluded, Labour is in fact dependent on the National Religious Party - the same party which it eliminated from the last government and which insists on retention of the West Bank in any peace settlement.

#### Likud - Party and Program

Likud is a fusion of several parties which formerly were independent but which joined together partly because of compatible policies but more importantly in order to strengthen their political position and influence. The two main parties included in Likud are Herut, which accounts for 18 of Likud's 43 seats, and the Liberal Party, which accounts for 16. Herut is the right-wing party founded by Menachem Begin which has always insisted that Judea and Samaria must be incorporated in Israel. The Liberal Party has been mainly identified with free-enterprise, opposition to state and trade union control of the economy and conservative fiscal policy. Herut and the Liberals found their principal basis of union in common opposition to the economic and social policies of Labour and the major trade union (Histadrut) rather than in agreement on foreign policy. Since Herut is the

largest faction in Likud and Begin the dominating figure, Likud has espoused a foreign policy which is essentially that of Herut and Begin. Its main points relevant to the Arab-Israeli conflict are:

-- Samaria, Judaea and the Gaza strip (with less emphasis) are part of Israel as given by God to the Jews and must be retained within the State.

-- Palestinians are no different from other Arabs. Those resident in Israel (i.e. the West Bank and Gaza) should be free to apply for Israeli citizenship. They would then automatically have a "homeland". Those not choosing Israeli citizenship should retain Jordanian citizenship.

-- US support of Israel results from the US national interest in preventing Soviet domination of the Middle East. It therefore is not subject to withdrawal.

-- Peace is desirable and should be achieved through negotiations between Israel, Egypt, Jordan and Syria. Territorial compromises in the Sinai and Golan Heights are not excluded. Mr. Begin is prepared to lead an Israeli delegation to a resumed Geneva Peace Conference limited to the original participants.

These Likud positions have long been well-known. What is perhaps of greater interest is the aggressively uncompromising manner in which Begin chose to articulate them immediately after the elections. (The text of his responses to Time

Magazine is appended as illustrative.) There are indications that this is beginning to place strains on the internal unity of Likud which, while hardly a threat to the party, could well influence coalition negotiations in which leaders of the Liberal Party faction will play a role.

#### The Problem of Likud Leadership

The first problem for Likud in assuming leadership of the Israel government is the precarious health of Menachem Begin. It seems questionable whether he has the stamina to carry for long the rigorous burdens of prime minister. The second in command of Herut and therefore the logical successor to Begin is Ezer Weizman, in the past Chief of the Air Force and Minister of Transport and a nephew of Israel's first President, Chaim Weizman. Ezer Weizman is known as a hawk but is said to be more pragmatically inclined than Begin. He proved an effective political leader during the election campaign when Begin was confined to the hospital.

While troublesome, the problems of leadership could prove minor compared to the problems inherent in the foreign policy which Likud represents. This policy will probably, as indicated, be modified at least slightly in the process of forming a government. Influence from abroad will also have some effect. But any Likud-led government seems bound to reject major West Bank territorial concessions, any negotiations with the PLO and the creation of a Palestinian entity. Indeed it can claim with much justification that it has no mandate to do otherwise. The results can be foreseen: Serious friction with Washington;

the likelihood of division within the major American Jewish organizations on support for Israel's policies; increased agitation against Israel and Zionism in the UN, possibly involving the status of UNDOF and UNEF; stepped up defense programs in the Arab countries; renewed terrorism, including violence in the West Bank and Gaza.

No Israeli Government can long remain impervious to such developments. For this reason the Likud policy is unlikely to prove sustainable in the long run. Either it will be subject to progressive modification or there will be political fragmentation which will necessitate new elections. Either way the process can be long and poorly suited to the achievement of an overall settlement, with increasing danger of renewed hostilities.

#### The Labour Alternative

Because of the necessity of coalition with the National Religious Party and serious differences within the Labour Alignment, itself, a Labour-led government could not be expected to carry out a foreign policy which would constitute a clearly defined alternative to that of a Likud-led government. This is an inescapable conclusion from the election results. The difference is that a Labour Government would start with a degree of flexibility which Likud would only reach after a period of sustained pressure. But in both cases the degree of flexibility on dealing with the PLO, the return of territory and the establishment of a Palestinian entity would be, of

political necessity, limited. The election results do not permit the formation of what might be called a "peace government."

#### Summary Conclusions

The mathematics of the election results clearly indicate that Likud will lead the next Israel Government. The necessity for coalition with either the DMC or the orthodox religious parties will impose some moderation on Likud foreign policy but the government will be hard-line and will yield only grudgingly and slowly, if at all, on the central issues of interest to the Arabs in a settlement. For better or worse the Israeli population will have the opportunity to judge the viability of a clearly defined policy based on the achievability of an enlarged Israel and peace in the Middle East. This may encourage the emergence of a clear alternative policy within the mainstream of Israeli politics. Other than this fairly distant prospect, the main hope of successful negotiations on a Middle East settlement would seem to lie in the emergence of leadership with sufficient charisma and vision to be able to move as far beyond the restrictions of previously defined policy and coalition politics as may be necessary to take advantage of any opportunities which may now or in the future exist to achieve peace.

was surprised by the Likud victory and somewhat apprehensive about having to deal with an Israeli leader who is not a member of the Labor Establishment. In their public statements, however, prominent U.S. Jewish leaders simply noted that Likud's victory was a democratic expression of the will of the people of Israel. Rabbi Alexander Schindler, head of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, insisted that Begin "is not really a wild-eyed radical. He is a patriot." He added, however, that organized American Jewry will act as a moderating influence on his government.

In Congress, there were mixed feelings among Israel's traditional supporters. "You can cut the gloom up here with a knife," said Illinois Senator Charles Percy. "There is great skepticism about this new Premier." Percy felt that concern would translate into greater senatorial support for moves by Carter to put pressure on Israel to go to Geneva. Washington does have a number of exploitable pressure points

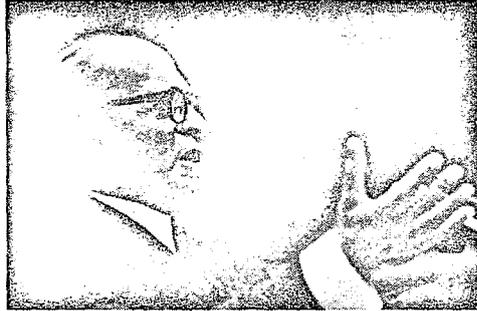
—most notably, the outstanding Israeli requests for military aid. Jerusalem wants American assistance in building its new Chariot tanks, and it wants F-16 fighters as eventual replacements for its Phantoms. On the nonmilitary front there are also some U.S. options. Washington, for instance, could end the current U.S. tax credit on contributions to Israel by American Jews.

**B**egin, however, won in Israel partly because he was seen as a man who would stand up to American pressure. Is he as intransigent as his statements sound? In Israel, Begin's detractors contend that his stand against surrendering the West Bank has been too consistent and unambiguous to make credible the belief that he might substantially change his view. Even if he wanted to, it is possible that too many of his supporters have such a passionate commitment to holding all of ancient Eretz Israel that he could not survive if he betrayed his pledges.

The counterargument is that Begin, in emerging from opposition to leadership, may be drawn to what Walter Lippmann once called "the suction of the center." Campaign Manager Weizman puts it another way: "There is a great difference between the behavior of the main opposition party and the major political power which has to lead the country." As for Begin's supposed intransigence, Weizman insists: "Believe me, give him time and he will behave as the head of a government. He will negotiate more than all the Premiers before him. You will see him becoming more flexible than anybody believes."

Israel's supporters, and perhaps also its Arab antagonists, have ample reason to hope that Weizman's judgment will prove correct. For if a Begin government is unwilling or unable to negotiate reasonably with those Arab leaders who seem ready to move toward peace, the fearful alternative is another era of turmoil—and perhaps bloodshed—in the Middle East.

REININGER—CONTACT



## A PALESTINE STATE: 'INGONCEIVABLE'

*Menachem Begin was courtly and hospitable last week when TIME Jerusalem Bureau Chief Donald Neff and Correspondent David Halevy interviewed him at his Tel Aviv apartment. "This is where I hid out from the British in the late '40s," he grinned. "If they had ever caught me here, they would have shot me down without asking questions." Said Begin:*

**ON A PALESTINIAN STATE.** It is inconceivable to us to allow a Palestinian state. Let me tell you that's not only the opinion of the Likud. On this we have a national consensus. The previous government was also of the same opinion. Under no circumstances can we agree to a so-called Palestinian state. It would be a mortal danger to us. There is a consensus of, I suppose, 95% of the people, and by their political representatives, not to allow such a development to take place.

**ON BEING CALLED A TERRORIST.** I don't give a damn what I'm called. I'm used to it. Let me explain. In the '40s, the Germans were killing our brethren. No Jews were allowed to come into this country. We begged the British. "Open the gates; let them come in." What did we do? We started to fight, to open the gates and allow our people to be saved from destruction. We started to fight to

save our people. Now take [Palestine Liberation Organization Leader Yasser] Arafat. What is his aim? He said in the so-called Palestinian charter that it was the destruction of the Jewish state. Israel must disappear. He wants to destroy a nation. Our aim is to save a people. When I am called a terrorist and Arafat is called a guerrilla, I think it is the apex of injustice.

**ON LIKUD AND LABOR.** The difference between the parties is not on a Palestinian state, not on Jerusalem never to be divided again, not on no return to the lines of 1967. The difference is that the Labor Party says we should be ready to give back part of Judea and Samaria [the West Bank]. Likud is not ready to do so. To whom are we going to give it back? [In 1948] King Abdullah invaded this country from Jordan, he killed our people, destroyed our synagogues and he occupied part of it. Then in the early '50s he annexed it. Nobody recognized that annexation but Britain and Pakistan. The U.S. never recognized it. So give what back? It doesn't belong to them.

**ON A WEST BANK SOLUTION.** We are ready to give the people of Samaria and Judea free option of citizenship. If they want Israeli citizenship, they will get it. If they prefer to keep their pre-

vious citizenship, they may. We are not going to force ours on them. They can have complete cultural autonomy and social and economic advancement, living in their homes. This is their homeland—living together with us. What is wrong with a Jewish majority living together with an Arab minority in peace, in human dignity, in equality of rights? I believe that we can live together. It is not an occupied country as people understand that horrible term. We let them live in their homeland.

**ON ANNEXING THE WEST BANK.** I object to the word annex. You annex foreign land by international law. You don't annex your own country. You wouldn't annex Tel Aviv, would you? The same applies to Bethlehem.

**ON SINAI AND GOLAN.** Within Sinai we can find a line of peace in the context of a peace treaty. The same principle would apply to the Golan Heights. But Judea and Samaria cannot be given up in any part, not only because they belong to us, but because it would destroy our security and in my opinion destroy the chance for peace.

**ON RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.** I value relations with America very much, provided they are mutual and with reciprocity. I know we have basic differences with the U.S. about a settlement. I believe they can be resolved. If I meet President Carter, I will tell him about

[the situation]. He knows the Bible by heart. I also know some parts of the Bible. And he knows the land. Let him be the judge. I don't know whether I will convince him, but I will do my best. Don't forget the Rogers plan was presented to us in 1969. [Former Premier Golda] Meir said that "any Israeli government that would accept the plan would commit treason." If Carter says withdrawal to the 1967 borders with minor modifications [which he does], it is exactly the Rogers plan. But it is even worse. Rogers never mentioned a Palestinian homeland.

**ON A U.S.-IMPOSED SOLUTION.** I don't think President Carter will do it to Israel. He is not going to send Marines to coerce us. We are a sovereign state and to assume that President Carter, of all people, would withhold arms is the wildest fantasy. I'll tell you why. I heard Carter say to President Ford in the second [campaign] confrontation in California that "you almost drove Israel to her knees by that so-called reassessment of [Secretary of State] Kissinger's." A man who uses such sharp words of condemnation and claims that there must be morality between nations—that he of all people should try to bring Israel to her knees is inconceivable. If it happens, then we shall say, "Mr. President, we are going to stand on our feet. We are not going on our knees."

**ON SOVIET EXPANSION.** I believe that the U.S. does not want to see the Soviet Union expanding. Israel is the factor in the Middle East that prevents the Soviet Union from taking over completely. When we were along the Suez Canal, we helped the U.S. by having the canal closed for six years. Soviet ships taking arms to North Viet Nam had to go via the Cape of Good Hope, a delay of 16 days. Then in September 1970, Syria massed tanks on the Jordanian border and Washington moved the Sixth Fleet to the eastern Mediterranean. The U.S. asked us to make a move. We concentrated part of our troops against the Syrian tanks. The Syrians withdrew, and there was no war. I think we rendered a service to the U.S.

**ON FORMING A GOVERNMENT.** I would like a government of national security, meaning all the parties except the Communists. I would like the Labor Party in, but if [the party's leaders] refuse, then we shall say we regret it but it is their decision. We shall try to have a government in which the majority in the Knesset will express its confidence. We will not even try to form a minority government as Labor has now. We consider the Democratic Movement for Change to be a serious candidate for the coalition. But we would not accept a D.M.C. ultimatum that we hold new elections in two years to get electoral reform. I would like a national unity government because now is an exceptional situation for Israel, both externally and internally. It is a serious situation. 1977 might be the year of political negotiations.

## HIGH SEAS

## Uranium: The Israeli Connection

In the foggy dawn of Nov. 17, 1968, the German-built freighter *Scheersberg A* (gross tonnage: 1,790 tons) chugged out of Antwerp harbor with a Liberian flag flying from its mast and 560 drums of "yellowcake"—a crude concentrate of uranium—packed beneath its decks. The ship never reached its declared destination of Genoa, Italy. Instead, after 15 days at sea it docked at the Turkish port of Iskenderun on Dec. 2, riding high in the water. Its strategic cargo—200 tons of uranium, worth \$3.7 million, that could potentially be used for nuclear weapons—had vanished. The disappearance of the uranium was first disclosed last month by Paul Leventhal, a former counsel to the Senate Committee

lantic of five gunboats seized by Israeli agents from the French harbor of Cherbourg in 1969.

In the uranium operation, the Israelis relied on assurances from the West German coalition government of Christian Democratic Chancellor Kurt-Georg Kiesinger that they would be allowed to disguise their purchase as a private commercial transaction in West Germany. In exchange, TIME's sources say, Israel promised West Germany access to its advanced uranium separation process that can be used to produce nuclear weapons. Asked directly about it, officials in Bonn refused last week either to confirm or to deny any past government involvement in such a deal.

**No Hijacking.** Investigators for the European Community began looking for the missing uranium several months after the *Scheersberg A* showed up empty at Iskenderun. They developed evidence that the cargo had not vanished in a hijacking: the uranium was shipped by a firm that knew it would never arrive at its destination in Italy. The firm was a now-defunct German petrochemical company called Asmara Chemie, and it had purchased the uranium—which was

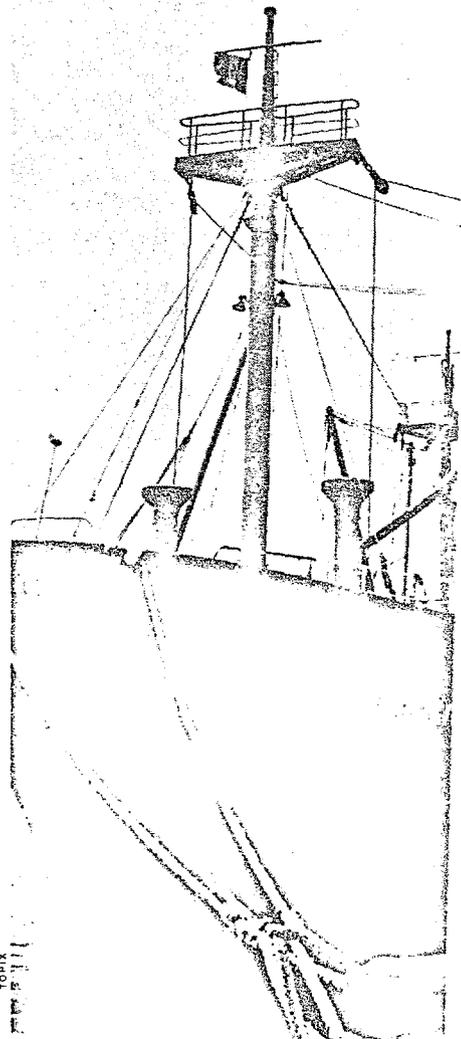
THE KERKYRA, ALIAS SCHEERSBERG A



DAN ERT, ALIAS DAN AERBEL  
Innocent barrels marked "plumbat."

on Government Operations, at a conference in Salzburg, and the report was confirmed later by European Community officials.

Who had the uranium? And how did they get it? After several weeks of investigation by a team of correspondents, TIME has learned that the *Scheersberg A's* voyage from Antwerp was part of a complex plot concocted by Israeli intelligence agents. Its purpose: to disguise a secret Israeli purchase of much-needed uranium for its French-built nuclear reactor at Dimona in the Negev Desert; an overt purchase might have pushed the Soviet Union into supplying nuclear arms to the Arab states. The *Scheersberg A*, which is still in service as a tramp steamer under the name *Kerkyra*, was secretly owned at the time of the uranium caper by the Israeli intelligence service, Mossad. It was one of three ships (another was called the *Vita*) that Israel used in the late 1960s for secret operations. TIME has discovered that the *Scheersberg A* was almost certainly involved in the refueling in the At-



UNITED NATIONS  
INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM



74-2-11  
AR RA RECEIVED  
NATIONS UNIES  
MEMORANDUM INTERIEUR

TO:  
A:

Mr. Kurt Waldheim  
The Secretary-General

DATE: 24 February 1977

REFERENCE: \_\_\_\_\_

THROUGH:  
S/C DE:

FROM:  
DE:

A. N. Shevchenko, Under-Secretary-General  
Political and Security Council Affairs

*A Shevchenko*

SUBJECT:  
OBJET:

..... I attach as of possible interest to you a  
background note on the Democratic Movement for  
Change, a new political party which could directly  
affect the formation of the next government of  
Israel.

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND

SECURITY COUNCIL AFFAIRS

Political Affairs Division

CONFIDENTIAL

JSS: HR: sk

24 February, 1977

A new political force in Israel:  
The Democratic Movement for Change

A new political force in Israel:  
The Democratic Movement for Change

The formation in Israel of a new political party, the Democratic Movement for Change, which was announced in December 1976 could substantially change the political balance and have an important effect on Israeli policy toward a Middle East settlement. Its founders include former Labour Party members, headed by Professor Yigael Yadin, Mr. Amnon Rubinstein, leader of a protest movement (Shinui or Change) established after the 1973 war and Mr. Shmuel Tamir, leader of the "Free Centre" group in the Knesset who along with other members resigned their parliamentary seats to join the D.M.C. In addition, members of Oded, a movement of young intellectuals of North African origin, leaders of Histadrut's Koor industrial combine and its subsidiaries, and hundreds of members from the kibbutzim and cooperatives have joined the movement. Some influential Druze leaders have also joined. Mr. Yadin has apparently sought to amalgamate factions of the Centre into the D.M.C., so as to give it a pivotal role in any future coalition government. Labour Party leaders, including Mr. Rabin and Mr. Allon have bitterly accused Yadin of adding to the number of parties and electoral lists and compounding the political confusion.

By its composition, the D.M.C. seems to lean towards the right in political philosophy. Nonetheless, it does represent a protest movement against the inability of the Labour Government to effect economic and social reforms and it has attempted to avoid the image of an essentially conservative philosophy in the economic sphere. It has stressed the centrality of domestic issues, and called for the reform of the government system by creating a small Inner Cabinet.

No formula has yet been formulated by the new party on the potentially divisive issue of Israeli withdrawal from Arab territories. While some members like Mr. Rubinstein are considered as doves, others who were previously pro-Likud, like Mr. Meir Zorea, hold expansionist views. The disparity of views between Yadin,

Tamin and Rubinstein has led some commentators to predict that the Movement will postpone any concrete decision on the issues of peace and territorial compromise as long as possible. It is noted that some of the key leaders have held high military or security posts in the past. Around the middle of March, internal elections will be held within the D.M.C. for the party's governing bodies and for its electoral list. This may provide a clearer idea of the new party's orientation.

The importance of the D.M.C. lies in the key role it may play in the formation of the next Israel Government. As of now, its leaders expect to gain between 12 and 15 seats in the next Knesset. If, as seems possible, the governing Labour Party loses seats to Likud, the major opposition grouping, either Labour or Likud may be able to form a government with the participation of D.M.C. and neither without it. Given its emphasis so far on domestic rather than foreign policy the entry of the D.M.C. into a Labour government will presumably not bring about much change in Israel's approach to a Middle Eastern settlement. Should, however, the D.M.C. enable Likud to form the next Israel government, a substantially new situation would arise, given that grouping's commitment to an expanded Israel and its uncompromising attitude on territorial questions.



The S.G. n.c. Israel  

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L.R.S.

המשלחת הקבועה  
של ישראל לאומות המאוחדות

PERMANENT MISSION OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

PRESS RELEASE

3 March 1977

Ambassador Chaim Herzog, speaking to a group of African students this morning, expressed his sense of outrage at the refusal of the Human Rights Commission to take any concrete action in the face of the uninhibited acts of murder in Uganda, if only to try to prevent their continuation.

Only three weeks ago the Human Rights Commission saw fit to censure Israel on totally false and trumped-up charges. Nevertheless it is now unable to pluck up the moral courage to condemn a blatant example of mass murder carried out systematically by a tyrannical regime.

The silence of the Human Rights Commission on the question of Uganda is yet further proof that its automatic majority, which characteristically of the U.N. includes Uganda itself, is completely cynical and callous in its activities.

Israel

FMG/mm

NOTE

During the Secretary-General's meeting with Foreign Minister Allon in Israel, the latter raised the question of the situation of the jewish population in Syria. While recognizing that the situation had improved in some respects, he said that his Government was concerned about the freedom of movement and the right to emigrate. In particular he referred to ca. 400 marriageable jewish girls living in Syria who were not able to find husbands there. Foreign Minister Allon asked the Secretary-General to bring this humanitarian matter to the attention of the syrian authorities.

24 February 1977

*note: S-6 raised this matter  
with Syrian Ambassador on 24 Feb.  
Request BEV to inform the Israeli Amb.*

*S-6's file*

Israel

W

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1621  
EPB004

RR YDA VOA  
1618: DAUD-NIGHTLEAD ISRAEL:

BY BERNARD EDINGER

JERUSALEM, JAN 11, REUTER -- ISRAELIS TODAY REACTED WITH FURY AT THE RELEASE OF PALESTINIAN GUERRILLA LEADER ABU DAUD, AND FOREIGN MINISTER YIGAL ALLON PUBLICLY ACCUSED FRANCE OF FAILING IN ITS INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.

MR ALLON TOLD A PACKED AND TENSE KNESSET (PARLIAMENT) : "FRANCE HAS NOT STOOD UP TO THE INTERNATIONAL TEST OF COURAGE AND INTEGRITY. IT HAS BLATANTLY VIOLATED IS INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EXPEDIENCY.

"FRANCE WENT DOWN ON ITS KNEES EVEN BEFORE IT HAD TO, DISPLAYING A MINIMUM OF COURAGE AND A MAXIMUM OF KNEE-FLEXING," MR ALLON SAID WITH VISIBLE ANGER.  
MORE DP/DC

AFP-062  
URGENT

ABOU DAUD

L'OLP SATISFAITE

PARIS, 11 JANV (AFP) -. L'OLP SE FELICITE DE LA DECISION DE REMETTRE EN LIBERTE ABOU DAUD, LE DIRIGEANT PALESTINIEN ARRETE A PARIS VENDREDI SOIR.

M. EZZEDDINE KALAK, DIRECTEUR DU BUREAU D'INFORMATION ET DE LIAISON DE L'OLP A PARIS, EN APPRENANT LA DECISION DE LA CHAMBRE D'ACCUSATION SELON LAQUELLE ABOU DAUD DEVRAIT ETRE REMIS EN LIBERTE, A DECLARE : "NOUS NOUS FELICITONS DE L' ATTITUDE DE LA JUSTICE FRANCAISE. TOUT LE MONDE CONSTATE AVEC NOUS QU'ON A VOULU PORTER ATTEINTE AUX BONNES RELATIONS ENTRE L'OLP ET LA FRANCE" A ENCORE AJOUTE LE REPRESENTANT DE L'OLP A PARIS.  
AFP

Rec'd 19-1-77 <sup>Israel</sup>



PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

cc. J.G.  
Orig. Mr. Gazarian  
cc. Mr. Zuleta  
Mr. Sny  
AR/FTG  
RA

800 SECOND AVENUE  
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OXFORD 7-5500

The Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and in reference to the Decree No. 5384 dated 23 February 1976 purporting to extend Albanian territorial waters to a breadth of fifteen nautical miles, which was communicated to the Permanent Mission of Israel by the Permanent Mission of Albania through the Secretary-General on 8 March 1976, has the honour to state the following:

In view of the Government of Israel, there is no foundation in existing international law for claims to extend the territorial sea to a breadth of 15 nautical miles from the baselines from which the breadth of the territorial sea is measured, and accordingly it reserves its rights and those of its nationals in respect of the Decree of 23 February 1976.

The Permanent Representative of Israel has the honour to request that a copy of this note be transmitted to all Member States of the United Nations.

The Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations avails himself of this opportunity to renew to the Secretary-General of the United Nations the assurances of his highest consideration.

New York  
17 January 1977

