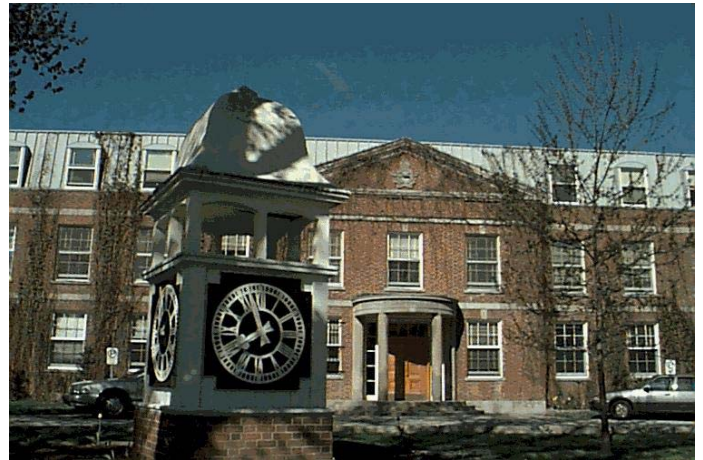


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STRUGGLE FOR ACCEPTANCE: EVALUATING ISRAEL'S STRAINED RELATIONS WITH THE UN

Lieutenant-Colonel U.V. Honorio

JCSP 40

Exercice Solo Flight

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EXERCISE *SOLO FLIGHT* PAPER

**STRUGGLE FOR ACCEPTANCE:
EVALUATING ISRAEL'S STRAINED RELATIONS WITH THE UN**

By Lieutenant-Colonel U.V. HONORIO

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**STRUGGLE FOR ACCEPTANCE:
EVALUATING ISRAEL'S STRAINED RELATIONS WITH THE UN**

*Israel is still the only country in the world against which there is a written document to the effect that it must disappear.*¹

– Menachem Begin

INTRODUCTION

Although it has been a member state in the United Nations (UN) since 1949, Israel's relationship with other member states and the Organisation has remained strained and tumultuous. Despite establishing and upgrading diplomatic ties with more states, Israel faces a virtually insurmountable challenge in garnering support for its causes. The combined majority of Muslim-dominated countries and non-aligned movement (NAM) states pose one of many obstacles for Israel to gain relevance on the world stage. If the Six-Day War and Yom Kippur War are indications of military threat to its security and existence, then diplomatic isolation strategy used by its detractors in the UN is also a real danger to its diplomatic survival.

First, this paper analyses and discusses Israel's challenges and triumphs from the time it joined the UN to the present. Academics, diplomats and others are cited for their insights on how and why Israel has been at odds with the majority of the international community. The section also provides a close look at how Israel sees the world, and how Israelis perceive themselves. Second, a number of key specific Security Council (SC) resolutions that pertain to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the Palestinian question, are presented. This section scrutinises each resolution and discusses their real or perceived unfairness to Israel. It also highlights Israel's defiance of UN condemnations by (in its

¹ Menachem Begin (speech, US Visit of Prime Minister Begin of Israel, Washington, DC, 22 March 1978), http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/US-Israel/Carter_Begin5.html.

eyes) its actions of self-preservation. The third section of this paper focuses on one specific SC meeting that was held in January 2014. This demonstrates how the SC conducts its sessions, but it also shows how other UN bodies function. More importantly, the focus is the Palestinian question, with state representatives from each region of the world discussing specifically Israel's illegal building of settlements and its blockade of Gaza. Hamas's rocket attacks on Israel and release of Palestinian prisoners were also tabled during that meeting.

The Arab-Israeli conflict is perhaps one of the most written about topics in international security studies. There are, however, not many specific materials written on the Israel-UN relationship. Moreover, most materials on this topic are typically biased in favour of or against Israel. The primary sources used in this paper therefore are SC resolutions and records. Taken at face value, information from news reports, editorials, textbooks, and documentaries, were also used to analyse and discuss the key resolutions, as listed in Appendix A.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Isolation and Group Participation

Israel became a member of the UN on 11 May 1949 based on SC Resolution 69 (1949) recommendation to the General Assembly (GA), which states that Israel "is a peace-loving State and is able and willing to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter."² The eleven-member council adopted the resolution with nine voting in favour, one against (Egypt), and one abstention (UK). Accepting the SC's recommendation, the

² Security Council resolution 69 (1949), *Admission of New Members to the United Nations*, S/RES/69 (4 March 1949), <http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/1949.shtml>.

GA voted under Resolution 273,³ with 37 of 58 states voting in favour, nine abstentions, and 12 voting against. All the Muslim-dominated states voted against, with the exception of Turkey, which abstained. Such beginning could be described as optimistic yet wary. Being invaded from all sides the day after its own declaration of independence certainly supports this argument.

One could question that a state born out of and continues to be subject to violence should be considered a “peace-loving” nation and willing to uphold the UN Charter. The frequent violations of numerous SC resolutions, the Six-Day and Yom Kippur wars, Lebanon invasion, retaliatory military operations into its Arab neighbours, and its continued occupation of captured territories bring into doubt Israel’s peace-loving nature and world citizenship. The fault, however, does not entirely rest on Israel. The UN, and particularly the Islamic bloc states have consistently made considerable efforts in isolating Israel on the world stage. Historian, Ben Halpern, wrote that even “the original sponsors of the new state, the United Nations – as a body, bloc by bloc, or individually – did not always grant to Israel’s sovereignty the same measure of recognition normally accorded to less controversial states.”⁴ Secretary-General, Ban Ki Moon, apologetically acknowledged in April 2007 that, “Israel has been treated poorly at the UN and that, while some progress has been made, this bias still remains an issue.”⁵ Cited by the Jewish Virtual Library, former Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, also went on record, lamenting that “Israel is often unfairly judged by the international body and its various

³ General Assembly resolution 273 (III), *Admission of Israel to Membership in the United Nations*, A/RES/273(III) (11 May 1949), http://www.un.org/depts/dhl/resguide/r3_en.shtml.

⁴ Ben Halpern, *The Idea of the Jewish State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), 376.

⁵ Anti-Defamation League, “Israel at the UN: A History of Bias and Progress - September 2013.” Accessed 26 March 2014, <http://www.adl.org/israel-international/un-international-organizations/c/israel-un-2013.html>.

organizations...[that] ‘on one side, supporters of Israel feel that it is harshly judged by standards that are not applied to its enemies,...[and] too often this is true, particularly in some UN bodies.’”⁶ Further, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) observes that “UN’s record and culture continue to demonstrate a predisposition against Israel” and is often a “forum for the delegitimization of the State of Israel.”⁷ During his speech in New York in January 2014, Israel’s UN Ambassador, Ron Prosor, highlighted that, “[at] the UN, there’s 22 countries in the Arab League, 57 Islamic countries and 120 [NAM]...and only one Jewish state,”⁸ explaining the reason why Israel struggles considerably to gain support and respect in international forums. It also explains why it has only managed to sponsor three GA resolutions since 1949 – its difficulty receiving the necessary majority votes in the 193-seat Assembly.⁹ Moreover, a Middle East expert, Aaron Klieman, writes that “resentment is deep at how Israel fares in world public opinion and in international forums such as the UN.”¹⁰ He went on to say that the “world beyond Israel’s borders is often perceived of...as distinctly inhospitable – dangerous and challenging place.”¹¹ There are also the usual rhetoric of questioning Israel’s legitimacy and right to exist, non-recognition of Israel’s claim over Jerusalem as its ancient and modern capital, and the world’s indignation of its continued occupation of Arab land.

⁶ Mitchell Bard, Jewish Virtual Library, “United Nations: The U.N. Relationship with Israel,” last modified December 2013. Accessed 26 March 2014, http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/UN/israel_un.html#1.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Joshua Levitt, “Prosor: Israel’s Relations at the U.N. Improving ‘Under the Radar,’” *The Algemeiner*, 23 January 2014. Accessed 5 May 2014, <http://www.algemeiner.com/2014/01/23/prosor-israels-relations-at-the-u-n-improving-under-the-radar/>.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Aaron S. Klieman, *Israel and the World After 40 Years* (Washington: Pergamon-Brassey’s International Defense Publishers, Inc, 1990), 43.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 43.

The distrust between Israel and the UN (i.e. the Organisation, its various bodies and certain member states) goes back to its creation in May 1948. First Israeli Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, had a cynical view of the UN ever since it faltered in its poor attempt to partition Palestine. This attitude, unfortunately, permeated down to and continues to influence the Jewish public.¹² The Jewish state has always felt isolated on the world stage. Dominated by NAM and Arab League nations in the 60s and 70s, the UN became “the principal instrument for advancing Arab claims and actions against Israel, including even legitimating Palestinian terrorism.”¹³ The most grievous of the Palestinian/Arab agenda was convincing the GA to pass a resolution equating Zionism with racism, which Kofi Annan later dismissed and called it the “low point” in UN history. That same resolution was revoked 16 years later in a subsequent resolution.¹⁴

It has been an uphill struggle for Israel in its quest to be an influential member state in the UN. Cited by the Jewish Virtual Library, one report wrote that “Israel, which joined the UN in 1949, has never been elected to the SC whereas at least 15 Arab League members have.”¹⁵ Israeli newspaper, *Ha’aretz*, reported in October 2013, however, that “Israel plans to run for a rotating seat on the UN SC for 2019-2020...It will be the first

¹² Louise Fischer, “An Ambivalent Relationship: Israel and the UN, 1945-1949,” accessed 26 March 2014, http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/IMG/pdf/ONU_louise_fischer.pdf.

¹³ Joshua Muravchik, World Affairs, “The UN and Israel: A History of Discrimination,” accessed 26 March 2014, <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/un-and-israel-history-discrimination>.

¹⁴ General Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX), *Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination*, A/RES/3379(XXX) (10 November 1975), [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/3379\(XXX\)&Lang=E&Area=RESOLUTION](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/3379(XXX)&Lang=E&Area=RESOLUTION); and General Assembly resolution 46/86, *Elimination of racism and racial discrimination*, A/RES/46/36 (16 December 1991), http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/46/86&Lang=E&Area=RESOLUTION

¹⁵ Mitchell Bard, Jewish Virtual Library, “United Nations: The U.N. Relationship with Israel,” last modified December 2013. Accessed 26 March 2014, http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/UN/israel_un.html#1.

time Israel has put itself in contention for a SC seat.”¹⁶ That will be a very difficult feat to achieve given that in order to win a seat on the Council, a candidate needs to win 129 votes from the 193-member GA. Moreover, in accordance with the UN Charter, a member state must also be a member of and nominated by one of the four regional groups.¹⁷ Since it joined the UN six decades ago, Israel has never been allowed to join a regional group. It was finally allowed to join the Western European and Others Group (WEOG) in May 2000, because even though Israel technically should be in the African and Asian States Group, the Islamic and NAM states in that regional group has always blocked its bid for membership.¹⁸ Israel will face off with Germany and Belgium to represent WEOG for the 2019-2020 Council selection.

For supporters of Israel, membership into the WEOG is a positive step forward towards international legitimacy and improved relations. Klieman wrote, “For all its structural, procedural, and partisan political defects, the UN and its agencies provide an exceptional forum for making Israel’s presence felt and its voice heard internationally.”¹⁹ The membership into WEOG appears to have sparked the spotlight over Israel. Since the turn of the century, Israel has been successful in gaining seats and posts on several UN committees, including the GA Vice-Presidency;²⁰ Chief, UN Committee for Program and Coordination; Deputy Chairmanship, UN Disarmament Commission (UNDC); Legal

¹⁶ Reuters, “Israel plans bid for UN Security Council seat,” *Ha’aretz*, 4 October 2013. Accessed 10 May 2014, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/1.550497>.

¹⁷ General Assembly, “Election of five non-permanent members of the Security Council,” accessed 11 May 2014, http://www.un.org/en/ga/62/plenary/election_sc/bkg.shtml.

¹⁸ UN Department for GA and Conference Management, “United Nations Regional Groups of Member States,” accessed 11 May 2014, <http://www.un.org/depts/DGACM/RegionalGroups.shtml>; and Reuters, “Israel plans bid for UN Security Council seat,” *Ha’aretz*, 4 October 2013. Accessed 10 May 2014, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/1.550497>.

¹⁹ Aaron S. Klieman, *Israel and the World After 40 Years* (Washington: Pergamon-Brassey’s International Defense Publishers, Inc, 1990), 241.

²⁰ Former Israeli UN Ambassador, Dan Gillerman; one of 21 vice presidents appointed to the position. Abba Eban was the last Israeli appointed to the position in 1953.

Coordinator, Executive Directorate of the UN Counter-Terrorism Committee; representation in the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs; membership in UNESCO World Heritage Committee; and the first ever seat on the Executive Board, UN Development Program (UNDP).²¹ And the UN's full recognition of the Holocaust, establishing 27 January as International Holocaust Memorial Day, was definitely a high point in Israel's history. Efraim Inbar posits that a state's international status could be measured by how many diplomatic relations one has.²² Israel appears to be doing well, since it currently has established diplomatic relations with 156 countries out of 193 UN members.²³ Post-Cold War, many of the former Soviet republics as well as the rising regional hegemony (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) and certain NAM sought closer ties with Israel to take advantage of potential trades and economic benefits with the only stable, democratic state in the Middle East and a close ally of the US.²⁴

Since membership, UN-Israel relations have shifted, but not very much. Always at odds with the majority of UN states, Israel cannot help but feel like an outsider. From a 2010 Survey, *The Jerusalem Post* published an article citing that "56% of Jewish Israelis believe that 'the whole world is against [them].'"²⁵ This is a self-image view that prescribes to what Klieman calls *pessimist-nationalist image*. He quoted former Israel Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who exclaimed in 1988, "The UN,... – it's always

²¹ Anti-Defamation League, "Israel at the UN: A History of Bias and Progress, September 2012," accessed 30 April 2014, <http://www.adl.org/israel-international/un-international-organizations/c/Israel-at-the-UN.pdf>; and Mitchell Bard, Jewish Virtual Library, "United Nations: The U.N. Relationship with Israel," last modified December 2013. Accessed 26 March 2014, http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/UN/israel_un.html#1.

²² Efraim Inbar, "Israel Is Not Isolated," *The Begin-Sadat Center For Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University, Mideast Security and Policy Studies*, no. 99, (Ramat Gan, Israel: The Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, March 2013), 13. Accessed 5 April 2014, <http://www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besa/MSPS99Eng.pdf>.

²³ *Ibid.*, 12.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

²⁵ Yoni Cohen, "Survey: 'The whole world is against us'," *The Jerusalem Post*, last updated 19 August 2010. Accessed 10 May 2014, <http://www.jpost.com/Israel/Survey-The-whole-world-is-against-us>.

against us.”²⁶ To paraphrase Ban Ki-Moon’s statement, there have been some steps forward in the UN-Israel relationship, but based on the discussion above, Israel is still subject to bias in the UN.

Retaliation, Pre-Emption and Resolution Violation

The vast majority of SC resolutions pertaining to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict have been critical of Israel’s actions regardless of the nature or reason for such actions. Based on the list of SC resolutions, approximately 42% of resolutions pertaining to the Middle East (including the Palestinian question) have condemned or called for Israel to cease whatever it was doing.²⁷ For instance, when Palestinian militants hijacked 300 bus from Haifa, Israel, in March 1978 and brought it to Lebanon then massacred the passengers, Shin Bet and the Israel Defence Force (IDF) retaliated by killing the hijackers and deployed thousands of troops into southern Lebanon on Operation LITANI to root out members of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO).²⁸ One can see the reason behind many of the complaints from other states regarding Israel’s tendency to use overwhelmingly disproportionate amount of force. Subsequently, the SC adopted and issued Resolution 425 (1978), which “[called] upon Israel immediately to cease its military action against Lebanese territorial integrity and withdraw forthwith its forces from all Lebanese territory.”²⁹ The resolution neither made mention of the terrorist group

²⁶ Aaron S. Klieman, *Israel and the World After 40 Years* (Washington: Pergamon-Brassey’s International Defense Publishers, Inc, 1990), 45.

²⁷ Security Council, “Security Council Resolutions,” accessed 7 May 2014, <http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/index.shtml>.

²⁸ Known to Shin Bet as the ‘300 bus incident’, but more commonly known as ‘the Coastal Road massacre;’ Andrzej Sitkowski, *UN Peacekeeping: Myth and Reality* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006), 56; and Dror Moreh, “The Gatekeepers,” *Dror Moreh Productions et al*, 26 November 2012.

²⁹ Security Council resolution 425 (1978), *Resolution 425 (1978) of 14 March 1978 (Israel-Lebanon)*, S/RES/425 (14 March 1978), <http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/1978.shtml>.

working out of Lebanon, nor did it condemn the PLO for their crime. Consequent to repeated incursions of the PLO, Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982. Numerous resolutions later, the PLO leadership fled Lebanon for Tunisia. In retaliation to the murder of Israelis in Cyprus, Israeli air force struck the PLO headquarters in Tunis on October 1985, killing 72 people, triggering “vigorous” condemnation of Israel from the international community with SC Resolution 573 (1985).³⁰

SC Resolution 95 (1951) “[called] upon Egypt to terminate the restriction on the passage of international commercial shipping and goods through the Suez Canal wherever bound and to cease all interference with such shipping beyond that essential to the safety of shipping in the Canal itself and to the observance of the international conventions in force.”³¹ This is the only SC resolution related to the Palestinian question that called upon a state, other than Israel, to cease its violation of international law. This resolution was in reaction to Egypt’s interference with the passage through the Suez Canal of goods destined for Israel.

SC Resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) are perhaps two of the more prominent and important resolutions issued by the Council because they address the most contentious issue in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: land. Resolution 242 was adopted in the aftermath of the Six-Day War when Israel captured the Sinai, the West Bank and the Golan Heights. According to former Israeli UN Ambassador, Michael Oren, Abba Eban envisioned the captured territories as bargaining chips for peace. Yigal Allon, however,

³⁰ Edward Schumacher, “Bombing in Tunis criticized by U.S.,” *The New York Times*, 23 October 1985. Accessed 11 May 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/1985/10/23/world/bombing-in-tunis-criticized-by-us.html>; and Security Council resolution 573 (1985), *Resolution 573 (1985) of 4 October 1985 (Israel-Tunisia)*, S/RES/573 (4 October 1985), <http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/1985.shtml>.

³¹ Security Council resolution 95 (1951), *Resolution of 1 September 1951 (The Palestine Question)*, S/RES/95 (1 September 1951), <http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/1951.shtml>.

saw them as security buffer.³² Although taken by surprise six years later (i.e. the Yom Kippur War), Israel somehow recaptured much of the same real estate from the same invading adversaries. Ever since then, Israel has stood firm in controlling access of the Gaza Strip, the West Bank and the Golan Heights. The Gaza Strip and the West Bank, which includes East Jerusalem, are the pieces of real estate that the Palestinians claim vital to the creation of a sovereign Palestine. Israel obviously sees it differently, and continues to violate the resolutions calling for the halt of its occupation of those territories.

Coverage of relatively recent events certainly supports the notion that Israel's international standing has worsened due to its grievous actions against the Palestinian cause. One case was the devastating bombing campaign, Operation CAST LEAD, on the Gaza Strip in December 2008 to January 2009 by the IDF in retaliation to Hamas's relentless and indiscriminate rocket attacks over southern Israel, which led to the controversial Goldstone Report.³³ The Report accused Israel of violating international laws by using disproportionate force, based solely on Palestinian testimonies, and thus committed war crimes and crimes against humanity.³⁴ Israel responded with its own fact-finding report on its military operation, rebutting the one-sided report by Goldstone. Consequently in a *Washington Post* editorial by Richard Goldstone himself in April 2011, he partially retracted his team's findings, stating that "the Israeli evidence that has emerged since publication of [his team's] report doesn't negate the tragic loss of civilian

³² Michael B. Oren, *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York: The Random House Publishing Group, 2003), 314.

³³ Officially known as the "Report of the United Nations Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict", nicknamed after the lead investigator, South African Justice Richard Goldstone, and supported by Professor Christine Chinkin of London School of Economics, Colonel (Ret) Desmond Travers from Ireland, and Hina Jilani of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, dated 15 September 2009.

³⁴ Peter Berkowitz, *Israel and the Struggle over the International Laws of War* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2012), 10-11.

life, I regret that our fact-finding mission did not have [substantive] evidence explaining the circumstances in which we said civilians in Gaza were targeted, because it probably would have influenced our findings about intentionality and war crimes.”³⁵ Despite the reversal, the Goldstone Report has further fuelled the biases on both sides of the debate. Not long after the Report was published, which in fact accused both the Israeli military and the Palestinian militants of deliberately targeting civilians, many human rights activists and those who oppose Israel loudly voiced their criticism towards the US and the EU, claiming that they have not done enough to reprimand Israeli leaders and commanders.³⁶ This played out rather loudly in the arena of public opinion. There were no shortage of criticisms from Jews and Gentiles on both sides of the Atlantic (i.e. either criticism of the Report for focusing primarily on Israeli offenses and very little mention of Hamas’s actions, or criticism of the UN and the West for not punishing the Israeli government). While the SC deferred the discussion about the findings of the Report to the Human Rights Council, it did issue a resolution at the height of the hostilities in January 2009. SC Resolution 1860 (2009), in essence, called for “an immediate, durable and fully respected ceasefire, leading to the full withdrawal of Israeli forces from Gaza” and expressed “grave concern” for the safety and protection of the civilian population on both sides.³⁷ The resolution failed to mention the reason for Israel’s military operation: its right to protect itself against the rocket attacks by Hamas, the *de facto* Palestinian authority in Gaza.

³⁵ Richard Goldstone, “Reconsidering the Goldstone Report on Israel and war crimes,” *The Washington Post*, 1 April 2011. Accessed 11 May 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/reconsidering-the-goldstone-report-on-israel-and-war-crimes/2011/04/01/AFg111JC_story.html.

³⁶ BBC News, “Goldstone defends UN Gaza report,” accessed 1 May 2014, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8280181.stm.

³⁷ Security Council resolution 69 (1949), (*no title provided*), S/RES/1860 (8 January 2009) 8 January 2009, [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1860\(2009\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1860(2009)).

Palestinian Occupation and Settlement Construction

A more recent example of Israel being the focus of criticism within the UN forum was during the 7096th meeting of the SC that was held on 20 January 2014. This specific meeting is used in this analysis because it provides a good example of a typical discourse inside the UN. It demonstrates the diverse outlook of different member states towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but more importantly where Israel fit in their respective understanding of the situation. The meeting was attended by the SC's five permanent members, the current 10 non-permanent members, 27 invited member state observers (including Israel), the Observer States of Palestine and Holy See, the EU representative to the UN, and the Secretary-General. It is also worth noting that 15 of the 27 invited states were from Islamic countries, and that the meeting was presided over by the current Council President from Jordan. The agenda contained one item, "the situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question,"³⁸ a heading used by both the SC and GA to describe the majority of meetings and resolutions pertaining to situations in the Middle East, from the Arab-Israeli conflict to the Palestinian refugee crisis to the current Syrian civil war. The meeting began with a briefing from the Secretary-General, where he mentioned the on-going discussions on the situation in Syria, the growing instability in Iraq, improving cooperation between Kuwait and Iraq, the commencement of the trial of the Special Tribunal for Lebanon, and increasing border insecurity between Lebanon and Syria. The main focus of his presentation, however, was the "Palestinian question." The

³⁸ Security Council 7096th Meeting, (*no title*), S/PV.7096 (20 January 2014), 1. Accessed 7 May 2014, http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PV.7096. The 10 non-permanent SC members at the time were Argentina, Australia, Chad, Chile, Jordan, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Nigeria, Republic of Korea and Rwanda.

speech was riddled with the usual call for tolerance and sacrifices from both sides. The Secretary-General said, “Israeli and Palestinian leaders will be required to make bold decisions and painful compromises for peace...[but] alarmed by recurrent violence and incitement on all sides, as well as by continued settlement activity, which is illegal under international law.”³⁹ He went on to comment about the Palestinian self-determination and Israel’s security.

When the Council President opened the floor for discussion, the Permanent Observer from Palestine, Riyad Mansour, began his deliberation with the usual acknowledgment of those present in the meeting. He then went on to describe the injustices that have harmed the Palestinian people, asserting that solving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict would solve the Middle East problem. He also reaffirmed that the “long-standing consensus on the parameters of the solution...[include] completely ending the Israeli occupation that began in 1967; achieving the independence of the State of Palestine, with East Jerusalem as its capital, living side by side with Israel in peace and security based on the pre-1967 borders; and ensuring a just solution to the Palestine refugee problem based on the relevant resolutions, including GA Resolution 194 (III),” which includes the call for the return of refugees to their homes or compensation for those who choose not to return.⁴⁰ The central theme of his discussion, however, revolved around the illegal construction of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Mansour stated that Israel announced plans to build “more than 7,600 settlement units, along with the construction under way on thousands more units throughout the occupied State of Palestine,” this amidst the resumption of negotiation

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

brokered by US Secretary of State, John Kerry.⁴¹ *Reuters* confirmed Israel's plan to build new units in the occupied territories, reporting that Israel's Ministry of Construction and Housing's plan is to build 801 housing units in the West Bank, 600 in East Jerusalem, and re-issuing old tenders for 582 units that failed to attract bids – far smaller figures than what Mansour presented in the meeting.⁴² However, in the same news report, according to *Peace Now*, an anti-settlement watchdog, asserted that prior to the resumption of the peace talk, the Housing Agency had plans already to build 5,349 new homes in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Moreover, *Ha'aretz* reported that the latest announcement made by Israel's housing minister in April 2014 includes the tender to build 700 more new homes in East Jerusalem.⁴³ Mansour continued his discourse, however, welcoming Israel's release of Palestinian prisoners, but went on to assert that Israel continues to unjustly arrest or detain Palestinians, including children. He concluded that “should [Israel] persist with colonization, annexation and oppression, the Council's response must be firm, based on the law and the global consensus on the conflict.”⁴⁴

Israel's UN Ambassador, Ron Prosor, assumed the Council floor also with the usual salutations. He rebutted many of the Palestinian claims, while highlighting that Israel is an “island of stability and democracy” amidst a “sea of hostility.”⁴⁵ Of note, the Ambassador did not comment on the illegal occupation charge. The central theme of his deliberation was, however, Israel's “heartbreaking decision to release convicted

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴² Ori Lewis, “Israel announces plans for building 1,400 settlement homes,” *Reuters*, 10 January 2014. Accessed 10 May 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/01/10/us-palestinians-israel-settlements-idUSBREA090KW20140110>.

⁴³ Barak Ravid, “U.S.: Minister Uri Ariel sabotaged Israel-Palestinian talks,” *Ha'aretz*, 3 April 2014. Accessed 10 May 2014, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/premium-1.583557>.

⁴⁴ Security Council 7096th Meeting, (*no title*), S/PV.7096 (20 January 2014), 6. Accessed 7 May 2014, http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PV.7096.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

Palestinian” prisoners for the sake of moving forward with the peace process. Many of those released were known members of Palestinian terrorist groups that had conducted numerous attacks on Israel. He expressed regret that instead of rebuke, the terrorists were “given a heroes’ welcome by the Palestinians” and were rewarded “tens of thousands of dollars” by the Palestinian Authority (PA).⁴⁶ He contrasted PA President, Mahmoud Abbas, to the late King Hussein of Jordan, where the latter “[consoled] Israeli families whose children had been killed in a terrorist attack” whilst the former “embraced” the terrorists and continue to regularly incite anti-Israel propaganda.⁴⁷ Prosor continued, stating that Palestinian militants conducted over 1,500 violent attacks on Israel in 2013, resulting in many injuries and fatalities of civilians, yet none of these terrorist acts were ever denounced by the PA. He continued to reassert that “the major obstacle to peace remains the refusal of the Palestinian leaders to accept the Jewish State in any border.”⁴⁸ Prosor contrasted Israel from its Islamic neighbours, going in length about the injustices those states have inflicted on their own people, most notably Tehran’s continued repression of its citizens by imprisoning journalists and political enemies, and execution of its citizens numbering in the hundreds. He also mentioned Iran’s continued support of the terrorist groups Hizbullah worldwide and Hamas in the Gaza Strip, which had already launched 17 rockets into Israel within the first three weeks of 2014. There was also Iran supreme leader’s hateful delegitimization of Israel, the country’s continued uranium enrichment program, and cited General Hajizadeh, a senior commander of the Aero-Space Forces of Iran’s Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps, “recently [boasting] that Hizbullah had improved its missile capabilities and could now hit and destroy any target

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

in Israel.”⁴⁹ Prozor also talked in length about the deteriorating four-year old civil war in Syria, highlighting the sectarian nature of the conflict, which refutes the Palestinian claim that all Middle East problems stem from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Although briefly mentioned by Prozor, he further contrasted Israel from its neighbours with its equal rights and opportunities policy of giving women voice in government and society.⁵⁰

Council members and invited states and observers were then given each the opportunity to address the meeting. Council President, Nasser Judeh, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Expatriates Affairs of Jordan, was first to give his points. Recalling SC Resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973), 1397 (2002) and 1515 (2003), he argued that the “key to a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace lies in the implementation of the two-State solution, with an independent and fully sovereign Palestinian state established within the 1967 lines, with East Jerusalem as its capital, living in peace and security and within secure borders with all countries in the region, including Israel.”⁵¹ The Jordanian Council member rebuked Israel of its continued occupation of Arab territories, its illegal building of settlements in East Jerusalem and the West Bank, its repression of the Palestinian people, and calls on Israel to cease such acts. He went on to deliberate on the grave situation in Syria, and extremism and sectarian violence in the region, but there were no mention of the ongoing terrorist attacks on Israel by Hamas.⁵²

In contrast, the representative from Luxembourg commended Israel for its release of Palestinian prisoners. He also expressed concern over the continued rocket attacks by

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁵¹ See Appendix A for a table of key Security Council resolutions pertaining to Israel and the Palestinian question; and Security Council 7096th Meeting, (*no title*), S/PV.7096 (20 January 2014), 10-11. Accessed 7 May 2014, http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PV.7096.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 11-12.

certain Palestinian factions on Israeli territory and calls for the end of such provocation. He did not fail, however, to rebuke Israel for its occupation of Palestinian territories, stating that “[n]obody will believe that the efforts to achieve peace can succeed if settlement activities continue, if the Gaza blockade persists, if the separation wall keeps on grabbing Palestinian land, and if the destruction of Palestinian infrastructures intensifies.”⁵³ Other states, including Russia, the UK, Chad, Rwanda, Brazil, and the US, echoed Luxemburg’s call for the cessation of rocket attacks on Israel. Chile even went so far as to call for the “Islamic Resistance Movement to renounce the use of arms and recognize Israel’s right to exist.”⁵⁴ With the exception of the US, those states also expressed their concerns with Israel’s continued occupation of Arab lands, its blockades, and the ongoing illegal settlements. At the same token, however, the US Ambassador to the UN, Samantha Power, who focussed her deliberation on the tragedy in Syria, made no specific mention of Israel’s illegal settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

A number of the member states present in the meeting discussed in length the situation in Syria but remained somewhat ambivalent regarding the Israeli-Palestinian issue. Representatives from Korea, Australia, Lithuania, Brazil, Guatemala, the EU, the Holy See, and Ukraine simply called upon both sides to work hard and take advantage of this, perhaps, last opportunity to reach a comprehensive peace.⁵⁵ The remaining states were on the other end of the spectrum opposite the US. There were plenty of rebuke

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 14-32.

⁵⁵ Security Council 7096th Meeting, “Secretary-General Tells Security Council 2014 Will Be ‘Decisive’ Year in Helping Israelis, Palestinians Draw Back from ‘Unsustainable Status Quo’ Resumed Talks, Tensions around Middle East Dominate Day-long Open Debate, C/11252,” (New York: Department of Public Information, 20 January 2014). Security Council 7096th meeting was split into a morning and an afternoon session, each with separate transcripts. The main webpage, however, only provides the morning transcript. Security Council, Department of Public Information provides an alternative reference source, which summarizes both sessions, at link: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2014/sc11252.doc.htm>. Accessed 7 May 2014.

towards Israel but no criticism towards the Palestinian Authority or Hamas. Comments ranged from Argentina's mention that Israel's announcement of building new settlements "would thwart the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, and urged both sides to commit to peace and refrain from actions that might exacerbate the situation," to France's UN Ambassador reiterating what the French President said during his visit to Israel, that the construction of settlements must stop.⁵⁶ Japan echoed that same sentiment. Nigeria's representative said, "Israel should reconsider its plans to build 1,400 settlements in East Jerusalem and the West Bank."⁵⁷ As with Power's lack of mention of Israel's transgressions, the remaining states, all Islamic nations, censured Israel and did not mention Hamas's rocket attacks on Israelis, and few barely mentioned the release of Palestinian prisoners, but not without slighting Israel. Lebanon's representative, who also cited the 1,400 new settlements, said that unabated construction would jeopardise the peace process. He also complained about Israel's continued violation of Lebanon's sovereignty by land, sea, air and electronic warfare. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Pakistan, Syria, Indonesia, Malaysia, Tunisia, Turkey, Qatar, Djibouti, Iran, and Iraq were all singing from the same song sheet. They each condemned Israel for its continued illegal settlement in the occupied territories and the blockade of Gaza, and insisting that both must cease. Bashar Ja'afari of Syria tried to deflect the spot light away from the turmoil in his country and focused much of the "stone-throwing" at Israel. He blamed the "suffering of the Syrian people under occupation" in the Golan Heights on Israel, suggesting that his people had been "subjected to hideous policies of suppression, racial

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* Note the inconsistency in the number of settlements.

discrimination, detention, torture and deprivation of their natural resources.”⁵⁸ He went on to suggest that Israel was responsible for endangering lives of civilians by preventing them access to the Red Crescent, and aiding Jewish extremists for kidnapping and firing upon UN peacekeepers.⁵⁹ While Mohammed Khazaee of Iran, who was also speaking on behalf of NAM, delivered a similar rebuke but added that the Council should compel Israel to “accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,” arguing that inaction by the Council “would only lead to more atrocities by Israel.”⁶⁰ Recent news, however, reported that Iran’s Supreme Leader “called on Iran's Revolutionary Guards to mass produce missiles and said the nuclear negotiations (about its own nuclear development program) were not the place to discuss Tehran's defense program or to solve the problem of sanctions damaging the Iranian economy.”⁶¹ Abdou Salam Diallo of Senegal, on the other hand, delivered the most informed and non-provoking discourse, which was summarised:

With the April deadline approaching...Israel’s actions on the ground, particularly settlement expansion, were undermining prospects, he said. Noting the announcements of thousands of new settlements since the talks began in July 2013, he said the 144 scattered throughout the occupied West Bank and East Jerusalem, and connected by roads built for the exclusive use of settlers, were totally inconsistent with the two-State solution and undermined Palestinian trust in the seriousness of Israel’s intent to achieve it. Settlement activities were also in grave breach of international law, he said, asking the Council to uphold its resolutions,

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* Of note, the use of chemical weapons in the Syrian civil war happened just five months earlier.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* Of note, regarding Iran’s nuclear program: on 20 January 2014 (same day as this referenced meeting) was the first day of implementation of interim nuclear deal; IAEA begins verifying Iranian compliance; P5+1 and EU suspend sanctions (Source: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27332513>).

⁶¹ Michelle Moghtader and Mehrdad Balali, “Iran leader slams West's 'stupid' missile stance before talks,” *Reuters*, 11 May 2014. Accessed 13 May 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/01/10/us-palestinians-israel-settlements-idUSBREA090KW20140110>.

including resolution 446 (1979), which determined that settlements had no legal validity.⁶²

Diallo also briefly mentioned its country's concern over the tensions along the Gaza-Israeli border – both the rocket fire from Gaza into Israel, and the Israeli airstrikes on the enclave, which could undermine the fragile ceasefire.⁶³ There were also other non-Islamic states which chastised Israel but failed to criticise the actions of the Palestinians, including Cuba, India, Namibia, Norway, and South Africa.⁶⁴

Of the 42 member state representatives present in the meeting (i.e. not including those from Palestine, EU, and Holy See), one state representative (from the US) was very supportive of Israel, seven were sympathetic towards Israel, six were impartial towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and an overwhelming 27 member state representatives were noticeably against Israel. An argument could therefore be made that the vast majority of resolutions in UN bodies sponsored by Israel's detractors are almost guaranteed victory, knowing that most of the Muslim-dominated and NAM states have historically voted in favour of any resolution that reprimanded Israel. According to the UN Bibliographic Information System website, only 36% of SC resolutions that specifically censured Israel in varying degrees did one or more of the states either voted against or abstained.⁶⁵ This is an indication that the overwhelming majority of Council

⁶² Security Council 7096th Meeting, "Secretary-General Tells Security Council 2014 Will Be 'Decisive' Year in Helping Israelis, Palestinians Draw Back from 'Unsustainable Status Quo' Resumed Talks, Tensions around Middle East Dominate Day-long Open Debate, C/11252," (New York: Department of Public Information, 20 January 2014). Accessed 7 May 2014, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2014/sc11252.doc.htm>.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ UN Bibliographic Information System, "Voting Record Search," accessed 11 May 2014, http://unbisnet.un.org:8080/ipac20/ipac.jsp?session=1399B939A1I46.17585&menu=search&aspect=power&npp=50&ipp=20&spp=20&profile=voting&ri=&index=.VW&term=israel&matchoptbox=0%7C0&oper=AND&aspect=power&index=.VW&term=&matchoptbox=0%7C0&oper=AND&index=.AD&term=&matchoptbox=0%7C0&oper=AND&index=BIB&term=&matchoptbox=0%7C0&limitbox_1=VI01+%3D+vis&ultype=&uloper=%3D&ullimit=&ultype=&uloper=%3D&ullimit=&sort=&x=10&y=11; and the data

members have historically voted in favour of criticising or condemning Israel. Granted, this data does not account for those resolutions that have been vetoed.

CONCLUSION

For those who see the glass half-empty, or more accurately, the content of the glass continues to evaporate, the UN-Israel relationship is probably worsening. For the ones who see the glass half-full, on the other hand, see a promising and warming relationship between the UN and Israel. Based on the analysis, while there may be a slight improvement, the tense and periodically tumultuous relationship between the Jewish state and the Organisation will likely be the norm for years to come. With the UN presently dominated by member states, who historically voted in favour of resolutions that criticises Israel, the odds are simply stacked against the Jewish state. Moreover, activism within UN bodies perpetuates the bias against Israel – the present reality that a past and the current Secretaries-General had acknowledged and conceded that the unfair treatment of Israel persists. This brings into question the credibility of some UN organisations.

Since its membership in 1949, Israel has had to face attacks from its enemies, militarily and diplomatically. Realising that they could not defeat the IDF, detractors have been working very hard, with some degree of success, in isolating Israel on the world stage. Israel has been disallowed by Islamic states from becoming a member of the African and Asian States Group, which prevents her from being nominated for a seat on the influential SC. Its recent membership into WEOG, however, has given Israel a much

does not account for resolutions regarding the establishment or extensions of the UN peacekeeping missions: UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) in the Golan Heights. Keyword: "Israel", filter: Security Council.

needed boost, providing the opportunity to vie for a seat on the Council in 2019-2020. Further, since joining the WEOG in 2000, other opportunities to participate in several UN commissions and committees had materialised, giving Israel more platforms to influence policies.

The SC had criticised and condemned Israel for many violations of resolutions and international law throughout its membership at the UN. Many of these violations, however, involved cease-fire violations by Israeli security forces conducting retaliatory missions within Palestine or its Arab neighbours. What gives proponents of Israel the real or perceived impression that the UN is unfair is that significant majority of SC resolutions reprimands Israel for its aggression but often leaves out the violent instigation of Palestinian extremists. The unfortunate part is that unless the US exercises its veto power, these “unfair” resolutions will continue to be imposed upon Israel. On the other hand, Israel continues to violate a number of resolutions that the Palestinians consider vital to their cause of self-determination and independence. This includes the illegal construction of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, including East Jerusalem.

The summary of one SC meeting provided a snapshot glimpse of the dynamics between Israel and the other states within the UN context. It revealed the deep-rooted enmity between the Jewish state and the Islamic nations, as well as how NAM countries and the West, particularly the US, had been influenced (or perhaps, influential, in the case of the latter) by either side of the debate. All of these examples throughout Israel’s membership history in the UN, from the Six-Day War to the end of the Cold War to present, show that despite some improvements in its relationship with some aspects of the

UN, Israel will remain at odds with a significant portion of the international community in the foreseeable future.

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APPENDIX A
 Exercise SOLO FLIGHT
 May 2014

Table A1. List of key UN Security Council resolutions regarding Israel.

(Source: <http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/> accessed 7 May 2014)

S/RES	Date	SC Resolution ⁶⁶	In Reaction To ⁶⁷
69	04-04-49	Recommends to the General Assembly (GA) that it admit Israel to membership in the United Nations (UN)	Having received and considered the application of Israel for membership in the UN
95	01-09-51	Calls upon Egypt to terminate the restrictions on the passage of international commercial shipping and goods through the Suez Canal wherever bound and to cease all interference with such shipping beyond that essential to the safety of shipping in the Canal itself and to the observance of the international conventions in force.	...Egyptian Government has not complied...[to] desist from the present practice of interfering with the passage through the Suez Canal of goods destined for Israel
101	24-11-53	Calls upon the Governments of Israel and Jordan to ensure the effective co-operation of local security forces	...retaliatory action at Qibya taken by armed forces of Israel on 14-15 October 1953...
106	29-04-55	Condemns [the] attack as a violation of the cease-fire provisions of [Resolution 54] and as inconsistent with the obligations of the parties under General Armistice Agreement (GAA) ⁶⁸ between Egypt and Israel and under the UN Charter; calls again upon Israel to take all necessary measures to prevent such actions	...”pre-arranged and planned attack ordered by Israel authorities” was “committed by Israel regular army forces against the Egyptian regular army forces” in the Gaza Strip on 28 February 1955
111	19-01-56	Condemns the attack of 11 December 1955 as a flagrant violation of the cease-fire...; calls upon the parties to comply with their obligations under article V of the GAA to respect the armistice demarcation line and the demilitarized zone	...Syrian complaint that an attack was committed by Israel regular army forces against Syrian regular army forces on Syrian territory on 11 December 1955;...interference by the Syrian authorities with Israel activities on Lake Tiberias, in contravention of the terms of the GAA between Israel and Syria

⁶⁶ United Nations Security Council Resolutions, accessed 1-12 May 2014, <http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/>. Unless indicated otherwise by [...], all texts used in this table are directly cited from this reference. This is a compilation only of key Security Council resolutions that pertain to Israel and its history as a member of the UN. The resolutions listed herein have been condensed to capture the essence of the Council’s intent, and should not be construed as omission or denial of facts. For the sake of brevity, common terminologies have been shortened or abbreviated, e.g. the “UN”.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Signed in 1949, set of bilateral agreements between Israel and Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria. It marked the official end to the Arab-Israeli War in 1948.

S/RES	Date	SC Resolution⁶⁶	In Reaction To⁶⁷
138	23-06-60	Requests the government of Israel to make appropriate reparation in accordance with the Charter of the UN and the rules of international law	[Argentina's] complaint that the transfer of Adolf Eichmann to the territory of Israel constitutes a violation of the sovereignty of the Argentine Republic
228	25-11-66	Deplores the loss of life and heavy damage to property resulting from the action of the Government of Israel on 13 November 1966; censures Israel for this large-scale military action in violation of the UN Charter and of the GAA between Israel and Jordan	...Israel military action which took place in the southern Hebron area on 13 November 1966
233	06-06-67	Calls upon the Governments concerned to take forthwith as a first step all measures for an immediate cease-fire and for a cessation of all military activities in the area	Concerned at the outbreak of fighting and with the menacing situation in the Near East [The Six-Day War]
234	07-06-67	Demanded that the Governments concerned should as a first step cease fire and discontinue all military activities by 2000 hours GMT on 7 June 1967	Concerned that the continuation of military activities may create an even more menacing situation in the area
235	09-06-67	Demands that hostilities should cease forthwith	...Governments of Israel and Syria have announced their mutual acceptance of the Council's demand for a cease-fire
236	11-06-67	Condemns any and all violations of the cease-fire; calls for the prompt return to the cease-fire positions of any troops which may have moved forward subsequent to 1630 hours GMT on 10 June 1967	[Oral reports of the Secretary-General]
237	14-06-67	Calls upon the Government of Israel to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the areas where military operations have taken place and to facilitate the return of those inhabitants who have fled the areas since the outbreak of hostilities	...urgent need to spare the civil populations and the prisoners of the war in the area of conflict in the Middle East additional sufferings; ...all the obligations of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War...should be complied with by the parties involved in the conflict
240	25-10-67	Condemns the violations of the cease-fire; demands of the Member States concerned to cease immediately all prohibited military activities in the area, and to co-operate fully and promptly with the UN Truce Supervision Organisation (UNTSO)	Gravely concerned over recent military activities in the Middle East carried out in spite of the SC resolutions ordering a cease-fire
242	22-11-67	Affirms that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:	[Aftermath of The Six-Day War]

S/RES	Date	SC Resolution ⁶⁶	In Reaction To ⁶⁷
		(i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict; (ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force; Affirms further the necessity: (a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area; (b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem; (c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones	
248	24-04-68	Deplores the loss of life and heavy damage to property; condemns the military action launched by Israel in flagrant violation of the UN Charter and the cease-fire resolutions; calls upon Israel to desist from acts or activities in contravention of resolution 237 (1967)	Observing that the military action by the armed forces of Israel on the territory of Jordan was of a large-scale and carefully planned nature [IDF attack on Karameh in Jordan]
250	27-04-68	Calls upon Israel to refrain from holding the military parade in Jerusalem which is contemplated for 2 May 1968	...holding of a military parade in Jerusalem will aggravate tensions in the area and have an adverse effect on a peaceful settlement of the problems in the area
252	21-05-68	[Reaffirms] that acquisition of territory by military conquest is inadmissible; deplores the failure of Israel to comply with the UN resolutions...; urgently calls upon Israel to rescind all measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any further action which tends to change the status of Jerusalem	[Israel's violation of] UN resolutions 2253 (ES-V) of 4 July 1967 and 2254 (ES-V) of 14 July 1967 [with actions to unify Jerusalem as its capital]; considers that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, including expropriation of land and properties thereon, which tend to change the legal status of Jerusalem are invalid and cannot change that status
262	31-12-68	Condemns Israel for its premeditated military action in violation of its obligations under the Charter and the cease-fire resolutions; issues a solemn warning to Israel that if such acts were repeated, the Council would have to consider further steps to give effect to its decisions; considers that Lebanon is	[Israel's attack on Beirut Airport]

S/RES	Date	SC Resolution ⁶⁶	In Reaction To ⁶⁷
		entitled to appropriate redress for the destruction it has suffered, responsibility for which has been acknowledged by Israel	
267	03-07-69	Deplores the failure of Israel to show any regard for the resolutions of the UN and the SC...; censures in the strongest terms all measures taken to change the status of the City of Jerusalem	Noting that since the adoption of...resolutions Israel has taken further measures tending to change the status of the City of Jerusalem
271	15-09-69	Reaffirms its resolutions 252 (1969) and 267 (1969); recognizes that any act of destruction or profanation of the holy places, religious buildings and sites in Jerusalem or any encouragement of, or connivance at, any such act may seriously endanger international peace and security; determines that the execrable act of desecration and profanation of the holy Al Aqsa Mosque emphasizes the immediate necessity of Israel's desisting from acting in violation of the aforesaid resolutions and rescinding forthwith all measures and actions taken by it designed to alter the status of Jerusalem; calls upon Israel scrupulously to observe the provisions of the Geneva Conventions and international law governing military occupation and to refrain from causing any hindrance to the discharge of the established functions of the Supreme Moslem Council of Jerusalem, including any co-operation that Council may desire from countries with predominantly Moslem population and from Moslem communities in relation to its plans for the maintenance and repair of the Islamic holy places in Jerusalem; condemns the failure of Israel to comply with the aforementioned resolutions and calls upon it to implement forthwith the provisions of these resolutions	Grieved at the extensive damage caused by arson [Denis Michael Rohan] to the holy Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem on 21 August 1969 under the military occupation of Israel
338	22-10-73	Calls upon all parties to the present fighting to cease all firing and terminate all military activity immediately, no later than 12 hours after the moment of the adoption of this decision, in the positions they now occupy; calls upon the parties concerned to start immediately after the cease-fire the implementation of SC resolution 242 (1967) in all of its parts; decides that, immediately and concurrently with the cease-fire,	[The Yom Kippur War, Ramadan War, or October War, also known as the 1973 Arab–Israeli War; fought by the coalition of Arab states led by Egypt and Syria against Israel from 06-25 October 1973; began when the Arab coalition launched a joint surprise attack on Israeli positions in the Israeli-occupied territories on Yom Kippur, which occurred that year during Ramadan]

S/RES	Date	SC Resolution ⁶⁶	In Reaction To ⁶⁷
		negotiations shall start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East	
425	19-04-78	Calls for strict respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries; calls upon Israel immediately to cease its military action against Lebanese territorial integrity and withdraw forthwith its forces from all Lebanese territory	Gravely concerned at the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East and its consequences to the maintenance of international peace [Israeli invasion of Lebanon]
446	22-04-79	Strongly deplores the failure of Israel to abide by SC...and UN resolutions...; calls upon Israel, as the occupying power, to abide scrupulously by the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War,...to rescind its previous measures and to desist from taking any action which would result in changing the legal status and geographical nature and materially affecting the demographic composition of the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and...not to transfer parts of its own civilian population into the occupied Arab territories	Determines that the policy and practices of Israel in establishing settlements in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967 have no legal validity and constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East
465	01-04-80	Calls upon all States not to provide Israel with any assistance to be used specifically in connection with settlements in the occupied territories;	Deplores the decision of the Government of Israel officially to support Israeli settlements in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967; strongly deplores the decision of Israel to prohibit the free travel of Mayor Fahd Qawasma in order to appear before the SC...;
478	20-08-80	Censures in the strongest terms the enactment by Israel of the “basic law” on Jerusalem and the refusal to comply with relevant SC resolutions; decides not to recognize the “basic law” and such other actions by Israel that, as a result of this law, seek to alter the character and status of Jerusalem and calls upon: (a) All Member States to accept this decision; (b) Those States that have established diplomatic missions at Jerusalem to withdraw such missions from the Holy City	Deeply concerned over the enactment of a “basic law” in the Israeli Knesset proclaiming a change in the character and status of the holy City of Jerusalem, with its implications for peace and security [Israel's attempted annexation of East Jerusalem; Israel's 1980 Jerusalem Law which declared Jerusalem to be Israel's "complete and united" capital]
487	19-06-81	Strongly condemns the military attack by Israel in clear violation of the Charter of the UN and the norms of international conduct; calls upon Israel to refrain in the future	Deeply concerned about the danger to international peace and security created by the premeditated Israeli air attack on Iraqi nuclear installations on 7 June 1981, which could at

S/RES	Date	SC Resolution ⁶⁶	In Reaction To ⁶⁷
		from any such acts or threats thereof; calls upon Israel urgently to place its nuclear facilities under the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency	any time explode the situation in the area, with grave consequences for the vital interests of all States;
573	04-10-85	Condemns vigorously the act of armed aggression perpetrated by Israel...; demands that Israel refrain from perpetrating such acts of aggression or from threatening to do so; urges Member States to take measures to dissuade Israel from resorting to such acts against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States	Gravely concerned at the threat to peace and security in the Mediterranean region posed by the air raid perpetrated on 1 October [1985] by Israel in the area of Hammam Plage, situated in the southern suburb of Tunis [Israeli air force raid of the PLO headquarters in Tunisia in retaliation for the murder of three Israeli citizens in Cyprus]
605	22-12-87	Strongly deplores those policies and practices of Israel, the occupying power, which violate the human rights of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, and in particular the opening of fire by the Israeli army, resulting in the killing and wounding of defenceless Palestinian civilians; calls once again upon Israel,...to abide immediately and scrupulously by the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, and to desist forthwith from its policies and practices that are in violation of the provisions of the Convention; calls furthermore for the exercise of maximum restraint to contribute towards the establishment of peace	Gravely concerned and alarmed by the deteriorating situation in Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem [First Intifada]
611	25-04-88	Condemns vigorously the aggression, perpetrated on 16 April 1988 against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia in flagrant violation of the Charter of the UN, international law and norms of conduct; urges Member States of the UN to take measures to prevent such acts against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States	...Tunisia made a complaint against Israel following the new act of aggression committed by the latter against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia;...with concern that the aggression perpetrated on 16 April 1988 in the locality of Sidi Bou Said has caused loss of human life, particularly the assassination of Mr Khalil as-Wazir [an affiliate of the PLO and founder of the Fatah political party]
904	18-04-94	Strongly condemns the massacre in Hebron and its aftermath which took the lives of more than 50 Palestinian civilians and injured several hundred others; calls upon Israel, the occupying Power, to continue to take and implement measures, including, inter alia, confiscation of arms, with the aim of preventing illegal acts of violence by Israeli settlers	Shocked by the appalling massacre committed against Palestinian worshippers in the Mosque of Ibrahim in Hebron, on 25 February 1994, during the holy month of Ramadan; gravely concerned by the consequent Palestinian casualties in the occupied Palestinian territory as a result of the massacre, which underlines the need to provide protection and security for the Palestinian people
1310	27-07-00	Calls on the parties to respect that line, to exercise utmost	Welcomes the statement in the Secretary-General's letter to

S/RES	Date	SC Resolution ⁶⁶	In Reaction To ⁶⁷
		restraint and to cooperate fully with the UN and with UNIFIL; calls on the Government of Lebanon to ensure the return of its effective authority and presence in the south, and in particular to proceed with a significant deployment of the Lebanese armed forces as soon as possible	the President of the SC of 24 July 2000 (S/2000/731) that, as of that date, the Government of Israel had removed all violations of the withdrawal line [in accordance with Resolution 425]
1322	07-10-00	Reaffirming the need for full respect by all of the Holy Places of the City of Jerusalem, and condemning any behaviour to the contrary; deplores the provocation carried out at Al-Haram Al-Sharif in Jerusalem on 28 September 2000, and the subsequent violence there and at other Holy Places, as well as in other areas throughout the territories occupied by Israel since 1967, resulting in over 80 Palestinian deaths and many other casualties; condemns acts of violence, especially the excessive use of force against Palestinians, resulting in injury and loss of human life; calls upon Israel, the occupying Power, to abide scrupulously by its legal obligations and its responsibilities under the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949; calls for the immediate cessation of violence, and for all necessary steps to be taken to ensure that violence ceases, that new provocative actions are avoided, and that the situation returns to normality in a way which promotes the prospects for the Middle East peace process	Deeply concerned by the tragic events that have taken place since 28 September 2000, that have led to numerous deaths and injuries, mostly among Palestinians [Visit by Ariel Sharon to the Temple Mount (referred to in the Resolution by its Arab name Al-Haram Al-Sharif) and the subsequent violence]
1397	12-04-02	Demands immediate cessation of all acts of violence, including all acts of terror, provocation, incitement and destruction; calls upon the Israeli and Palestinian sides and their leaders to cooperate in the implementation of the Tenet work plan and Mitchell Report recommendations with the aim of resuming negotiations on a political settlement	Expressing its grave concern at the continuation of the tragic and violent events that have taken place since September 2000, especially the recent attacks and the increased number of casualties
1435	24-09-02	Demands that Israel immediately cease measures in and around Ramallah including the destruction of Palestinian civilian and security infrastructure; demands also the expeditious withdrawal of the Israeli occupying forces from Palestinian cities towards the return to the positions held prior to September 2000; calls on the Palestinian Authority to meet its expressed commitment to ensure that those responsible for	Reiterating its grave concern at the tragic and violent events that have taken place since September 2000 and the continuous deterioration of the situation; condemning all terrorist attacks against any civilians, including the terrorist bombings in Israel on 18 and 19 September 2002 and in a Palestinian school in Hebron on 17 September 2002; gravely concerned at the reoccupation of the headquarters of the

S/RES	Date	SC Resolution ⁶⁶	In Reaction To ⁶⁷
		terrorist acts are brought to justice by it	President of the Palestinian Authority in the City of Ramallah that took place on 19 September 2002 and demanding its immediate end; alarmed at the reoccupation of Palestinian cities as well as the severe restrictions imposed on the freedom of movement of persons and goods, and gravely concerned at the humanitarian crisis being faced by the Palestinian people
1701	11-08-06	Calls for a full cessation of hostilities based upon, in particular, the immediate cessation by Hizbollah of all attacks and the immediate cessation by Israel of all offensive military operations; upon full cessation of hostilities, calls upon the Government of Lebanon and UNIFIL as authorized by paragraph 11 to deploy their forces together throughout the South and calls upon the Government of Israel, as that deployment begins, to withdraw all of its forces from southern Lebanon in parallel	Utmost concern at the continuing escalation of hostilities in Lebanon and in Israel since Hizbollah's attack on Israel on 12 July 2006, which has already caused hundreds of deaths and injuries on both sides, extensive damage to civilian infrastructure and hundreds of thousands of internally displaced persons
1860	08-01-09	Calls for renewed and urgent efforts by the parties and the international community to achieve a comprehensive peace based on the vision of a region where two democratic States, Israel and Palestine, live side by side in peace with secure and recognized borders	Grave concern at the escalation of violence and the deterioration of the situation, in particular the resulting heavy civilian casualties since the refusal to extend the period of calm; emphasizing that the Palestinian and Israeli civilian populations must be protected; expressing grave concern also at the deepening humanitarian crisis in Gaza