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ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND  
FOUR HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Friday, 20 May 1983, at 10.30 a.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. UMBA DI LUTETE	(Zaire)
<u>Members:</u>	China	Mr. LIANG Yufan
	France	Mr. LENNUYEUX-COMNIENE
	Guyana	Mr. SINCLAIR
	Jordan	Mr. SALAH
	Malta	Mr. GAUCI
	Netherlands	Mr. SERRY
	Nicaragua	Mr. TINOCO FONSECA
	Pakistan	Mr. SHAH NAWAZ
	Poland	Mr. NATORF
	Togo	Mr. AMEGA
	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. OVINNIKOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir JOHN THOMSON
	United States of America	Mr. LICHENSTEIN
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MASHINGAIDZE

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The meeting was called to order at 11.15 a.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

LETTER DATED 5 NOVEMBER 1982 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF MOROCCO TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/15481)

LETTER DATED 9 NOVEMBER 1982 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF NIGER TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/15483)

LETTER DATED 8 FEBRUARY 1983 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRS OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF JORDAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/15599)

LETTER DATED 13 MAY 1983 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF QATAR TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/15764)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, Greece, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kuwait, Lebanon, Morocco, Niger, Senegal, Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, Yemen and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Dountas (Greece), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Rajaie Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Labaki (Lebanon), Mr. Mrani Zentar (Morocco), Mr. Oumarou (Niger), Mr. Sarre (Senegal), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Kirca (Turkey), Mr. Al-Amri (United Arab Emirates), Mr. Sallam (Yemen) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber: Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Mali and Qatar in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Traore (Mali) and Mr. Jamal (Qatar) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council will recall that the Security Council took up this question for the last time at its 2414th meeting, on 16 February 1983. The Council is now continuing its examination of this item pursuant to the request contained in the letter dated 16 May 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Qatar to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council which has been distributed as document S/15764.

The first speaker is the representative of Qatar, who wishes to make a statement as Chairman of the Arab Group at the United Nations for the month of May 1983. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of the Arab Group, of which I have the honour to be Chairman this month, it is a pleasure for me to convey to you, Sir, its congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. I wish also to express my appreciation and admiration of the political wisdom and diplomatic skill that you have demonstrated throughout your guidance of the deliberations of the Council so far. We are convinced that, under your presidency and thanks to your wisdom, this debate will follow the desired course.

(Mr. Jamal, Qatar)

I should also like to take this opportunity to thank the members of the Security Council for allowing my delegation to participate in this debate.

The situation in the occupied Arab territories continues to deteriorate as a result of the policy of the Israeli occupation authorities, who continue to practise against the Arab people the most savage repression, which is an affront to all people of conscience, to human values and to the principles of international law. Israel has resorted to these means of repression because it understands that its campaign against the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has not liquidated that organization as it had hoped. On the contrary, it has consolidated the position of that organization in the eyes of the world public as the core of the resistance of the Palestinian people.

I do not wish to go into the details of the physical destruction and repression of which the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories are the victims. The reports and resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council are filled with these - and, indeed, they could fill volumes. I am going to try, however, to stress one very serious problem which is fundamentally connected with the problem which we are considering. I refer to the credibility of the United Nations and to the threat to its survival.

Everyone knows that the credibility of the United Nations has never been questioned until recently, more precisely since the end of the 1970s. The fact that this problem is raised as a question which should be discussed is the result of recent developments in certain chronic international problems, above all those which give rise to the Palestinian question, which has been considered continuously in this Organization for more than 35 years without there being even a glimmer of hope of finding a solution that will put an end to the suffering of the Palestinian people. It is therefore natural that, after all these years of misery, we should pause to consider where this road is leading and if it really has an end. The United Nations has not only been unable to restore the usurped rights of the Palestinian people but, unfortunately, has also proved incapable of restraining the usurper and persuading it not to escalate its acts of aggression, which have culminated in the occupation of the territories of three other Arab States, in addition

(Mr. Jamal, Qatar)

to the absorption of all the Palestinian territories. Israeli defiance has extended to the United Nations Charter and resolutions, international law and world public opinion, through the annexation of Arab Al Quds, which it has made the eternal capital of Israel, and the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights.

The Israeli leaders continue to defy the international community and all the principles, laws, traditions and treaties that it represents. There is no human or juridical value that Israel has not shamefully violated and flouted. Can the international community forget the barbaric Zionist crimes, from the massacre at Deir Yassin in 1948 to the tragedy of Sabra and Shatila, which aroused and shocked the international conscience and revealed the inhuman face of Israel?

(Mr. Jamal, Qatar)

I shall not try to enumerate all of Israel's crimes against the Arab people and especially the people of Palestine, because these crimes are countless. United Nations documents are full of them. I shall mainly try to emphasize the fact that the solution to the crisis of credibility the Organization faces depends largely on the solution to the Palestinian problem, which is one of the oldest and most complex of the chronic problems and a threat to international peace and security, as is the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied by force of arms - particularly Al Quds, Jerusalem.

Can members forget how the Security Council, which is the supreme international authority for the maintenance of peace and security, was virtually paralysed in the face of the invasion of Lebanon last June by the Israeli forces who unleashed a brutal campaign unprecedented in contemporary history, the sole mad purpose of which was to eliminate the Palestinian problem and eradicate everything that is Palestinian? That mad desire brought the Israeli leaders to the point where they authorized and carried out the large-scale massacre in Sabra and Shatila, and today they are following suit in the West Bank and Gaza Strip: they have profaned the legacy of civilization and the human legacy and have completely humiliated Lebanon by savagely bombing its capital on land, from the sea and from the air in spite of the Security Council's resolutions, especially resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982). Paragraph 1 of the latter states that the Council:

"Demands that Israel withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon." (S/RES/509, para. 1)

As usual, Israel has refused to implement these resolutions.

The principles of the Charter are sufficient by themselves to propagate truth and uphold law and justice.

The fault does not therefore lie in the Charter or in the rules of international law. In the case of Israel, the deficiency is attributable in the protection afforded to Israel by a great Power which is a permanent member of the Security Council. Without the limitless military, economic

(Mr. Jamal, Qatar)

and political support given to Israel, as a divine right, by the United States of America, Israel would never have had the temerity to defy the resolutions of the United Nations and to adopt a scornful attitude thus humiliating this Council.

Because of the total political support automatically extended at the international level, the resolutions in which the General Assembly affirms the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of its independent homeland in the occupied Palestinian territory and recognizes the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of that people, have become dead letters and not the true expression of the will of the international community as they should.

The effect of this political support has spread to the Security Council where use of the right of veto, or the threat to use it, has transformed the Council into another forum for speeches or, in any event, into a bargaining court, so to speak, in which the criminal and the victim are given the same treatment on the pretext of maintaining a balance and without the slightest consideration for the most elementary rules of justice which constitute the supreme objective of the principles of the United Nations Charter. The result has been that the Council has lost its effectiveness and to say the least, the justification for its existence is jeopardized.

The persistence with which Israel pursues the implementation of its expansionist plan by establishing new Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories is only further incontrovertible proof of the fact that it ignores international law and despises the will of the international community as expressed in countless United Nations resolutions. Needless to say, the policy of establishing new settlements has two very serious objectives: implementation of the annexation of Arab territories in gradual and insidious stages and the creation of material and human obstacles designed to complicate the problem still further and, in the course of time, to render it insoluble. Even much more serious is the fact that Israel is apparently not satisfied with violating the 1949 Geneva Convention by changing the topographical character and demographic structure of the occupied territories: it has also

(Mr. Jamal Qatar)

recently considered that maintaining the presence of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip constitutes usurpation and would lead to a confrontation regardless of when it takes place. That is what led to the decision of the Israeli military establishment and the coalition of the Likud party in power to make the life of the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories an unbearable hell and oblige them to flee.

The Arab Group calls upon the international community to uphold the credibility of the Organization which embodies the hopes of peace-loving peoples for a better future. Nothing is more dangerous than the erosion of the credibility of the United Nations as the body responsible for settling international disputes. That was never more clearly expressed than in the discussion of the Palestinian question, which has continued from 1947 until this day, and in the General Assembly and Security Council discussions on the question of the occupied Arab territories without any solution being found.

That is why the Arab Group maintains that the only possible way of countering Israel's challenge and intransigence and of forcing it to respect the will of the international community is for us to demonstrate the will to remove the restrictions which have so far prevented implementation of Chapter VII of the Charter with regard to the imposition of sanctions against Israel in order to dissuade it from pursuing its aims.

We call upon the Security Council to assume its responsibilities in order to maintain international peace and security and find a solution once and for all to this chronic problem.

Israel has committed a premeditated crime against the Palestinian people, has created this human tragedy and has perpetrated this international crime because the international community has not opposed Israel and has not dissuaded it from those actions. It is the international community's desire for compromise that has encouraged Israel to scorn the United Nations and, in particular, the Security Council, which bears a special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.



(Mr. Jamal, Qatar)

That is why the Council must realize this before it is too late and must strive to restore the credibility of this body, a credibility that has, unfortunately, deteriorated because a permanent member of the Council is not fulfilling its logical and legal responsibilities. This Council should be given the opportunity to play its role under the Charter and to find a solution to this international problem in order to safeguard international peace and security.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Qatar for the congratulations he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and I now call upon him to make his statement.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): Permit me at the outset, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month of May. The support and solidarity of Zaire in regard to the cause of national liberation in South West Africa and southern Africa, as well as its solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people to attain and exercise its inalienable rights in our homeland in Palestine, have always been manifested by your political and principled postures. Through you, Sir, I wish to express our gratitude to the members of this Council. We are still confident that the Council will assume its responsibilities and that it will overcome the obstacles in its path, obstacles that are aimed at eroding and shattering our confidence in the United Nations and its organs and agencies.

The United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, remains the haven and refuge as well as the forum where victims can seek redress for injustice. Notwithstanding some shortcomings and failings, the Security Council is still the keeper of peace and the guardian of the principles of the Charter, the protector of human rights and human beings.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation  
Organization)

On 16 December 1982 the General Assembly adopted resolution 37/120 J almost unanimously. There were only two red lights, two negative votes. That resolution urged the Secretary-General,

"in consultation with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, and pending the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, to undertake effective measures to guarantee the safety and security and legal and human rights of the Palestinian refugees in the occupied territories".

(resolution 37/120 J, para. 1)

Concern for the safety and legal and human rights was expressed repeatedly by people of goodwill in the meetings of the Security Council. The Council meets yet once again to express the same concern, but I am certain that the Secretary-General will be informing us, here in this Council perhaps, on his endeavours and what effective measures he has undertaken or that he will undertake or consider undertaking in order to implement the provisions of the General Assembly resolution.

I should like to recall some manifestations, disgraceful and shameful as they are, of Israeli Zionist behaviour which was neither accidental nor incidental but which reflected practices to implement a policy and interpretation of a loathsome racist ideology. I speak of things that have happened since this Council last met to consider this serious concern over the fate of human beings, Palestinian Arabs, in territories under occupation by the Israeli forces.

A few weeks ago, just after midnight, Israeli troops surrounded the village of Halhul near Hebron in the occupied Palestinian territory and summoned all the male population to gather in the village mosque. In the shadow of bayonets and under the usual threats of the occupying Power they assembled in the mosque. They were ordered to bark - not to pray, but to bark - and the barking was to be continued until the village's stray dogs responded. That was one of the manifestations.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization)

On 8 April 1983 the Hebrew-language Tel Aviv daily newspaper Ha'aretz published the following story: it begins with something like a parable:

"A Hassid came to a Rabbi. 'Rabbi,' he said, 'I always think and find no rest.' The Rabbi asked him, 'What are you thinking about?' 'I wonder whether there is justice and a judge.' 'Why do you care?' answered the Rabbi. 'If there is no justice and no judge, what then is the purpose of creation?' 'Why do you care?' answered the Rabbi. 'Rabbi, if there is no justice and no judge, for what do we need the Torah?' 'Why do you care?' answered the Rabbi. 'What is the Rabbi talking about and why should I care?' 'If you care that much, you are a good Jew, and a good Jew has the right to think and wonder, but not to hurt,' said the Rabbi."

This wisdom was uttered in the following context: Fatmeh Abu Mayale, a woman who has passed her sixth decade, cannot shout and scream now, or even talk or whisper. She is lying unconscious in Makassed Hospital in East Jerusalem. Her old body is covered with blue bruises. Her right hand, with which she tried to protect her head, is covered with thick bandages. Her head is full of stitches, and from time to time muffled groans come from her mouth. On hearing this her two old sisters who sit next to her bed jump up from their seats.

The young physician who treated Fatmeh explained in medical terminology that she was suffering from concussion and fractures of her skull. She is unconscious and has serious bruises caused by blows from a blunt instrument.

In the next room in the same hospital a young man lies, and he also complains about pain in his back and neck caused by blows, which he suffered as he was trying to save Fatmeh's life. This boy tells the following story:

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation  
Organization)

"On Sunday I came back from my prayers in al-Aqsa Mosque with my friends. We walked in the direction of Aqbat al-Kaldiye Street, where Fatmeh lives, and all of a sudden we heard people screaming. 'The Jews killed a woman.' We ran in the direction of the house, but we **could not get near it.** The Yeshiva students threw stones at all passers-by, while a group of border-guard soldiers stood nearby.

"I approached one soldier who seemed to me to be the commander and asked him to intervene so we could enter Fatmeh's house and find out what had happened to her. The commander started dealing with the students, and a long and fruitless dialogue started. He shouted and they replied with stones. Then I decided that I couldn't wait any longer and ran into the house.

"Because of the dark I couldn't find the place where Fatmeh lay, but then I smelled soup and, following the direction of the smell all of a sudden I came upon a shocking scene. Fatmeh was lying on the floor and blood covered her whole body. In a small room, which she used to cook her meals, I found a mess all over the place.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine  
Liberation Organization)

"Everything was upside-down, the cooking pot was on the floor, and soup was dripping from her hair. I am not a strong person, and I don't know how I gained the strength to carry her outside. But while I was carrying her I felt someone hitting my back and neck from behind. I couldn't turn around to identify who was hitting me. At the entrance to the house, two of my friends appeared and helped me carry the woman. After carrying her a few hundred metres, I collapsed and lost consciousness and was brought here to the hospital."

That was reported in the Hebrew language newspaper. The reporter who reported that event added:

"The strangest thing in this story is the police behaviour. I asked the police if they have investigated, and they told me, 'We're dealing with the story.' 'Did you take anyone to prison? Did you interrogate anyone?' Their reply was, 'Look, we can't talk with the woman as long as she's unconscious.' 'What about the young man who helped her? Did you investigate the attack on him?' 'We took his testimony, but we can't investigate in his case because he didn't complain.' But the young man told me that no one from the police authority came to him and asked him about the attack. I asked him whether he complained to the police. 'I'm afraid to do so; when the Yeshiva students find out I complained against them, they will try to hurt me. My home is next to the Yeshiva, and I don't want to live in fear, and I can't expect the police to protect me.'

"Later on, the police authorities told me that they have nine students in the prison concerning the attack on Fatmeh. But earlier I was told that the imprisonment of these people was connected to another story. When a foreign photographer came to take pictures of Fatmeh's home he was attacked by the Yeshiva students with water pipes, and later on the Yeshiva students and Arab kids started throwing stones at each other."

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine  
Liberation Organization)

The Jerusalem Post and Ha'aretz reported on 9 May:

"Nafez abu Maiser" - that was the name of the boy - "who was beaten and injured ... while rescuing an elderly Arab woman being attacked by Yeshiva students in Jerusalem's Old City, was attacked again by the same students last Thursday night. It was reported that he is in serious condition at Makased Hospital in east Jerusalem."

These are only some of the manifestations of what is going on in the territories under occupation. On 16 May 1983 The Jerusalem Post reported the following:

"The security forces are investigating the West Bank Jewish vigilante group calling itself the Fist of Defence .... A Justice Ministry report said to document vigilantism in the territories may soon see the light of day.

"The failure of the Justice Ministry, the police and the military to implement recommendations of the Ministry report apparently led to the recent resignation of the committee's chairman, Deputy Attorney-General Yehudit Karp. The Jerusalem Post has learned that the committee still formally exists, but has been without a chairman since Karp resigned three weeks ago.

"The security forces are investigating the Fist of Defence, an organization of West Bank colonial settlers who have taken credit for a series of attacks on Arab property - including vandalizing automobiles, smashing windows in homes, and possibly exploding a bomb outside the Hebron Mosque - at a time when the national police and officials connected with the justice system in the West Bank speak openly about 'two systems of justice' in the territories.

"The dam of silence on the subject of 'two systems of justice, one for Arabs and one for Jews', as one police officer has described it, was broken by the resignation of Karp as chairman of the Ministry committee. Since then, senior police and justice officials have spoken bluntly.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine  
Liberation Organization)

"Former Jerusalem district attorney Michael Kirsh said that 'two systems' indeed exist in the territories, and like senior police officers -- prohibited from identifying themselves because of the political nature of the subject -- he indicated strongly that there are political echelons that encourage the military in the territories to turn a blind eye to vigilantism.

"The Fist of Defence came to light two weeks ago when, after a series of attacks on Arab property, a spokesman for the group called Kol Yisrael" -- that is, the radio station -- "to take credit. The spokesman warned that for every Arab attack on Jews in the West Bank there would be retaliation."

Here the Hebrew language newspaper puts the word "retaliation" in quotation marks:

"There have been more than a dozen cases of such 'retaliation' since.

"Although police are hesitant to admit it, they concede they are 'practically incompetent' to act as an investigative force in the territories, because ultimately all authority resides with the Israel Defence Forces."

After all, it is a military occupying Power. The report continues:

"But police sources have told The Post they estimate that about a dozen 'well-trained' men have been involved in Fist of Defence actions.

"Furthermore, the police sources say, the group was apparently organized soon after Defence Minister Moshe Arens replaced Ariel Sharon." Moshe Arens, as members of the Council know, was the Ambassador of Israel in Washington and is an expert on lethal weapons. The report goes on to say:

"'They are taking the law into their own hands', said one senior police source, referring to the vigilantes. And he added that 'when people start doing that, the Green Line can disappear faster than by any settlement programme.'"

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine  
Liberation Organization)

The Green Line is the name given to the line separating territories called Israel from others that are administered territories over which Israel claims to have sovereignty despite the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The report goes on to say:

"Meanwhile, several MKs" - members of the Knesset - "have been calling for the Justice Ministry to hand over to them the so-called 'Karp documents', in which are listed all reported cases of vigilantism during the past two years, and recommendations to beef up police authority in the area. The documents also concern political intervention on behalf of vigilante suspects."

Again one wonders whether the provisions urging the Secretary-General and the international community to take effective measures have already been implemented, and now the question is whether the Security Council itself will decide to undertake such measures.

The elimination of human beings by any means available continues against the Palestinian Arabs, including mass genocide, as was the case in Deir Yassin, Sabra and Shatila, Ein El Hilweh and Sidon. These areas are still under occupation by the Israeli forces of aggression, and the acts of elimination continue. Israel stays there, Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) and so on notwithstanding.

To give a description of what is happening in the areas under Israeli occupation, I will recall the experience of Ilan Blum, who was doing reserve duty in January 1983 at the Israeli Military Headquarters in Sidon. He says:

"Several soldiers from my unit had been sitting in the military headquarters building in Sidon, when our quartermaster walked into our room, pale and in a state of shock. He told us that he had just watched how one of our border guards" - that is, the Israeli border guards - "had dealt with a Palestinian detainee, who had had his hands bound behind his back. Amos, our commander, rushed out and went up to the commander of the border guards, to whom we were formally attached,



(Mr. Terzi, Palestine  
Liberation Organization)

and demanded an identity parade. Our quartermaster, however, was frightened and did not point out the man, even though he described him to us later on in great detail. Amos did not give up and demanded to talk to the border guards themselves, but their commander said he would do it. He did, and what he said was that they" - that is, the reserves - "had to understand that they were not in the West Bank and that there were civilians here and a unit of reservists that could not accept such behaviour; 'therefore', he added, 'anyone who is caught will be punished'."

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization)

"But let me tell you about it all from the beginning. When we got to the military headquarters in Sidon we had no idea what lay ahead of us. I remember how we first saw all those people in the corridors, who had their hands tied back and wore blindfolds. They used to be waiting for hours. There were explicit orders that no more than two people should go into the detention room that was in the cellar, but the border guards told our soldiers to follow them inside and showed them how they treated the detainees. In the best cases, this involved only humiliations and curses.

"So we daily ran into young boys who had been brought in, as they stood blindfolded in the corridors. We could not escape the sight. Some people laughed at them, others beat them. One day, one of our soldiers told us that they had seen one of the border guards beating a detainee. The detainee had cursed his tormentor, so the border guard bit his ear. How can I explain it? It was as if we were in a different world, and these were only the suspects. Some of them were what is called in Sidon 'security risks'.

'In my unit, even those soldiers who regarded themselves as right-wing and justified our presence in Lebanon were shocked by what we witnessed. Even members of the Tehiya party voiced horror and repulsion at the humiliations and maltreatment we were observing.

"The border guards regarded us as naive, as a 'leftist unit' ... I personally oppose a Palestinian State, but does that give me permission to help commit an injustice? In the eyes of the border guards we were 'softies'. They were not bothered one bit by the way they treated the detainees. They enjoyed it, or some of them did and even boasted about it. They used to call in our soldiers to show them how they worked over the detainees ...

"And the tortures continued. Once I watched Haddad's men bring in some detainees. On the way to the entrance, in the car, they smashed the cheekbone of one detainee and hit the other one over the head with a rifle butt, until he was completely covered in blood. We got to the point that we did not see any point in complaining any more. We suddenly realized that the commanders around us wanted this to happen."

(Mr. Terzi Palestine Liberation Organization)

These were the words of young Mr. Blum. Here again, one wonders whether this Council could authorize its peace-keeping Force - interim, if it wishes - to provide guarantees of safety and security. The men are there on the ground. The General Assembly calls on the Secretary-General to provide that safety and security. There is a force there by order of the Security Council. Could that Force be entrusted with providing safety and security to the refugees in that area especially as some of them are living in refugee camps under the United Nations flag? I know it is not in the books, but maybe the Security Council could think again and give them something humane to do. Of course the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) is to confirm the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Lebanese territory all the way beyond the internationally recognized borders of the sovereign State of Lebanon. I am certain that the Force would be more than happy to carry out a humanitarian mission. We realize that the Israeli army continues to restrict the movements of UNIFIL personnel outside the area of its jurisdiction and that the biggest problem UNIFIL faces is the attempt by the Israeli army to create what is known as armed village leagues. In this context it is gratifying to note that the Israeli army did not find enough quislings for their purpose.

The General Assembly has called

"upon Israel, the occupying Power, to release forthwith all detained Palestinian refugees, including the employees of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East". (General Assembly resolution 37/120 J, para. 1)

I recall this because I shall describe here the conditions of our brothers the prisoners of war, in the Ansar prisoner-of-war camp and I shall quote what a Zionist writer Israel Zamir, published in Al Hamishmar. He wrote:

"There are 5,600 'detained' prisoners in Ansar," - they refer to the prisoners of war as 'detained' - "most of them from the first days of the war in June 1982. According to one Israeli testimony, there are more than 300 cases with chronic illnesses and the list of illnesses is long - diabetes, asthma, stomach ulcers, sexual diseases in advanced stages. Some are lame, blind or deaf and dumb, and there are dozens of cases of mental illnesses. Two of them put faeces on their meals and ate it. One of the 'detained', who

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation  
Organization)

was paralysed in the lower half of his body after he was shot by the Israelis in the back, stayed a few months in an Israeli hospital, and when he recovered from his injury, came back to the camp in a wheelchair. His friend takes care of him all day. One of the physicians, describing his situation, said that from a mental point of view he is dying. He weighs only 40 kg and will not survive much longer. A person listening to my conversation with the physician said, 'There is a guy here without a right hand ... but how can we let him go? He is a major in El Fatah.'

"Why don't they let these 300 men go? Could they possibly harm anyone? Everyone shrugs his shoulders. Can the blind, the lame, the mentally ill and the rest on the list harm the security of the State of Israel?"

"Ariel Sharon gave an order not to free anyone without his signature. Why? How? Everyone shrugs. As we know, Sharon left."  
And the correspondent wonders what Arens will do.

"Talking to the Red Cross employees, I discovered that they don't have any complaints about the material situation, but they suffer mentally, which is accompanied by depression, nervous behaviour, and internal quarrels. The feeling of uncertainty eats away at them.

"From one observation tower on a sunny day, you can see 5,000 men walking 50 metres back and forth, back and forth. They walk in pairs, or three or four together. And none of them see the end of this daily march which has lasted now eight and a half months. Most of them have beards and moustaches. Their clothes are worn out. Some of them sew 'panchos' for themselves from the blankets they get."

This reminds me of those films we have seen about the horror camps under the Nazis, where the prisoners used to wrap their blankets around themselves and people weighing less than 40 kilograms were a common sight.

Yet Israel does not take any notice of a General Assembly resolution adopted almost unanimously. However, our faith in the efficacy of the United Nations is still firm despite the concrete endeavours to undermine the authority of the United Nations and in particular of the Security Council, perhaps through the veto or the threat of the use of the veto, and despite the shortcomings of some.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation  
Organization)

Another Israeli soldier has recorded his experience, in the West Bank this time. One of his companions, by the name of Yitzhak, said:

"Damn their fathers, those refugees! They hate Israel and all the world supports them. From my point of view, if they killed them all, the problems would be solved."

Does this not ring a bell, recalling something about elimination?

This soldier asks: "How can you want to kill them all? That's not humane."

And his companion says: "Listen, I start to believe that Kahane is right.

We shouldn't treat them well."

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization)

Kahane is an American citizen who went to my country to practise all the tactics he had learned, or had been instructed in, to be used in the Viet Nam war against the Vietnamese people.

The Israeli soldier has described a raid on an Arab family:

"We banged on the door. Groans, mixed with weeping, met our ears. The door was opened and we saw 10 children gazing at us, frightened and worried. Yitzhak entered calmly and shouted, 'Where is Kamal?' Kamal, an awesome man, stood up among the children. 'Put your clothes on and come.' Another soldier called Manashi punched Kamal in the belly and Kamal doubled over, holding back a cry. The soldier told him, 'Until now you have not cried. Cry, you son of a . . . . I will make you cry . . . You will beg your mother to come, and if she comes she will not recognize you.' One of the soldiers attacked Kamal and forced him to the ground. He trampled over his body, shouting 'Fatah dirty Fatah . . . You imagine you'll return to them.' Kamal attempted to free himself from the grip but he was grabbed firmly by another soldier. Yitzhak, another soldier, said sarcastically, 'Don't hit his balls. He might be castrated.'

"Another soldier said, 'Oh, don't bother yourself with him. He'll bring dirty kids, Arab kids. They multiply like rabbits. How I hate them.'

"Punches were showered on the face and body of Kamal. He bled; some of his teeth were broken; blood stained his face and brow. Two or three soldiers began dancing on his body and one of them tore his clothes and struck him on his back."

The soldier's record of his experiences continues:

"I said, 'You beat him a lot' and a colleague said, 'What does it matter to you? It looks like you want to be one of them.' A third soldier said, 'The training is over. This time we did not beat him a lot. We did not stub out cigarettes on his skin. Now you can let him go to the officer. He has become obedient.'"

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation  
Organization)

The soldier who wrote his experiences says that the crushed Kamal was lifted and pulled out and he himself was asked by one of his colleagues, "Why do you bother yourself with these Arabs? I think they should all be killed."

But then the soldier came to himself and he wrote:

"The stares of the kids were wounding. I asked myself, 'What will they do when they grow up?' While we were breaking up their demonstrations they were bolder than the grown-ups and there was no difference between boys and girls."

No, there is no difference between boys and girls when they resist foreign occupation, especially a racist occupation which is determined to eliminate our people. We sit here and talk about it, while people there are being killed.

I shall now deal with another aspect of life under Israeli occupation: the field of education. I shall describe what one newspaper said about a little village called Beit Sahur just outside Bethlehem. To the Jews among us it is known as "the fields of Ruth and Boaz", to the Christians it is known as "the shepherds' fields". The Israeli Zionist forces of military occupation had undertaken a mission in that little village. Three Beit Sahur schools, with a total student population of over 1,250 were ordered to be closed in March. Why? All they had done was to hold enthusiastic demonstrations and protests against the visit of former President Carter and, of course, against Israeli policies in general.

The Beit Sahur preparatory school, with an enrolment of 250 students in its four grades, was the last to be closed, on 17 March. I will describe how that closing was carried out.

In the early morning of 16 March, students of between 12 and 16 years of age had filled the street adjacent to the school with stones, scraps of metal and burning tyres in an attempt to prevent soldiers from passing. Naturally, the

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization)

Palestinian flag had been raised on top of the school snack shop. At 7.30 in the morning, shortly before the opening bell rang, two jeep-loads of Israeli soldiers were stopped by the rock-strewn road and met a hail of stones. The soldiers responded by firing live ammunition in the direction of the crowd of children. Soldiers armed with automatic rifles and clubs surrounded the school and refused to allow anyone to leave, even after the principal had assured them that the students would go directly to their homes.

A teacher in the school recalled that one student wearing a kaffiyeh -- an Arab head-dress -- was extensively questioned about his reason for wearing it. A teacher's adviser had intervened sarcastically and told the Israeli soldier, "If you want to make a law against wearing kaffiyehs, then we will enforce it on the students." The Israeli officer in charge of the soldiers informed the school principal that the school was being closed down.

One week earlier, the Beit Sahur girls' secondary school was closed. The 12-grade school, attended by more than two thirds of the girl students in Beit Sahur, was shut down the day that former President Jimmy Carter visited neighbouring Bethlehem. Perhaps he had some afterthoughts and mentioned it to the authorities. So they were afraid of little children. On the day the school was closed, the girls were sitting in the playground of the school. They soon found themselves surrounded by Israeli soldiers. As the girls rushed into the building, the soldiers began firing tear-gas canisters into the corridors of the first floor. More than 20 grade-school children were transferred to hospitals for treatment for gas poisoning. After more than one hour of the siege the soldiers agreed to allow the girls to leave on condition that they went straight home. "The soldiers tricked us, however", said one student. "They fired tear gas at us for a second time as we were leaving." Forty students were summoned to the military headquarters for interrogation.

But students insist that expressing protest is a basic right which they will never give up. As one 18-year-old put it, according to the press report, "As long as we remain under occupation it is our duty to rise and protest against its practices."



(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation  
Organization)

The universities at Bir Zeit, Bethlehem and Hebron, are constantly subjected to closing. Even the Al-Bireh nursing school was closed. Why? Apparently it had displayed some books which the Israelis did not really enjoy looking at.

This is another case in which the General Assembly had requested safeguards and security for those people; but unfortunately the United Nations has not moved one inch in order to provide those safeguards and that security for our people.

There is another aspect of this prolonged policy of colonial settlement and military occupation. Only two days ago, Israeli troops imposed a curfew on the town of Gaza. Why? Because Zionist colonial settlers from a nearby settlement called Mettiroth had tried to invade the city, but the heroic Palestinian people in Gaza were out there to confront them. Israeli troops and police rushed to the scene. What happened? A curfew was imposed on the population, the Arab population, who had tried to defend itself. The invaders, the attackers, just went back home.

The Zionist movement, the Israeli Government and the Jewish Agency continue to seize and confiscate Arab lands and establish colonial settlements thereon. All Security Council and General Assembly resolutions are being disregarded, as are calls for a freeze on those settlements. I do not understand what a "freeze" means, but that expression has been used recently.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation  
Organization)

The joint Israeli Government-Jewish Agency settlement committee, on 19 April, approved the establishment of three new settlements in the West Bank highlands. And the Israeli Government is planning to begin construction on 16 more settlements in various parts of Palestine and the Syrian Golan Heights. The three settlements I referred to, namely, Oranit, Bruhim and Dir Kala, are to be built in the northern part of the West Bank and will house between 1,000 and 1,500 families. The three settlements are under the sponsorship of Tehiya, the Israeli National Religious Party, and will be situated in the Nablus area.

This announcement came following a joint committee meeting, which was attended by the head of the Jewish Agency settlement department, Mattityahu Drobliss, and the Israeli Housing Minister, David Levi, to review the Housing Ministry's settlement activities in the occupied territories. Levi is also a Deputy Prime Minister of Israel; he reportedly presented a complete report about his Ministry's projects, including plans to build a number of highways linking Israeli settlements in the West Bank with settlements inside the Green Line. The roads are designed to avoid Palestinian concentrations, especially Nablus. One road is to be built from the Palestinian village of Beit Sira, near the Green Line west of Ramallah, to Lydda. Another road will link Jerusalem to the huge suburban settlement of Giva'at Ze'ev, and settlements in the southern Hebron hills will be connected to the Arad settlement in the Naqab according to the new plans.

Levi proposed that he be given control of settlement activity in the occupied territories, a move designed, observers say, to undercut the growing influence of his deputy.

And the conferees praised the Government's decision to erect "Upper Nablus" settlements.

Science and Technology Minister Yuval Ne'eman said that "Upper Nablus" will become to Nablus what Tel Aviv became to Jaffa. If the Council knows the fate of Jaffa, which is a deserted town now, it will know what this plan is: to make Nablus another deserted town and to make "Upper Nablus" take its place. The Israeli Minister was referring to the way the Jewish city of Tel Aviv surrounded and contained Jaffa.

In a related report, Israel television reported on 19 April that during the year the Housing Ministry will construct 16 new settlements: eight in the Bank, two of which will be in the Jordan Valley area; two in the Golan

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation  
Organization)

Heights; two in the Gaza Strip; and four in the Galilee and the Naqab. The television report noted also that settlement construction priority is to be given to the West Bank.

Yet we hear about prospects, projects, calls for a freeze - but if there is to be a freeze on settlements then the Israelis can still expand the population of existing settlements and connect them by highways so that these colonial settlements will be converted into big towns and cities.

Not only does Washington approve of this colonial settler project, but -- in addition to the hundreds of millions of non-refundable United States dollars donated by the national Federal Treasury to help, concretely and financially, in this aggression against our Palestinian and Arab brothers - a special fund has been set up in the United States, the aim of which is "to finance the legal expenses of Jews who oppose Arabs in the occupied territories". So, if some Jew does something wrong in an Arab area, a fund has been started in the United States to finance his legal expenses. This fund was started by an American citizen. His name is Robert Jacobitz, and he gave \$50,000 to do so. I should not be surprised if this fund were to be declared tax-deductible: we are accustomed to these things. In this context, I wish to quote Mr. Klutznick, former President of the World Zionist Congress. He said that

"There is a commingling of funds that makes it difficult to know exactly where money comes from."

and I would add, Mr. Klutznick, "or where that money goes to".

On the question of colonial settlements and the confiscation of land, although the Israeli High Court of Justice has held that the Hague regulations of 1907 were binding in respect of Israel's governance of the territories it occupied in 1967, the Court itself imposed limitations on any future recourse to the High Court in cases of land requisition or possession by military authorities:

"The High Court was not prepared to intervene in any dispute over the ownership status of land."

And I should recall that the supreme authority and the ultimate judge in the occupied territories is the military commander. Shall I recall again the provisions of General Assembly resolutions concerning the safety and security of refugees?

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization)

Late in April 1983, the press reported that

"Israeli Government sources disclosed the existence of a plan for emptying and dismantling the West Bank refugee camps and for resettling Palestinian refugees elsewhere. However, Mordechai Ben Porat, Israeli Minister without portfolio, denied on 27 April that the plan for resettling the Palestinians outside camps is under way. He said a plan is being prepared and that a special study committee will be set up before it is implemented. He expected the process to take a few months.

"A day earlier, a source in the Minister's office disclosed that the plan is progressing."

Whom do we believe? I do not know.

"As it stands at present it will grant refugees funds to build houses on plots chosen by the occupation authorities. An assistant to Ben Porat revealed that the Israelis have contacted international Zionist and other organizations, and [some other] Governments ... to get financial assistance for the project."

This ministerial committee was established only a few months ago with a brief to find possible means to solve the refugee problem in the West Bank. I would bring this to the attention of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA); perhaps he could explain to the Council what is going on.

Ben Porat claimed that he had visited several camps in the West Bank and had talked to the people, who supported his ideas about eviction from the camps. The Minister said that "They are ready to be transferred from the camps and to live in stable houses instead of their present houses." Of course, Mr. Roy Skinner, who is UNRWA's director in the West Bank, refused to comment. Mr. Skinner said that he was awaiting official notification from the Israeli authorities. According to official UNRWA statistics, the number of refugees in these camps is 275,000. So the fate of all those people is at stake.

But what is really of great concern is the condition that the houses are to be built on plots chosen by the occupation authorities. Is this a new plan for a new exodus or a new alienation from the refugees' environment? Is it meant to draw the Palestinian yet again from the economic and social habitat he has established as a temporary habitat until he returns to his home and property?

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation  
Organization)

In Lebanon, Palestinian refugees are being subjected to further suffering. I should like to recall the statement of UNRWA's Commissioner-General, in which he said that

"An explosion at the Miye-Miye refugee camp, which has a population of 2,500, near Sidon, during the night had injured three people and damaged 14 houses."

That statement was made on 9 February, but I thought it worth recalling.

The Commissioner-General of UNRWA said that this had been the third incident at that camp in a period of less than two weeks. In his opinion, it is Israel's responsibility to ensure the safety of the civilian population in the areas which it controls.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation  
Organization)

We wanted to reiterate this. At least we get one United Nations source which supports the statement that the United Nations has to provide security, but that ultimately it is Israel's responsibility to see that the relevant provisions of the Geneva Convention are respected.

Concerning the refugee camps, it is worth mentioning that the Jalazon refugee camp near Jerusalem was under a curfew from 8 to 31 March this year - just one long period of curfew. The Aida refugee camp was under a curfew from 8 to 17 March, and the Dhaysha refugee camp was under a curfew from 9 to 24 March. This information comes from official UNRWA sources.

Some 3,000 Palestinians have been forced out of their homes in Sidon.

Again we ask what the Council will do? Will it shoulder its responsibility, suppress acts of aggression against the Palestinian people, ensure respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination for the Palestinian people and take appropriate measures to ensure the exercise of these rights by the Palestinian people? Or will the Council again be prevented from carrying out its functions and fulfilling its responsibility?

These practices are not accidental or incidental. They have their roots in an ideology. In an article that appeared in Al-Hamishmar, a Tel Aviv Hebrew-language paper, on 20 March 1983, the writer Zvi Timor, stresses the following:

"Racist thinking these days is not any longer the preserve of a minority. Racist declarations and declarations representing a semi-apartheid ideology have become a part of Israeli public life."

It was not only Kahane but also a Likud Member of the Knesset who wondered why Israel did not evacuate 200,000 more Arabs from the West Bank in 1967. Member of the Knesset Meir Cohen Avidav believes that evacuating all the Arabs from the country is a legal act because, to him, the country belongs to only one people.

These people, according to the report from Zvi Timor, people like Cohen,

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation  
Organization)

do not believe in the coexistence of Arabs and Jews. Their theory is dangerous, because these are people from the political establishment and the army, and they plan their policy to put their theories into practice. The shift from talking to acting may not take very long.

I want to call the attention of the Council to that - the shift from talking to acting may not take very long. The campaign of elimination is still under way. I will not detain the Council by quoting further from that horrendous article. I just mentioned this in case it was necessary.

After all, it was Begin who said that we Palestinians are no more than two-legged animals. The former Israeli Chief of Staff, Rafael Eytan, stated that Israel should fill the West Bank with settlements and the Arabs would be no more than - I quote his exact words - "cockroaches turning round in a bottle". The Council can understand our concern. We are either two-legged animals or cockroaches - we are not in any way human. This is the concept of the Zionist ideology, which is being implemented and translated into the horrendous criminal actions that are being taken against us.

Israel is escalating its criminal acts of genocide and repression because we Palestinians have declared in our Palestine National Council that we reiterate our adherence to the relevant resolutions on the question of Palestine adopted by the United Nations. That is what Israel is afraid of: that the resolutions of the United Nations relevant to the question of Palestine will be implemented. If the Security Council, by the act of one Permanent Member, tries to obstruct that, the United Nations will definitely find other means of implementing its own resolutions.

Or is this escalation occurring because the Arab peace plan has taken shape? We have to think, why this crazy timing, why the elimination of the Palestinian people? What and where are the prospects for peace? This is something that members of the Council will have to decide.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization for the kind words addressed to me and to my country.

The next speaker is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): The resumption by the Security Council of its consideration of the situation in the occupied Arab territories is taking place while extremely grave situations exist, since the United States of America is working together with its strategic ally, Israel, to impose their hegemony over the entire Arab region. We have said before that one of the aims of Israel's invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 was to open the door for Israel to accelerate the process of Judaizing the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan and eliminating the Arab presence in the Arab territories occupied since 1967.

Every day Israel declares publicly that it has decided on the establishment of a number of settler colonies, completed the building of settlements, decided to expand those that already exist or confiscated thousands of dunums of Arab territory with a view to establishing more settlements. Every day we hear that Israeli occupation troops have murdered, wounded, imprisoned or banished scores of Arab citizens. Israel is systematically implementing a plan to annex the West Bank, Gaza, and the Golan by changing the demographic, geographic, institutional and economic situations in the occupied Arab territories so as to create a situation of actual annexation.



(Mr. El-Fattal, Syrian Arab Republic)

The latest statistics indicate that Israel has expropriated 60 per cent of the territories on the West Bank.

Israel does not conceal its ominous intentions; it declares them publicly. To give an example, I shall quote the following from the Washington Post of 13 April 1983:

(spoke in English)

"April 12 (AP) - Israel will expand 68 settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and begin a campaign to increase the Jewish population there from 30,000 to 50,000 over the next 18 months, Ben-Zion Rubin, Deputy Minister for Labour and Social Affairs, said today."

(continued in Arabic)

That statement, like many others, indicates the extent of Israel's resolve and persistence in violating the relevant principles of international law, especially the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, and its limitless defiance of the international will enshrined in Security Council and General Assembly resolutions all of which condemn Israel's practices in the occupied Arab territories and deem them illegal.

The Security Council must take into account the fact that Zionism, which seized Palestine and the Syrian Golan Heights through aggression, did not content itself with justifying its works by invoking a promise of the Deity or an irrational historical doctrine: rather, it has gone so far as to consider the establishment of settlements as punishment to be meted out by the occupier to its victims. General Eytan, the former Chief of the Israeli Military Staff Committee, in a closed meeting of the Commission on External Affairs and Security of the so-called Israeli Parliament, said the following according to the Washington Post of 13 April 1983:

(spoke in English)

"Eytan reportedly recommended that 10 new settlements be built 'for every stone that the Arabs throw in the West Bank.

'When there are another 100 settlements between Nablus and Jerusalem, they will no longer throw stones at us.'"

(continued in Arabic)

Those statements can be construed only as a pretext on the part of Israel, which falsely invokes external security as justification for building settlements and moving in alien settlers. It also invokes the alleged necessity of removing Arabs from the area between Nablus and Jerusalem.

In Israel's view, the tranquillity and stability enjoyed by the new settlers are threatened by very young men expressing their national sentiments - which makes us wonder: Did Nazism enjoy stability when it drove millions of human beings from the lands that it seized? Did the resistance cease during the Second World War just because the indigenous populations were displaced from their countries to areas evacuated in turn by the indigenous inhabitants of other countries? Did not the Nazi policy stem from racist considerations? Today we see that Israeli arguments are based on inherent racism in order to eliminate everything Arab from the Arab territories.

The same General whom I and my colleague the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) have quoted, one of the leaders of genocide in Lebanon, said the following in an Israeli radio broadcast, as reported in the Washington Post:

(spoke in English)

"Israel should establish 100 new settlements in the West Bank and afterwards the Arabs can run around like cockroaches in a bottle and even like drugged cockroaches."

(continued in Arabic)

Racism is based on distinctions between human beings. However, the doctrine of Zionist Eytan, who implemented the carnage of Sabra and Shatila, in addition to engineering the war of attrition against sovereign Lebanon in Beirut went even further: it is based on portraying the Arab man as a mere insect. And, because the Arab human being can be turned into an insect, in accordance with the Zionist mentality, the poisoning of Arab students in school stems from the criminal mentality that resorts to using toxic material to annihilate Arab students because they are insects. That is as far as the Arab human being goes.

(Mr. El-Fattal, Syrian Arab Republic)

As for Arab territory, it is not only open for settlement but also put up for sale in North America as a profitable item on the international market. On 15 March 1983 a meeting, attended by 300 Jewish notables from America, was held in the Sheraton Centre under the auspices of a tax-free American society named Americans for a Safe Israel. The meeting was attended also by Israeli officials who came especially to promote the sale of lands owned by Arabs on the West Bank, provided the purchasers were Jewish. Ambassador Arens was unable to attend that meeting because he had been appointed Minister of Defence. A dunum of land near Jerusalem was offered for sale for \$2,500. A comparable piece of land in America would fetch \$80,000. And here I wish to refer the Council to an article by Roland Evans and Robert Novak published on 8 April 1983 in the Washington Post entitled "Selling the West Bank".

That conduct reflects the racism and immorality inherent in the Zionist creed born of European colonialism in the nineteenth century and now the ally of American imperialism, which supports and protects Zionist settler colonialism.

As for Zionist settler colonialism in the Syrian Arab Golan, it has increased in ferocity and greed. But, despite all the terror tactics and suppression by Israel, the people of the Golan have refused to accept Israeli nationality, and have thus become stateless. Information coming from that territory, access to which is prohibited to foreign and Israeli journalists, confirms that detentions and demolition are still continuing because of the strong resistance to settler designs and to changing the course of the water supply system through a system of dams that irrigate only Israeli settlements in the Golan and the occupied territories.

There are 35 settlements. The occupation authorities are trying to implement a plot to house 20,000 Israelis over five years. Despite all the repressive Israeli measures, which include a curfew that lasts for many days, our citizens adhere to the national charter agreed upon in the town of Majdal Shams in the Golan on 25 March 1981. On 6 January 1983 the Mayor of Majdal Shams said:

"Pressure was brought to bear against us by the authorities of occupation to carry Israeli identification, but we hate them from the bottom of our hearts."

The Israeli authorities deny all opportunities to work and to benefit from services to anyone who refuses to carry Israeli identity cards. The inhabitants of the Golan who were forced to leave after the war of 1967 are still unable to return to their homes, despite the unanimous adoption on 14 June 1967, of resolution 237 (1967), which was reaffirmed by the General Assembly and in other international forums.

The Israeli authorities act in the Golan in accordance with the concept of annexation, which was declared to be null and void in the Council's resolution 497 (1981) -- a resolution which was rejected by Israel at the meeting at which it was unanimously adopted.

During the last session of the General Assembly many resolutions were adopted calling upon Israel to rescind annexation. But Israel, with the help of its ally the United States of America, refused to implement any resolutions. Instead, it escalated its settlement and terrorist practices to the extent of depriving students of the right to enrol in Syrian universities and of the right to attend universities in the occupied Arab territories if they rejected Israeli identity.

It is truly regrettable that the Security Council has not taken practical mandatory measures in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter to force Israel to rescind the law annexing the Golan. The result of this has been to encourage the Israeli leaders to persist in Judaizing the occupied Syrian and Palestinian Arab territories, among them east Jerusalem.

(Mr. El-Fattal, Syrian Arab Republic)

Israel's defiance of the Arab nation and of the United Nations - especially the Security Council - was expressed by the terrorist Begin on 17 April 1983, on the occasion of the celebration of what is called Israel's day of independence. He said in a Hebrew broadcast:

(spoke in English)

"Our settlement is not an obstacle to peace; as I said, it is a condition for peace."

(continued in Arabic)

In the same statement, Begin defined Eretz Israel as comprising the Negev, Judea, Samaria, Gaza and the Golan Heights.

The Council should respond to all these statements, coupled with the practical measures to Judaize these areas and deprive their populations of their basic rights, including their national rights and their national identity, by adopting deterrent measures in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

But the Council is immobilized. It cannot take a decision today because of the United States of America's commitment to support Israeli aggression and expansion and to provide Israel with all kinds of political, military, economic and financial support to enable it to persist in infringing Arab rights and expand the area of American-Israeli hegemony in the region of the Middle East as a whole.

Only yesterday, the United States of America declared that it would resume shipping F-16 aircraft to Israel, to a total of 70. These aircraft carry death and destruction, since Israel is going to use them to step up its present aggression and perpetrate further acts of aggression and expansion. This is application of its doctrine based on the concept of preventive war at a time when the United States of America is cutting down its expenditure on essential development projects, we see its extreme generosity in helping Israel, to the detriment of American projects.

Available data indicate that the expenditure borne by the United States of America in this connection is not just \$2.5 billion but in excess of \$10 billion, because it includes, in addition to economic and military contributions, donations that are tax free, Israeli bonds and bank credits, and so on. In this way, each individual in Israel receives \$2,900, which is equal to the annual per capita income of the developing countries.

Even without this, Israel is not poor. These figures do not include the profit reaped from the properties seized from the Palestinians since 1948. The Arab property and Arab water and the other financial resources that Israel seized in the Arab occupied territories, constitute another source of income in this respect.

But for United States help, Israel would not have been able to carry out internal and external acts of aggression and implement its colonial designs in the occupied Arab territories.

The Syrian Arab Republic confirms that Arab rights are not up for sale or bargaining. We are determined to resist occupation and aggression regardless of the price and of the sacrifices required. In our unremitting quest for a just peace, we shall never give up our rights or the rights of our brother Arabs. We wish to remind the Security Council that those who obstruct the efforts to establish a just peace are those that provide Israel with money, arms and political support in all fields. By that I mean the United States of America.

In conclusion, I wish to say that Israel and the United States of America bear the responsibility before the international community for each breach and violation of Arab rights, whether territorial or human. Our national right is crystal clear under the Charter of the United Nations. On the basis of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council the settlements are colonial and illegal and should be treated accordingly. They should be dismantled and each Arab citizen should be enabled to return to his homeland and property. Israel should withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories without any pre-conditions. It should recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people. Those rights are inalienable, regardless of the stand taken by those responsible for the Israeli occupation.

(Mr. El-Fattal, Syrian Arab Republic)

If the Security Council wishes to regain its prestige and credibility - as we mentioned earlier - then it must impose mandatory sanctions against Israel in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter or expel Israel from the Organization as a country that is not peace-loving, in accordance with the provisions of the resolution adopted at the emergency special session of the General Assembly convened in February 1982 on the occasion of the annexation of the Golan Heights. We appeal to all States members of the Security Council and to all States which are not members to stop their dealings with Israel in all fields if Israel does not respect the principles of the Charter and the norms of international law. If the international community that is so well represented here does not impose sanctions against Israel and force it to implement complete withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, if it does not establish a Palestinian State in accordance with the right to self-determination, and unless Washington ceases its interference in the area on Israel's behalf, peace will always elude us and continue to be a mirage.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of India. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. KRISHNAN (India): I have already had an opportunity to felicitate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. Your ready response, and indeed that of the members of the Council, to the request for the convening of the Security Council to consider the situation in the occupied Arab territories bear testimony to the Council's sensitivity to the gravity of the challenge faced by the hapless Palestinians under Israeli occupation. We sincerely hope that the present series of meetings

(Mr. Krishnan, India)

under your presidency will lead to effective action by the Security Council to restore the rule of law and civilized conduct and respect for human rights in the occupied Arab lands, if not to an end of the illegal occupation itself.

The representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Qatar and Syria have placed before the Security Council this morning a detailed exposé of the recent events in the West Bank, Gaza and Golan Heights, once again documenting the the increasing number of acts of colonization, brutality and repression being perpetrated there by the Israeli authorities. The international press has also been reporting that murder, torture, imprisonment and harassment of Palestinians have become daily occurrences, and that recently there has been an intensification of Israeli policies aimed at subjugating, if not eliminating, the Palestinian people. Israel has been relentlessly pursuing its policy of consolidating its stranglehold over the occupied Arab territories and intimidating its Arab neighbours with the threat and use of massive force. Palestinian families in refugee camps are constantly being threatened by the occupation forces. Indeed, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that there is a serious danger of the situation in the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights assuming the tragic proportions of the genocidal massacres at Sabra and Shatila unless the international community raises its voice in outrage at Israeli policies and practices and takes appropriate action to restrain Israel. The time has come for the Security Council to take resolute action to deal with the present situation, which undoubtedly is a breach of the peace by Israel and a threat to international peace and security.

The need of the hour is to put an immediate end to the bloodshed and continuing harassment of the Palestinian refugees and to restore order and peace in the occupied territories. Israel should be made to discharge its obligations under the relevant international conventions that dictate civilized behaviour on the part of occupying Powers towards the people of occupied



(Mr. Krishnan, India)

territories. At the same time it is imperative that the international community should seek a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the conflict in West Asia, without which peace cannot prevail in the area. The fundamental principles of and the basic framework for such a solution already exist in the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Arab Peace Plan adopted recently at Fez and the pronouncements of the non-aligned countries, most recently at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government held in New Delhi. These well-recognized fundamental principles are, first, that the question of Palestine is at the heart of the problem of the Middle East and no solution to that problem can be envisaged without taking into account the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people; secondly, that the implementation of these inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and property and to exercise their right to self-determination, including the establishment of a State of their own, will contribute to a final solution of the Middle East crisis; thirdly, that the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole and authentic representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing, is indispensable to all efforts at finding a solution to the Middle East problem and, lastly, that no just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be established without the withdrawal of Israel from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and without the guarantee for all States in the region to live within secure and recognized borders. These fundamental principles were reiterated at the recent regional meetings in preparation for the forthcoming Paris Conference on Palestine.

It is well known that the primary reason for the lack of progress in finding a comprehensive solution is the arrogance and intransigence of Israel, which has deliberately defied the will of the international community. But the strategic and economic significance of Palestine has also made its people the victims of international power plays and has made their situation

much more difficult. Historically Israel has been regarded in some important quarters as an element of European civilization in the Middle East, as an ally and as a representative of their interests. More recently the search for staging facilities in the context of the expansion of military presence in the Indian Ocean has encouraged Israel, which has enthusiastically sought to portray itself as a reliable partner for such schemes. In these calculations the Palestinians and others opposed to Israel's policies are regarded as obstacles. Some powerful sections of the international community have accordingly chosen either to acquiesce in Israel's actions or to concentrate only on the humanitarian aspects, as if the problem were merely that of refugees. The essential political character of the question of Palestine, at the core of which is the right of the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights, including the right to establish an independent State of their own, has been sidestepped. And, worst of all, seeing the question of Palestine in terms of East-West relations and in the context of the reemerging cold war has greatly complicated the situation.

For the Non-Aligned Movement the question of Palestine has been a touchstone for the application of the cherished principles of the Movement ever since the Belgrade Summit of 1961. It is on the initiative of non-aligned countries that the majority of the United Nations General Assembly resolutions have been adopted laying down the basic framework within which the Palestine question can be resolved. The non-aligned countries have been particularly active over the past years in mobilizing international support against Israel's actions in the occupied territories and its invasion of Lebanon.

(Mr. Krishnan, India)

It was on their initiative that the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly was resumed to consider the rapid and grave deterioration of conditions in the area. An emergency special session on the Syrian Golan Heights was also convened to declare the Israeli annexation of Golan Heights null and void. The Co-ordinating Bureau of the non-aligned countries met in urgent session in New York in June 1982 to call upon the Security Council to take action to halt the Israeli aggression. In response to a call by Chairman Yasser Arafat, the Co-ordinating Bureau of the non-aligned countries met in Nicosia, Cyprus, at the ministerial level in July 1982 to examine the grave situation brought about by Israeli aggression in Lebanon. It decided to establish a nine-member Committee, which visited the capitals of several members of the Security Council to impress upon them the gravity of the situation and the need to take effective action.

The Seventh Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries held at New Delhi in March 1983 and attended by the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Mr. Arafat, again examined the Palestine question exhaustively. The non-aligned summit Conference reaffirmed all the fundamental principles for the solution of the Palestine problem and decided to set up a Committee at the level of Heads of State, chaired by the Prime Minister of India, to co-operate with the seven-member Arab Committee towards the achievement of a just, durable and comprehensive peace in the Middle East which would enable the Palestinian people to exercise their rights in freedom and sovereignty in their independent homeland. The summit Conference also issued a Message of Solidarity with the Palestinian people assuring it of unstinted support in its just struggle and urging the international community to put an immediate halt to Israel's brutal and illegal acts in the occupied territories. The Message called on the Security Council to exercise its powers to put an end to Israel's policies of expansion, aggression and occupation.

The Co-ordinating Bureau of the non-aligned countries which met in New York yesterday, heard moving accounts of the situation in the occupied Arab territories from the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Chairman of the Arab Group. The Bureau was of the

(Mr. Krishnan, India)

view that the Security Council should take effective action not only to prevent further bloodshed and misery in the occupied Arab territories but also to find a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the question of Palestine. India, as the current Chairman of the Non-aligned Movement and as a country which has stood by the Palestinians in their legitimate struggle for nationhood, stands ready to co-operate with the Council in its endeavours in that direction.

In conclusion, I should like to recall the words of the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who stated in her keynote address to the seventh summit Conference of non-aligned countries:

"We are of one mind in our support for the brave, homeless and much harassed Palestinian people. Israel feels free to commit any outrage, unabashed in its aggression, unrepentant about its transgressions of international law and behaviour. But can it for ever obstruct the legitimate rights of Palestinians?" (S/15675, pp. 147 and 148)

Mr. SALAH (Jordan): Sir, it is my pleasure to congratulate you on your assumption of the office of President of the Council for this month. I am quite confident that, under your wise and able leadership, our deliberations will be most fruitful. We have already had the opportunity to witness how your vast experience, diplomatic skill and ability contributed to efficient and productive deliberations.

My delegation would like to pay a tribute to our President for the month of April, Mrs. Kirkpatrick, representative of the United States. Mrs. Kirkpatrick discharged her duties with skill and dedication.

I have listened with great interest and attentiveness to the statements made at this morning's meeting about the situation in the occupied Arab territories. There is no doubt that the situation in those territories is extremely explosive and serious. Israel's incessant colonization programmes have continued unabated. Its intransigence

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

and its self-aggrandizement policy have sown in the region the seeds of an intractable conflict. Should it not be halted, and soon, the consequences will be incalculable. The Security Council and particularly the five permanent members bear a special responsibility in this regard. To the goal of accomplishing a comprehensive, just and lasting peace all efforts should be devoted. There is no excuse for any party to fail to support and encourage any effort which would lead to the termination of the Israeli occupation.

The tragedy of the Palestinian people has continued for a long period of time. We in Jordan believe that time is crucial. It is running short. Failure to recognize that fact will only lead to the prolongation of the occupation, no matter what illusions there may be of progress and the achievement of short-term gains.

My delegation will present its full position on all the aspects of this problem at a later stage of this debate, but we wish to stress now the fact that Jordan will continue to shoulder its historic and national responsibility towards our brethren living under occupation, on the basis of our declared and well-known policies.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Jordan for his congratulations addressed to me.

There are no further speakers on the list. Consequently the Council will continue its consideration of this agenda item on a date to be set after consultations with the members of the Council.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.