



Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV. 2804
30 March 1988

ENGLISH

**PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
EIGHT HUNDRED AND FOURTH MEETING**

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 30 March 1988, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. PEJIC

(Yugoslavia)

Members:

Algeria
Argentina
Brazil
China
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Italy
Japan
Nepal
Senegal
Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics
United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland
United States of America
Zambia

Mr. IBRAHIMI
Mr. CULLEN
Mr. NOGUEIRA-BATISTA
Mr. DING Yuenhong
Mr. BLANC
Count YORK von WARTENBURG
Mr. BUCCI
Mr. KAGAMI
Mr. RANA
Mr. SARRE
Mr. BELONOVOV
Sir Crispin TICKELL
Mr. WALTERS
Mr. ZUZE

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The meeting was called to order at 3.50 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF WELCOME TO THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF ALGERIA

The PRESIDENT: I should like at the outset of the meeting to acknowledge the presence at the Council table of His Excellency Mr. Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, to whom, on behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome and the recognition of all of us, who have a high appreciation of him and his country.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

LETTER DATED 29 MARCH 1988 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF TUNISIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/19700)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of India, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the Syrian Arab Republic and Tunisia 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. Gharekhan (India), Mr. Bein (Israel), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Mas'oud (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Al-Sharaa (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Ghezal (Tunisia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 30 March 1988 from the Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

(The President)

"I have the honour to request that, in accordance with its previous practice, the Security Council invite Mr. Farouk Kaddoumi, Chief of the Political Department of the Palestine Liberation Organization, to participate in the debate on the item entitled 'The situation in the occupied Arab territories'".

That letter has been circulated as document S/19706. The proposal by Algeria is not made pursuant to rule 37 or rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, but if approved by the Council the invitation to participate in the debate would confer on the Palestine Liberation Organization the same rights of participation as those conferred on Member States when invited to participate pursuant to rule 37.

Does any member of the Council wish to speak on this proposal?

Mr. WALTERS (United States): The United States has consistently taken the position that under the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council the only legal basis on which the Council may grant a hearing to persons speaking on behalf of non-governmental entities is rule 39. For four decades the United States has supported a generous interpretation of rule 39, and it would certainly not object had this matter been raised under that rule. We are, however, opposed to special ad hoc departures from orderly procedure. The United States consequently opposes extending to the Palestine Liberation Organization the same rights to participate in the proceedings of the Security Council as if that organization represented a Member State of the United Nations.

We certainly believe in listening to all points of view, but not if that requires violating the rules. In particular, the United States does not agree with the recent practice of the Security Council which appears selectively to try to enhance the prestige of those who wish to speak in the Council through a departure

(Mr. Walters, United States)

from the rules of procedure. We consider that special practice to be without legal foundation and to constitute an abuse of the rules. For these reasons the United States requests that the terms of the proposed invitation be put to the vote. Of course, the United States will vote against the proposal.

The PRESIDENT: If no other member of the Council wishes to speak, I shall take it that the Council is ready to vote on the proposal by Algeria.

It is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, China, Japan, Nepal, Senegal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Zambia

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 10 votes in favour, 1 against and 4 abstentions. The proposal has therefore been adopted.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Kaddoumi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 29 March 1988 from the Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request that the Security Council, under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure, extend an invitation to Mr. Chedli Klibi, Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, in connection with the item currently on the Council's agenda entitled 'The situation in the occupied Arab territories.'"

(The President)

That letter has been published as a document of the Security Council (S/19705), which will be reissued to read correctly. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation to Mr. Klibi under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting today in response to the request contained in the letter dated 29 March 1988 from the Permanent Representative of Tunisia to the United Nations, in his capacity as Chairman of the Arab Group of States for the month of March, addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/19700).

The first speaker on my list is Mr. Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria and President of the Ministerial Committee of Seven on the Occupied Territories.

Mr. IBRAHIMI (Algeria) (interpretation from Arabic): It is a great source of satisfaction and confidence to the ministerial Arab delegation which I have the honour to lead that you, Sir, should be presiding over the Security Council at a time when the Arab nation is again demanding right and justice.

We have reason for satisfaction, first, because of the close relations of solidarity and co-operation that link the Arab States and your country, Yugoslavia, relations whose depth and strength are affirmed in joint action in the Non-Aligned Movement.

We feel confidence, also, because the Security Council is fortunately now being guided by an accomplished and respected diplomat, from a country so devoted to all the values that the United Nations embodies.

(Mr. Ibrahimi, Algeria)

For more than 100 days the world has been witnessing a heroic popular uprising in occupied Palestine. The Palestinian people is reacting by using a symbolic weapon, stones, but its unshakable determination and its spirit of indomitable sacrifice have shaken the attitudes of peoples, given the total denial of its rights and its exile, including on its national soil, which has continued for 40 years.

The scale of the Zionist repression in occupied Palestine has been reflected in the vigorous reaction of the Council and its adoption of three resolutions - 605 (1987), 607 (1988) and 608 (1988). Those resolutions must be scrupulously complied with. The boldest possible humanitarian protection should be given the people in the occupied territories.

The escalating repression there should cause acute concern in the Council, which should constantly raise its authoritative voice and demand respect for the dignity of Palestinians in their homeland.

Marked by historic developments, the situation now existing in occupied Palestine calls for lucid analysis and true understanding. Despite the vain attempts to reduce it to a passing phenomenon, the popular Palestinian uprising makes it necessary to make certain things clear.

First of all, in this movement of widespread uprising, the Palestinian people is rejecting foreign domination. This is but a new stage, certainly a decisive one, in their struggle, which has been gaining momentum for several decades now, for the restoration of freedom and law. To understand that is to go beyond a mere short-term view of the situation and to be inspired by the boldness of the struggle and resolutely to take a stand for the advent of an authentic solution to the Middle East question, a solution that cannot be conceived so long as the central dimension of the question of Palestine is ignored.

(Mr. Ibrahimi, Algeria)

In the ferocious repression being meted out to the Palestinian people we cannot fail to see the true nature of Zionism, which is revealed in all its nakedness. Need I remind the Council that the horrific scenes that have aroused so much emotion and indignation are but the expression of a basically hegemonistic and annexionist policy?

Finally, in this recent trial the Palestinian people has again said that its only spokesman is the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). With this fresh demonstration, it has shown that its sole legitimate representative is the PLO. The Palestinian people has provided a complete answer to those that try to discredit that nationalist organization or to keep it out of the peace dialogue, and it has thus given a warning that no one can decide for it.

At the Fez Summit, with courage and responsibility the Arab nation defined the basic elements of a comprehensive just solution of the Middle East crisis. That realistic approach was supported by the international community, which identified the framework necessary for peace through an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations with the participation of the PLO.

The Middle East crisis continues to show signs of all its dangers to international peace and security, but this is not the fault of the spirit of willingness of the Arab nation; nor does it arise from any lack of ongoing concern on the part of the world community, almost all of which has shown such concern. Peace and law have yet to be established in that region because Zionism embodies a five-fold negation: no to the existence of the Palestinian people; no to that people's self determination; no to an independent Palestinian State; no to the evacuation of occupied Arab territories; no to any form of negotiation the purpose of which is not separate agreements. That attitude rejects principles that should provide the basis for international peace and security, and first and foremost the right of people to self-determination and independence and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force.

(Mr. Ibrahimi, Algeria)

The recent history of the Middle East has amply demonstrated that the solution of this crisis is not to be found in a feverish attempt to divert attention from the really burning factors. It has established that in its arrogance Zionism dares outrageously and unduly to assume the appearance of law because, much to my regret, major international forces continue to follow its example, which has been condemned, instead of placing themselves sincerely at the service of peace.

(Mr. Ibrahimi, Algeria)

By its collective uprising, the Palestinian people have told the world community that it has now entered a new stage of its struggle for national liberation. It has affirmed that in its irreversible march towards the recovery of its rights, it has an unlimited capacity for sacrifice and that time is on its side. The Palestinian infancy, which has been prematurely compelled to chart the correct course towards its future, is the most eloquent proof that the Palestinian struggle will end only through the emergence of an independent and sovereign Palestinian State.

In all this there is an urgent appeal to the Members of the United Nations - particularly all those to which the Organization has entrusted heavy responsibilities - to free themselves of their narrow points of view and to demonstrate a genuine determination to find a just and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict. It is high time for a resolute effort to be made here - without so many improper inquiries - to take, finally, the only possible path: the convening of an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations. To guarantee its success, there are authentic requirements for this endeavour, and I wish to recall them here today.

First, through that conference the international community has some responsibilities to shoulder. Any initiative for an umbrella conference designed to serve as a cover for bilateral, fragmented negotiations that would disregard the central dimension of the Palestinian question would, a priori, be doomed to failure. Because of its own history and its own basic mission, the United Nations must lend its authority to this peace conference and be a vigilant custodian to ensure that the cardinal principles of the United Nations are enshrined there.

Secondly, a true peace conference must provide equal participation to the primary victim of the Middle East conflict: the Palestinian people. That people's presence there must naturally be ensured through the spokesman that it has chosen,

(Mr. Ibrahimi, Algeria)

in full sovereignty, to express its views - that is, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Thirdly, the objective of that conference should accord with the legitimate claims and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of its independent, sovereign State on its national soil. Hence, any approach designed merely to change the forms of a basically unacceptable domination and to exclude in advance the free advent of a Palestinian State would be a bad omen for the future of the Middle East.

Fourthly, and finally, peace cannot regain all its rights in the Middle East unless there is a total and unconditional withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories.

Having suffered martyrdom and the denial of its rights, the Palestinian people is entitled to expect that the international community will ensure that the injustice meted out to it will at last be redressed. Having given so much to universal civilization, this land of the Middle East is authorized to expect a world-wide mobilization to see to it that peace there is restored.

For the carrying out of this historic endeavour, people are naturally looking to the United Nations. Acting on behalf of the Organization, the Secretary-General has already won our gratitude for his commendable, tireless efforts to find a solution to the Middle East problem. In his work he should be guaranteed our full support and our encouragement.

And now one can only hope for the emergence - so long awaited - in the Security Council of a unanimous determination to convene a true international peace conference on the Middle East. To that end, this key body must work for international peace and security and place all its power at the service of an international will that has been expressed so massively and so many times.

(Mr. Ibrahimi, Algeria)

By its uprising and its daily sacrifices, the Palestinian people is sending a message of hope to the community of nations. That hope must not be dashed.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria for the very kind words he addressed to me, and particularly for the generous and friendly words he addressed to my country, which has the highest respect for the Algerian role in international affairs.

The next speaker is His Excellency Mr. Chedli Klibi, Secretary-General of the League of Arab States. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. KLIBI (interpretation from Arabic): For over three months now there has been in the occupied Arab territories an escalation of acts of repression and suppression against Arab inhabitants. Despite the fact that the Security Council has adopted three clear resolutions condemning the policies of the occupation authorities and their practices, which represent a violation of human rights; despite the Security Council's calls upon Israel to abide by the Geneva Conventions relative to the Protection of Civilians in Time of War and the Council's affirmation that those Conventions apply to the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem; and despite the recommendations in the report that the Secretary-General has submitted on the basis of an on-site fact-finding mission, Israel continues to disregard the international community's will and to escalate its acts of oppression, thereby multiplying the number of innocent victims - most of them children and young persons below the age of 20.

(Mr. Klibi)

Despite the mounting world pressure to end this tragedy and to force Israel to respect the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, the situation continues to deteriorate because of Israel's continued rejection of international law, its disregard of the most elementary human rights, its insistence on challenging the international community, and its ingenious methods of committing acts contrary to the principles proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The gravity of the pressing issue before the Council today results from a number of fundamental considerations which call for effective intervention in order to stave off the potential tragic consequences by implementing the principles of the United Nations Charter, thus reflecting the responsibility assumed by the Security Council in defending human rights, preserving the national rights of peoples and maintaining international peace and security. The first consideration is that the overwhelming uprising of the Palestinian people, which started in early December of last year, is a national movement in its planning and motives, as well as in its goals and purposes. It is only one link in the long chain of struggles waged by the Palestinian people against a settler colonization which has used all its guile and strength to seize the land of the Palestinians, render that people displaced and homeless, suppress its national identity and destroy its national infrastructure.

The uprising of the Palestinian people today is not one of despair and deprivation in the face of the oppressive economic and social conditions in which that people lives as a result of the schemes of the Israeli occupation authorities, which have confiscated land, destroyed homes, impoverished the people and denied them education. It is not an uprising against the unjust civil administration under which that people lives and suffers under measures of racial discrimination, terrorism, torture and deportation by the Israeli occupation authorities. Despite all the atrocities committed by the occupation authorities, this uprising is a

(Mr. Klibi)

revolution by a people that categorically rejects foreign occupation and that is fighting to the last breath to put an end to that occupation. It is fighting in defence of its historic land, in defence of its national identity and in defence of its inalienable right to self-determination and the establishment of its independent State on its national territory. Thus, the uprising of the Palestinian people is taking place in order once and for all to end all the futile attempts of the occupation authorities to suppress the national essence of the struggle of that people - attempts aimed at denying that people's very existence, attempts aimed at dwarfing that people by transforming it into a group of refugees, attempts to distort its cause by changing it from a political and national issue to an economic and social matter. All those attempts are aimed at undermining the inalienable rights of that people, such as the "self rule" plan, which pre-empt the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national sovereignty on its own national soil.

Because of its national character, the Palestinian uprising is entering its fifth month, without showing any signs of weakening; indeed, it has the essential elements of a full-fledged revolution. The uprising has many aspects. For example, there is its overall social character, which includes all categories of the Palestinian people and all social sectors. There is the geographical aspect: the uprising has spread to every village, town, city and refugee camp in the occupied territories. The uprising is reflected in the unity of the struggle, where we see today all political forces of the Palestinian people inside occupied Palestine, in the Arab countries and overseas, joining and emphasizing their organic unity with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and renewing its commitment to a unified political leadership within PLO framework.

(Mr. Klibi)

This fact makes it imperative for us to recognize that the grave developments in the Palestinian and other Arab occupied territories will continue and grow, with all their potential consequences, unless we undertake collective efforts to address the core of the problem by ending Israeli occupation of all occupied territories and by enabling the Palestinian people to enjoy its national, inalienable rights, especially its right to self-determination in full freedom.

This is the primary consideration that makes it imperative for the international community to respond to the efforts and struggle of a people for its national cause, for its freedom and dignity.

The second consideration that calls for international action in this field is that the Security Council, as it meets once again today to consider the grave situation in the occupied Palestinian territories, is in fact addressing a larger issue, namely, that of war and peace. Perhaps it is the most complex and serious issue that has faced our contemporary world since the founding of the United Nations in 1945. The revolution of the Palestinian people today is yet another aspect of the Palestine question, which arose in the first quarter of this century. Yet, as we approach the end of the century no comprehensive, durable solution is in sight. As a result of this abnormal situation and Israel's continued aggressive acts, a serious Arab-Israeli conflict has emerged and has continued actively and dangerously to deteriorate since the Second World War. During those years, the Middle East has experienced five wars that have seriously endangered international peace and security.

The question we are discussing today is not only a local issue relating to the question of Palestine, despite the fact that that question is the essence of the conflict and despite the importance of this issue and its unjust historical implications. What we are witnessing today is a larger issue resulting from the waning international interest in the Palestinian question and from Israel's

(Mr. Klibi)

continued expansion. It has become a regional conflict in one of the most sensitive parts of the world, thus posing a serious threat to international peace and security. That is a continuing danger and poses a situation which could explode at any moment.

The Security Council is called upon to take immediate action in order to avert dire consequences. Israel's ominous threats to take aggressive action against the sovereignty of Saudi Arabia, which wishes only to exercise its national right to strengthen its means of defence, is yet another example of the expansion of the conflict because of Israel's insistence on rejecting a sound basis for a comprehensive peace, namely, the acceptance of international law governing relations among nations and regulating the rights of peoples.

The third reason for immediate and firm international action is that the grave developments in the occupied Palestinian territories, especially during the past few days, have created a serious humanitarian situation, one that adds a tragic dimension to the long journey of pain of the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Klibi)

Despite all the resolutions of the Security Council and the appeals of the international community, the occupying Power persists in its desperate attempts to put an end to the revolution of the Palestinian people, unleashing its army, police force, border guards and bandit settlers, moving from stage to stage in its State terrorism against the Palestinian people and all aspects of its national life. With no moral restraint - indeed without any pity for infants and pregnant women - Israel persists in arrogantly unleashing its terrorism against the defenceless Palestinians, who are armed only with their faith and resoluteness. The Israeli occupation is contrary not only to the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 but to all of the moral principles defended by mankind - principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

Security Council resolutions 605 (1987), 607 (1987) and 608 (1987), were adopted almost unanimously, reflecting the Security Council's grave concern over the serious situation in the occupied Palestinian territories and its firm conviction that an end should be put to these tragedies and dangers.

But recently the situation there has deteriorated seriously and Israel continues to refuse to comply with the will of the Council and the international community. In the face of this situation, the Security Council is called upon to adopt an effective resolution that ensures the three following aims:

First, practical and effective action should be taken, in accordance with the Charter, in order to force Israel to put an end to its terrorist practices and to accept international resolutions; secondly, effective action should be taken to protect the Palestinian people and to preserve its life, property, holy lands and national institutions; thirdly, greater efforts should be made to convene an effective international Middle East peace conference, under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of the permanent members of the Security

(Mr. Klibi)

Council and all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), on an equal footing, in order to seek a comprehensive solution to the question of Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict, based on Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

In closing, I should like to state that today's debate over the serious developments in the occupied Arab territories and Israel's repressive measures provides an important opportunity for the Council to emphasize once again its ability to discharge its responsibilities and to renew hope in the presence of an international will to put an end to the aggression. Recognizing the fact that the world Organization was established on the debris of an insane war, the Council's resolutions, and whatever action it may take, will determine the approach in dealing with the Middle East question over the next few months.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Minister of State of Saudi Arabia, Mr. Mohammed Mas'oud. I welcome him and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MAS'OOD (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me pleasure at the outset, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and for the skill and wisdom exemplified in the discharge of your duties. I should also like to express thanks and appreciation to your predecessor in the Presidency last month, Ambassador Walters, Permanent Representative of the United States, for his efforts and for the competence with which he directed the proceedings of the Council.

Once again the Security Council is convened to examine the situation in the occupied Arab territories and the tragedies and crimes being committed every hour

(Mr. Mas'oud, Saudi Arabia)

of every day by the Zionist occupation authorities against a people that refuses to submit to the will of the occupying foreigner and its despotic coercions.

Once again the Council is meeting to examine a case similar to what humanity has known in its dark periods and which history condemned, together with its perpetrators. Every day, and even every hour, radio broadcasts and television screens transmit abominable and reprehensible events and pictures depicting the killing of innocents, the breaking of children's bones and cruelty towards women and the elderly. We have been hearing this news and watching these scenes for approximately 120 days. Today we say that the uprising will never be subdued until it achieves success. Today we are meeting to examine the situation and adopt resolutions to put a stop to this tragedy, hoping to rectify the wrong. Yet, despite the world's protests, despite universal condemnation of the perpetrators, despite worldwide support for this uprising, the status quo persists. The situation even continues to deteriorate and the killing and oppression go on. The occupying colonialist Power persists in its ill intent, brushing aside any resolution denouncing it, or world opinion condemning it - in short, ignoring any protests, which it knows it may disregard, since the international community has not taken any drastic measures: all it has done is make speeches and adopt resolutions.

(Mr. Mas'oud, Saudi Arabia)

At this hour, while the Council is meeting, the Zionist occupying forces are blockading an entire people and imposing a curfew on more than 2 million Palestinians in the West Bank, the Gaze Strip and the previously occupied areas of Palestine. The occupying authorities claim that this blockade - which aims at starving the people and is enforced by fire-arms, murder and destruction, the likes of which were known to humanity only in the Dark Ages and, in our generation, during the Nazi occupation of the countries it ravaged - and the various oppressive measures against other occupied peoples are only police measures to maintain peace and calm on the occasion of "Land Day" - the good, sacred Earth - when the Palestinian people 12 years ago rose up, confronted the occupying army, claimed their usurped land and paid with blood for their freedom.

It is ironic that the same people which calls on the world every day and reminds it of what it has suffered at the hands of the Nazis through deprivation, harm and genocide, imploring the sympathy of humanity to look favourably and extend assistance to it, should inflict acts of deprivation, torture and annihilation against the Arab people of Palestine by depriving them of their freedom, imprisoning them in their own homes and cutting off water, food and electricity to starve them into submission. The Nazis tried to hide those atrocities, but the Zionists are committing them in broad daylight, in front of everyone. Those are the undertakings of cowards who are trying to achieve their goals by Nazi and every other means prohibited by law and condemned by custom, oblivious to every human feeling and world public opinion.

The uprising of the Arab Palestinian people was not born today. It is a genuine one, born with every child, grows with every adult and matures with every man. When a Palestinian Arab baby is born its mother says to it: "Your hands will be cut off and you will be deprived of life if you do not restore the land of your

(Mr. Mas'oud, Saudi Arabia)

ancestors that has been usurped by the aggressor Zionists." If those stone-throwing children, women and men have done so with bare hands at soldiers of the enemy armed with bullets, grenades, weapons, tanks and every other military means, they have done so, and still do so, because of their conviction of their rights and their attachment to the sacred earth on which they and generations of their fathers and ancestors before them were born and have grown up.

We all know the meaning and strength of what is right. Where is that meaning and strength in what we are facing now? If logic has any relevance, where is it? If promises, agreements and treaties entail any obligations, why are those obligations not respected by those who are committing these crimes? The Fourth Geneva Convention describes in its article 4 persons under occupation and provides for their protection by the occupying authorities. Various relevant United Nations resolutions have emphasized that aspect and called for its respect and application. It seems that all this has fallen and is still falling on deaf ears and closed minds which do not respond to any conscience, right, obligation or convention. They persevere in transgression and coercion. The international community, represented by the Security Council, is called upon today to alter the trend, correct the wrong and punish the crime.

What the Zionist occupying authorities are doing in the occupied Arab territories in terms of murder, breaking people's bones, and the starving and extermination of unarmed persons is a blemish on the conscience of humanity, represented by the United Nations and its agencies, which watch and observe it without taking any action; humanity which has suffered throughout history from despots, aggressors, Nazis and colonialists; humanity which has been revolted, and tried, convicted and gaoled them; and has created the United Nations as a new phase in mankind's history. All that has been done in the name of freedom and justice. We see both humanity and the international community looking on as bystanders at

(Mr. Mas'oud, Saudi Arabia)

the atrocities and tragedies unfolding in the occupied territories today, uttering only words of condemnation and reproach - which is not enough to end the transgression of the aggressors.

It is time to take effective and practical actions to end those tragedies. I am addressing the representatives in this Chamber and, through them, all the Members of the United Nations. Also, we call in particular on the States which sponsored the resolution on the partition of Palestine and created those represented by Israel. I call on all of them to meet their responsibilities and fulfil their duties to their peoples, the other peoples of the world and future generations and thus brighten a page which gets darker every day.

Who knows: what is happening today could be a lesson to those peoples. We are sounding a warning. If we do not take control, a black cloud may hang over the area, sooner or later during passing days, and the peoples will not forget their suffering. Therefore this tragedy should be brought to an end to enable the Palestinians to regain their legitimate rights and establish their independent State on their sacred land. The international conference should be convened, under United Nations auspices and with the participation of the concerned parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Certain speakers before me referred to the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and I shall not repeat what they said. However, before concluding, I should like to add that, so long as there is a will there is a way to achieve our objectives - and nothing will prevent us from achieving them.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Minister of State of Saudi Arabia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic, Mr. Farouk Al Sharaa. I welcome His Excellency and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. AL-SHARAA (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives us great pleasure to see you, Sir, presiding over the deliberations of the Security Council this month. Your country, Yugoslavia, has very close traditional ties with the Syrian Arab Republic, not only at the bilateral level but also within the framework of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, whose principles and goals, represent the aspirations of all peoples for freedom, for social and economic development and for independence, as well as their hopes for peace with equality and justice.

I do not believe that further proof is needed of the scope of the injustice and repression from which the Palestinian Arab peoples are suffering as a result of Israel's continued occupation of their homeland. Indeed, television screens in homes the world over are showing gripping pictures that are far more eloquent than any words that have been or could be uttered in this Chamber.

Over many long years we Arabs have become all-too familiar with Israel's acts of repression and with its aggressive and expansionist designs directed against the Arab nation as a whole and in particular against the peoples of the West Bank, Gaza and southern Lebanon. Today, all peoples share that awareness, and it has awakened the consciences of peoples throughout the world. The Palestinian uprising in the occupied Arab territories, which has now been going on for four months, has demonstrated fundamental facts that can no longer be denied, as they have been in the past, by the sterile and futile statements made in the name of some mechanical and sterile so-called logic.

First, the uprising has clearly and decisively established the fact that the Arab population suffering under the yoke of Israeli occupation will no longer submit to it under any conditions and that they are fiercely determined to bring it to an end in all the occupied Arab territories. There can be no doubt about that unshakeable determination, which is backed up by United Nations resolutions and international law.

(Mr. Al-Sharaa, Syrian
Arab Republic)

Secondly, the Palestinian people, whose rights have been wrested from them by Israel, will accept as the end result of the popular uprising in which they have all been engaged nothing less than their right to self-determination and to build an independent State on their own national Palestinian land.

Thirdly, Israel's pursuit of its repressive policy will destroy neither the hopes or the rights of the Palestinian people but will only increase their determination to defend themselves; Israeli violence will create more violence. The sealing off of the occupied Arab territories announced by the Israeli forces will only strengthen the Palestinian people's determination to repulse occupation by every means available to it. Both ancient and contemporary history are replete with similar examples. In most cases, the longest-lasting colonial empires of history have fallen back before the pressure of weak and unarmed peoples.

Fourthly, the Arab peoples and the peoples of the third world as a whole have for years consistently declared that Israel's policy was a racist policy and that Israel has proved that it is an exact reflection of the racist Pretoria régime. The United Nations resolution declaring Zionism a form of racism is more valid today than ever before.

Fifthly, the Security Council, the supreme international body entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security, has a responsibility to ensure the implementation of its own resolutions aimed at protecting the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories and at bringing an end to Israeli occupation. Here, we would recall the report submitted to the Security Council by the Secretary-General under paragraph 6 of resolution 605 (1987), which reaffirmed the Palestinian people's rejection of Israeli occupation and the need to afford basic protections to them in keeping with the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Such protection is incumbent

(Mr. Al-Sharaa, Syrian
Arab Republic)

upon the Council, as it is upon the contracting parties to the Convention, particularly under article 1, which stipulates that

"The High Contracting Parties undertake to respect and to ensure respect for the present Convention in all circumstances."

It is obvious that the occupying Power's refusal to implement the provisions of the Convention in the occupied territory obliges the Security Council and its members to take the necessary measures.

Sixthly, in order to achieve a peaceful, comprehensive and just solution to the problem an effective international conference with appropriate powers must be convened. That conference should be held under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council as well as the participation, on an equal footing, of the parties to the conflict, among them the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in keeping with United Nations resolutions and based upon the withdrawal of all Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories and upon respect for the national and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to return to their homeland, the right to self-determination and the right to their own independent State in their national territory.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic for his kind words addressed to me and my country.

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

Mr. SALAH (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset allow me to express to you, Sir, and through you to the other members of the Security Council, our thanks for acceding to our request to participate in this discussion. It is a pleasure to see you presiding over the Council's proceedings this month. We are confident that under your wise guidance, and thanks to your diplomatic experience and professional skills, the Council will be able to achieve the most desirable results.

The Security Council is meeting once again to consider the situation in the occupied Arab territories, in regard to which it has adopted three resolutions since the popular uprising in the occupied Arab territories began on 9 December last. The most recent meetings of the Council on the matter were from 27 January to 1 February, to examine the valuable and important report (S/19443) submitted by the Secretary-General under resolution 605 (1987). The Council was unable to take a decision on the matter then because of the negative vote of a permanent member of the Council. The reason advanced for that veto was that the member in question considered it premature for the Council to involve itself in issues better addressed through diplomatic channels.

Despite our disappointment over that position, we hoped that those diplomatic channels would eventually lead to the desired goals. However, time has passed without any concrete results. In fact, that opposition has had an adverse effect on the situation: more arrogant than ever, Israel has taken an even harder line and escalated its repressive measures against the Palestinian population in the

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

West Bank and Gaza, causing them more suffering and pain and thus disregarding the prospect that all such measures will eventually widen the psychological gap between the Palestinians and the Israelis, leading them to despair of ever reaching a settlement that would bring peace and security.

The situation in the West Bank and Gaza continues to deteriorate, as is evident from the increasing number of martyrs, wounded and detainees. Despite escalation of its repressive measures and all of Israel's brutal, inhuman actions, world public opinion views the situation as seemingly normal; the world has started to show a diminishing interest in the suffering of the Palestinians, who have been left alone to face Israeli terrorism. Therefore, it was incumbent upon the Council to convene today in order to discuss the prevailing situation in the occupied Palestinian territories, which is characterized by the determination of the Palestinian people to attain its legitimate rights, despite Israel's continued denial of them.

With every passing day the Israeli position becomes increasingly brutal. I shall have occasion later to advert to some of Israel's repressive measures, but for now suffice it for me to say that, if not for the latest measures, there would have been no need to convene the Council. Therefore, we take issue with the claim that repeated calls for a meeting of the Council detract from its standing and prestige. The heart of the matter is Israeli non-compliance with the Council's resolutions. Our recourse to the Council today is further evidence of our recognition of its responsibilities and our appreciation of its prestige and powers.

Despite the Council's failure at its last meeting on the matter to implement the recommendation in the Secretary-General's report, the report remains the basic document before the Council. We trust that the Council will today go beyond words

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

and take action to ensure the protection and safety of the civilian population in the West Bank and Gaza so that Israel will not be left to act without restraint. Israel continues to reject the world consensus that the Fourth Geneva Convention applies to the occupied Arab territories. Moreover, although it is the occupying Power, it fails to carry out its duties under international law towards the territories. Thus Israel rejects an end to its occupation of the Arab territories, despite the unanimity in the world that that occupation is the direct cause of instability in the Middle East.

The Security Council has the power under the Charter to act directly and effectively to ensure implementation of the rights of the Palestinian people. The fact that Israel continues blatantly to deny those rights endangers international peace and security.

Israel should have drawn lessons from the popular uprising in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and addressed the question of Palestine in a rational manner. It should also have seen the uprising as a chance to change its position regarding recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people. But Israel continues to disregard and deny those rights and to defy the will of that struggling people, using every repressive measure at its disposal, believing that it can thus restore the status quo before the uprising and continue to hold the land and further oppress its legitimate owners.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

Since the beginning of the uprising Israel has been claiming that its current practices have the aim of restoring law and order in the West Bank and Gaza so that it can start the peace process. That is illogical. It is not a question of restoring law and order. The Palestinians are not Israeli citizens; the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are not Israeli territories. It is, rather, a question of a national struggle being waged by the Palestinian people to restore its legitimate rights and to live on its soil in freedom, dignity and peace, confident as to its future generations.

In taking vituperative actions and failing to draw lessons from history, Israel is refusing to recognize that the usurped rights of a people will be restored, no matter how long it takes, no matter how great the sacrifices that must be made.

The practices pursued by Israel against the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza represent a fierce war intended to crush the uprising and break the Palestinian people's will in order to disperse it. Repressive measures and policies have been pursued by Israel over two decades of occupation, and they have become more oppressive and massive.

It would be difficult to list here all those actions and policies, but I shall cite a few examples by way of illustration.

Israeli troops have been allowed to fire over the heads of demonstrators. New types of bullets have been used, bullets that inflict severe damage on the body and destroy the bones. The crushing of bones is an official policy that has been declared by the Israeli Defence Minister and applied by the Israeli troops. A new type of gas, not tear-gas, that affects the nervous system and leads to loss of consciousness, has been used. Such actions have resulted in the martyrdom of 180 persons and the wounding of 5,000.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

The profanation of holy places overrun by occupation forces, the use of tear-gas and acts of aggression against the Muslim faithful during their prayers; the expansion of raids and arrests and administrative detention have come within the purview of the field commander and do not require an order from a military court. The minimum period of administrative detention has been increased to 6 months. The number of detainees now exceeds 10,000 citizens, including many children. The occupied Arab territories have been cut off from international communications. Restrictions have been placed on correspondents of the international media, and acts of aggression have been carried out against them. Supplies of fuel and gas have been stopped in the West Bank, and shopkeepers have been forced to close their stores. Humanitarian aid has been denied those who need it.

Medical services have been hampered, and acts of aggression have been committed against hospitals. Houses have been destroyed, and schools have been transformed into detention camps. Curfews have been imposed on some towns and villages, and they have been declared closed military zones. Palestinians have been prevented from moving between the West Bank and Gaza, with all that that means in terms of cutting off family ties and making daily life extremely difficult. The most recent example is the sealing-off of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and their being declared closed military zones for three days as of 28 March and the imposition of a curfew on Gaza for one week as of the same date.

I have given all those examples to remind members of the deteriorating situation and living conditions of the Palestinian population in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. I do not believe that anyone in this Council can be unaware of that situation. Israel's persistence in its aggression against the Palestinian people and its violation of the most elementary human rights of the Palestinians

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

provide further evidence of the true nature of the Israeli goals: the perpetuation of occupation, the Judaisation of the occupied Arab territories and the subjugation of Arab citizens to Israel's terror machine in perpetuity.

Although we do not need further evidence of Israel's real goals, Israel provides it every day. Thus we hear the Prime Minister of Israel, Yitzhak Shamir, emphasizing what he once said: that Israel will not give up the West Bank and Gaza for biblical and security reasons, as well as for other reasons. His explanation of this position is unacceptable. And he submits a distorted concept of international resolutions.

On his most recent visit to the United States he said that by returning Sinai to Egyptian sovereignty under the Camp David Accords Israel has fulfilled its obligations under Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and is therefore not bound to give up the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Since Israel became hysterically engaged in practices unacceptable to men of conscience, we have heard voices friendly to Israel calling on it to heed the call of reason and to put an end to its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, because continuation of the status quo is dangerous not only to the Palestinians; it is, indeed, dangerous to the very fate of Israel itself. Of course some dissident voices have called upon Israel to suppress the Palestinian uprising with all possible force, and as quickly as possible. They have also called on it to seal off the occupied Arab territories to keep various international media out of them in order to protect Israel's image.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

Although we feel concern about those voices, we do not really pay any attention to them because we know that their motivations are racist. The fact is that those who make these calls upon Israel are shortsighted.

The Israeli occupation of the Arab territories is the most important, indeed the direct, cause of the general situation in the occupied territories. It is also the cause of the general situation in the Middle East. That situation will not improve until the Israeli occupation ends.

Among useful quotations that one could make, it might be instructive to read out the following statement by a former President of the United States, Mr. Richard Nixon - a close friend of Israel - contained in a new book excerpts of which were published on 24 March in the Washington Times:

"Many Israelis accept the diplomatic freeze. Although this might serve their short-term interests, it can only lead to catastrophe in the long run. With every new round of violence, the prospects for a lasting peace grow dimmer". We agree with Mr. Nixon's further statement that the United States can play a constructive role in the attainment of a settlement of the conflict in the Middle East. But, at the same time, we must express our sincere regret that the most recent United States peace initiative has come so late. And even this initiative cannot contribute to the fulfilment of the Arab aspirations and demands. We hope that the United States will use its special relationship with Israel to persuade it to change its position regarding the national rights of the Palestinian people. The United States, because it is a permanent member of the Security Council, can help to attain a comprehensive, just and lasting peace through the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The continued suffering of the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza as a result of Israeli occupation cannot be disregarded or tolerated. The world, which was stunned when the uprising of the Palestinian people began, should give

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its support to a defenceless people that lacks everything except determination when faced by a brutal military machine that uses every possible means to crush its will and to maintain it under domination for ever. We call on the Security Council to take effective, urgent action to ensure the protection and safety of the Palestinian people, in conformity with the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's valuable report to the Security Council in document S/19443. We call upon the Council also to act in a serious and consistent way to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

We hold that the appropriate means for achieving such a settlement is the convening of an effective international conference under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of the permanent members of the Council and all the parties to the conflict, including the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization - the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people - on a footing of equality with other parties.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Jordan for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. SARRE (Senegal) (interpretation from French): My delegation would first like to welcome the Arab ministerial delegation, headed by His Excellency Mr. Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria. We are convinced that with their advice we shall be able to provide a wise solution to the question now before the Council.

We are meeting to consider the situation in the occupied Arab territories at a time when mankind is experiencing a spiritual event with international dimensions: the Jewish Passover and the Christian Easter. This offers us an opportunity of thinking about peace, solidarity and better understanding among nations. And it will soon be the holy month of Ramadan which, for the Muslim community, is also a

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period of much reflection on the aims I have just mentioned. There is an interconnection here that we should bear in mind in our deliberations designed to restore peace, justice and stability to a troubled part of the Middle East.

A little over three months ago - in December last - when the uprising by Palestinians was beginning to gain momentum in the occupied Arab territories, particularly Gaza and the West Bank, the Security Council met and once again denounced the brutal and repressive behaviour of Israeli troops. When we participated then in the Council's deliberations, we sought, both as representative of Senegal and as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, to voice our refusal to see the situation in Palestine deteriorate and to witness this threat to international peace and security without the United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, being able to shoulder its responsibilities.

Today the Council is resuming its work at a particularly critical time in the development of the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories and throughout the region. In this connection, I have today addressed to you, Mr. President, and to the Secretary-General a letter drawing attention to the further deterioration of the situation in that region.

Over the past four months the Security Council has been convened several times to consider this extremely distressing situation. All those initiatives have been based not only on our faith in and our devotion to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter but also, and above all, on our determination to find, within the United Nations framework, a just, lasting and negotiated solution to the Middle East problem, the core of which is the Palestinian question.

The problem that we face now is particularly serious since the constant deterioration of the situation, characterized in particular by the continuing

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violence and, above all, the murders and assassinations that continue to be committed by the occupation army, has not yet induced the Security Council to take the measures necessary to protect the Palestinians and safeguard international peace and security.

(Mr. Sarré, Senegal)

As we stated in the Council and in the General Assembly when introducing the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, if the United Nations delayed in acting to find a solution to the Palestinian question, violence would increase to the point of constituting a threat to peace and stability in the region and in the world. The tragic events that are now occurring in the occupied territories, unfortunately, have confirmed that statement.

The United Nations certainly does have a responsibility with respect to the realization of the aspirations and rights of the Palestinian people and to the protection of that people. We now believe that it is for the Security Council to take action on the recommendations adopted by consensus at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held in Geneva in September 1983, and approved repeatedly by an increasing majority in the General Assembly, for, inter alia, an international peace conference on the Middle East. We should like to remind members once again that those recommendations are objectively based on the internationally recognized principles that relate to the Palestinian problem, which is the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Almost the entire international community believes that the convening of that conference remains an urgent necessity. This opinion is expressed not only in the United Nations, but also in the decisions and statements that have been made by a large number of intergovernmental organizations, such as the League of Arab States, whose Secretary-General we have just heard, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Non-Aligned Movement and the European Economic Community, and more recently the session of the Council of Ministers of the Islamic Conference held last week in Amman, apart from other statements made by representatives of countries. In this respect, I am thinking, in particular, of the statement made by

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the Soviet Union last month on this same question. When we look at this question, I think we should bear in mind all the proposals that have been submitted, since they are based on a desire to participate in finding a just and lasting solution to this conflict. We hope that the initiative taken by the United States will be given proper consideration, to the extent that it respects the sacred principles concerning Palestinian rights.

On behalf of the delegation of Senegal and the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, we should like once again to stress that the question of Palestine has entered a critical phase. We urge that increased efforts should be undertaken to provide a just and lasting solution to this question and that an end be put to the unacceptable situation of the Palestinian people.

My delegation and the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People are convinced that an international peace conference on the Middle East, which has been given unanimous support, offers all interested parties considerable opportunity to participate in negotiations that should lead to a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East crisis. We therefore urgently appeal to all members of this Council to make a positive contribution to the adoption of appropriate measures so that the policy of dialogue can be followed by all the interested parties to put an end to this tragic situation which has continued for more than 40 years.

As I stated more than a month ago, it is high time for an honourable peace to be found. That peace cannot be exclusively Arab or Israeli. It should be Arab-Israeli, a peace guaranteed by the United Nations, through sincere and constructive negotiations. It is therefore our duty and our responsibility to work tirelessly to bring about this noble objective.

Mr. ZUZE (Zambia): I should like at the outset to acknowledge the presence at this meeting of the members of the Arab ministerial delegation. Their presence attests to the gravity of the situation in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The contributions of the ministerial delegation have immensely enriched the proceedings of our meeting.

The adoption of Security Council resolution 605 (1987) on 22 December 1987 has clearly been in vain. The hopes of peaceful change in the Middle East have once again been misplaced and betrayed by the arrogance of Israel. The situation in the Israeli occupied territories has continued to deteriorate. The killing, wounding and bone crushing of a large number of defenceless Palestinians, has become a daily occurrence.

As this Council will recall, resolution 605 (1987) was an attempt to restrain Israel from adopting policies and practices which violate the human rights of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and to remind it of its obligations as a Member State under the Fourth Geneva Convention.

Israel responded to resolution 605 (1987) with characteristic contempt, rejecting any role by the Security Council in the security of the occupied territories.

Indeed, Israel's utter contempt for the Security Council was further demonstrated by its refusal to comply with Council resolutions 607 (1988) and 608 (1988) which, inter alia, enjoined Israel not to proceed with illegal deportation of Palestinian civilians and to ensure the immediate return of those already deported.

A direct consequence of Israel's intransigence and disrespect for the Council's decisions has been the grave deterioration of the situation in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

The situation has been exacerbated even further by the failure of the Security Council to adopt appropriate measures due to the veto cast on 1 February 1988 by one of its permanent members. This failure is regrettable as it has been misconstrued by Israel to imply tacit approval of its deplorable policies and practices in the occupied territories. Understandably, this Council now stands accused of indifference - even collusion with the oppressor. It stands accused of abandonment of the Palestinian people and its just struggle for its inalienable right to self-determination and an independent homeland.

Against that background, it should surprise no one at all that the situation in the occupied territories has reached grave proportions since the passage of Council resolution 605 (1987) three months ago. During this period, the Council has remained as a silent, if not impotent, observer of the indiscriminate murder of at least 110 defenceless Palestinians, including women and children, and the detention of over 4,000 others.

Only two days ago, on 28 March, the Israeli authorities announced that the occupied West Bank and Gaze Strip were being sealed off, allegedly in anticipation of planned Arab demonstrations during the annual commemoration of Land Day, which marks the killing by Israeli troops on 30 March 1976 of six Arabs who were protesting land seizures. By this measure, Israel has, with effect from today, imposed a ban on journalists from, and media coverage of, the occupied territories. It also prohibits Palestinians from entering or leaving Israel.

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

This abuse of power through the use of force to enforce authority is most deplorable and deserves unanimous condemnation by the Council in the strongest terms possible. This is a replay of conditions now prevailing in apartheid South Africa. For under the blanket black-out and seal of secrecy the Israeli authorities are hellbent on unleashing unrestrained and unprecedented terror and persecution on the defenceless Palestinian people. This is evident in the words of the Israeli Defence Minister who, in explaining the motive behind the measures, said: "Let us confront each other; we will see who will be stronger". It is therefore clear that this measure is a pretext, if not a licence, for Israel to inflict a decisive blow on the Palestinian people's legitimate protest against continued illegal occupation.

It is the strong conviction of the member States of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), on whose behalf I am privileged to speak, that the Security Council should seize this opportunity to pronounce itself against continued gross violations of the basic rights of the Palestinian people and their unwarranted slaughter by Israel.

We wish to reaffirm our unflinching support for the just cause of the Palestinian people for freedom, independence and peace. We also wish to reiterate our strong condemnation of Israel's continued illegal occupation of Arab territories, which constitutes a major obstacle to the settlement of the Middle East conflict.

We would also like to avail ourselves of this opportunity to reaffirm the urgent need to achieve, under the auspices of the United Nations, a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, an integral part of which is the Palestinian problem. This can best be achieved within the framework of the international peace conference on the Middle East, as envisaged by General Assembly resolution 38/58 C.

(Mr. Zize, Zambia)

We strongly urge Israel immediately to recognize the legitimate demands of the Palestinian people to live in conditions of security, peace and freedom in an independent homeland. Indeed, these are the same conditions which the State of Israel has sought to consolidate for itself since its establishment 40 years ago. Israel cannot therefore continue to deny the Palestinian people the essential needs it has long espoused and enjoyed. We expect Israel to do unto the Palestinians what it would like the Arabs to do unto it. Until then, the protests and demonstrations for freedom will continue in the occupied Arab territories, with the usual adverse consequences for Israel's own secure and peaceful existence. For Israel will never overcome the indomitable will of the Palestinian people to be free and to live in peace in an independent homeland. It will never browbeat the Palestinians into submission, and no amount of force can ever triumph over such a just cause.

We urge Israel and its allies immediately to discard the illusion that peace between Arabs and Israelis is attainable without the active involvement of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). There can be no real prospects for peace without the PLO. The PLO is synonymous with peace in the Middle East. A number of failed peace initiatives eloquently attest to this fact. This is so because of the PLO has, over 40 years of relentless struggle, emerged as the authentic representative and a permanent symbol of the Palestinian hope for nationhood. In the words of Ahmad Khalidi, a Palestinian writer, the PLO is: "the institutional frame for Palestinian identity". For Palestinians it is, in a real sense, a homeland of the mind.

Let me in conclusion commend the Secretary-General for his efforts at promoting a settlement to this question and encourage him to continue such endeavours. We also call upon the Secretary-General to continue to monitor the

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

deteriorating situation in the occupied territories and to report regularly and timely to the Council.

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

Mr. BEIN (Israel): Mr. President, I should like at the outset to congratulate you on the way in which you have conducted the affairs of the Security Council this month. I should also like to express to Ambassador Walters our appreciation for the way in which he applied his known diplomatic skill as President for the month of February.

The world's press fortunately, I would say is not responsible for world peace and security. It is free to report events as it sees fit. The time and space allocated in covering different issues are not a function of the desire and the responsibility of achieving world peace, or of resolving world problems, but they have a major influence on our perceptions. It is instructive to note, for example, in The New York Times of 22 March, a headline on page 10 which stated: "Israeli Troops Kill Palestinian" - one Palestinian - and on page 11, in far smaller print, a caption, without even a headline, which reported the death of 5,000 Iraqi Kurds from chemical weapons. The evident lack of proportion and balance in relation to Israel is brought out clearly in this example, but this should not be the yardstick by which priorities should be ascertained in the international community.

As we all know, the Security Council is charged with the primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security. Unlike the press, therefore, the priorities of the Security Council should be addressed to the real issues which endanger international peace.

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

The alarming recent proliferation in the use of chemical warfare constitutes a real and immediate danger to the citizens of many of the countries represented at this table. Does the Security Council seize itself of this acute threat to our security? It does not. Instead it chooses to accede to Arab requests to convene on 30 March, to coincide with "Land Day", a day on which the PLO calls for violent demonstrations against Israel. Is this an effective and credible discharge of the Security Council's responsibilities? I think not.

We find this meeting of the Council even more irresponsible, particularly in view of the fact that it is convened three days before the Secretary of State of the United States once again plans to visit the region in pursuit of a negotiated peace. The Security Council convenes, not in a call for tranquillity - not in a genuine pursuit of a negotiated peace - but again to devote its time to a repetition of the counter-productive rhetoric against my country. I sometimes think that if the Arab Group had invested one tenth of the efforts and energy devoted to these sterile debates in the Security Council and the General Assembly to the genuine pursuit of a negotiated peace with Israel, peace could have been attained long ago.

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

The conclusion Israel draws from this is that the Security Council is becoming not only increasingly unable to counter major threats to regional security but, even worse, is unable to find a way of taking a responsible course in encouraging the peaceful settlement of conflicts when such opportunities exist.

The events taking place in my country are continuously misrepresented in this Chamber.

When one listens to some of the statements in this Council one might conclude that Arab countries and Palestinian Arabs are presumably all victims of "Israeli aggression". In fact, Israel and the Palestinian Arabs are both victims of continuous aggression of certain Arab countries and certain Palestinian groups. Let me remind the Council that since Israel regained its independence in 1948 it has successfully resisted four wars and continuous acts of aggression against its sovereignty and its citizens.

Let us not forget that Israel has controlled Judea, Samaria and Gaza for the past 21 years only because of the aggression of its neighbours.

In 1967, the Straits of Tiran were closed to Israeli shipping, and United Nations forces were ordered out of the Sinai. Neighbouring Arab armies were mobilized with the declared and explicit purpose of attacking Israel. This brought on the six-day war. Israel pleaded with its neighbour to the east not to join the war, but it did and attacked Jerusalem. Six days later, when the Arab attack was rolled back, Israel had taken control of Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

In the days immediately preceding the six-day war, the Permanent Representative of Israel stated in this very chamber that "It was not too late for reason to prevail." (Security Council Official Records, Twenty-Second Year, 1343rd mtg., para. 185) He proposed specific steps that could have immediately defused the crisis and prevented the outbreak of war. He pointed out that:

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

"If these steps are taken promptly, the deep anxieties of the hour will be lifted and the present dangerous tensions will subside." (Ibid., para. 186) That call by Israel fell on deaf ears, and the anxiety of the hour became the continuing tragedy of the next two decades. If there was any aggression, it is clear it was not by Israel.

A basic desire, expressed in Israel's Declaration of Independence, is the call both to Arabs residing in Israel and to all our neighbouring States to live in peace and co-operate in development of the region. This call for peace has been repeated again and again. A positive response came from only one country - Egypt, the largest and most prominent of the Arab States. Direct negotiations ensued, a peace treaty was signed and an era of dialogue and normalization followed. Unfortunately, other States of the region have yet to recognize that this is the only path to achieving those political solutions which would end the tragic conflict and provide an infrastructure for addressing the pressing needs for development of the region.

The basic questions therefore remain today as in the past: Are Arab States willing to recognize Israel and its legitimate security requirements? In addition, are the Palestinians and the Arab States genuinely willing to address the Palestinian problem in a feasible and productive way that could provide the basis for a genuine solution? Israel, in the Camp David Accords, agreed in good faith to modalities that would have initiated the resolution of the Palestinian problem over 10 years ago. It is a tragedy that the Palestinian Arabs, then as now, did not seize that opportunity for peace.

To date, the PLO has been consistent in one thing: it has fought against and rejected any form of political solution and, worse still, has intimidated and even murdered Palestinians who genuinely sought peace.

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

The alternatives are clear: a continuation of violence or the attainment of a peaceful solution negotiated directly between Israel and a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. It is instructive to note which alternative the PLO has chosen.

On 27 March - just three days ago - the PLO Radio in Baghdad broadcast that the PLO Executive Committee announced a boycott of Secretary of State Shultz and his plans. On the occasion of "Land Day", the PLO broadcast exhorted the Palestinians in the territories to "throw rocks at security people and to stab them with knives".

For an organization which remains committed to its Covenant, which states in its article 19 that the establishment of the State of Israel is fundamentally null and void, no matter what time has elapsed, the message for Israel is clear. The PLO's solution is the dissolution of Israel. Let me assure the Council that this will not be the case.

The PLO has shown that it will continue to fight to and behind the last Palestinian child. This will constitute a basis not for peace, but only for continued violence and bloodshed.

What we are facing today in Judea, Samaria and Gaza is not a test of force. Were it a test of force there is no question who would prevail. If Israel were to follow the patterns of the region and take its example from Syria, which quelled disturbances in el-Hamah in 1981 by slaughtering approximately 20,000 civilians in a matter of days, the situation on the ground in Judea, Samaria and Gaza would look very different today.

Israel takes pride in the fact that the Jewish moral and ethical code has for 3,000 years served as a beacon to the world and has paved the way for the moral codes of religions and nations. We have not abandoned the daily practice of these principles, and the soldiers in Israel's Defence Forces are brought up and educated in the light of these ideals.

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

From the outset of these disturbances, Israeli soldiers in Judea, Samaria and Gaza have found themselves in extremely trying conditions and have, despite intense provocations and ongoing danger to their lives, exercised the utmost restraint. I would like to point out that since the end of December Israel has suffered 363 injuries among its citizens and soldiers. Israel regrets any loss of life, be it Jew or Arab, but when confronted with unbridled mob violence, using stones, iron bars, firebombs and even live ammunition, it has no alternative but to attempt to quell that violence and restore order. Those who readily quote and rely on the Fourth Geneva Convention cannot deny that that remains the first and foremost responsibility of any administration.

The challenge of attaining a political solution will not be enhanced by rhetoric and one-sided debate in the Security Council. In allowing itself to be convened to commemorate days in the Palestinian calendar, the Council assures its own lack of credibility in furthering the cause of peace. The Security Council should be sincere in its desire to promote a peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict; it should attempt to focus non-prejudicial efforts on the encouragement of direct negotiations between Israel and its neighbours, on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Such negotiations are the only path to achieving a lasting political settlement.

The PRESIDENT: 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. GHAREKHAN (India): Once again the Security Council feels compelled to consider the situation in the occupied territories. In the four months since the Council first met on the subject the situation has progressively deteriorated, the killings have continued, the unrest and violence have grown.

To date well over 100 Palestinians have been killed, many hundreds have been wounded and several thousand are under detention. Israel's policies have clearly shown that it has failed to comprehend the full extent and significance of the resurgent nationalism currently inspiring the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

The movement has affected all sections of Palestinians, even those working under the Israeli authorities. Over half the Arab policemen have resigned. There are indications of non-co-operation from Israeli-appointed municipal, village and refugee-camp councils. The list will grow.

Governments the world over are deeply concerned. The media have reflected the consternation and pain of the international community at what is happening in the West Bank and Gaza. India has made its views clear, both inside this Chamber and outside it. On 6 February an official spokesman of the Government of India stated that Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had

"strongly condemned the Israeli atrocities and reiterated the unequivocal support of the Government and people of India for the just Palestinian cause."

Two days ago the Israeli Government sealed off the West Bank and Gaza and their one and a half million Palestinian inhabitants in a desperate effort to curb the demonstrations on Land Day. This will not help the situation. Still less will it prevent the Palestinians from demonstrating their rejection of the misappropriation of their lands and from expressing their solidarity with their

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

brethren killed in 1976. We hear of more threats. Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin has been reported to have challenged the Palestinians by saying, "You have designated Land Day, so let us have it out, and we will see who wins." Prime Minister Shamir has reportedly told the daily newspaper Maariv that, "If the Arabs of Israel do not come to their senses, the reality will be harder and laden with impending disaster." Threats such as those will only strengthen the determination of the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

We urge the United Nations to take timely measures to stop the situation from taking a turn for the worse. We all know that the Secretary-General is deeply perturbed and is watching the situation with great anxiety. He will continue to have the full support of India in whatever steps he might consider taking at this juncture.

If peace is to return to the region the fundamental problems must be addressed. A comprehensive, just and lasting settlement must be found. The legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination, must be ensured. Other essential elements of such a settlement are well known and must include the withdrawal of Israel from the territories occupied by it since 1967, including Jerusalem, as well as recognition of the right of all States in the region to live in peace and security within internationally recognized borders.

The process of negotiations must begin without delay. India and an overwhelming majority of the United Nations believe that an international peace conference on the Middle East, as envisaged in General Assembly resolution 38/58 C, remains the most appropriate framework for those negotiations. Dialogue and consultations must immediately commence with the Palestinians and with their representatives, the Palestine Liberation Organization, as well as other parties involved.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

Misconstrued or shortsighted notions of security will only lead to increased insecurity for Israel and continued turbulence in the area. International public opinion has generated a certain momentum towards peace. It would be a pity if that momentum were to be lost and yet another opportunity for a negotiated settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict missed.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in which he requests 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 him 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. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I now invite the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): I should like to thank you, Mr. President, and the Security Council for having afforded me this opportunity to speak. On behalf of my delegation, I should also like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. The cordial relations of co-operation between our two countries are well known, and my personal knowledge of you and of your long experience makes us confident that under your guidance the work of the Council will be fruitful.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan
Arab Jamahariya)

We are meeting once again here to discuss the situation in the occupied Arab territories and to discuss developments in Palestine. We have met on several previous occasions for the same purpose and the issue has been exhaustively discussed. There can be no doubt that - for the near future, at least - this will be the last time we meet to discuss the issue.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

In assuming its primary responsibility for international peace and security, the Council is indeed assuming a grave responsibility with regard to the oppression and suppression of, and the acts of genocide against, a defenceless people - the Palestinian people.

The tragedy of Palestine is undoubtedly the greatest tragedy faced by a people at any time throughout history. An entire people has been displaced from its homeland, rendered homeless, to be replaced by a group of racists and fascists, who daily inflict pain and suffering on that people. The United Nations, which has the great responsibility for international peace and security, has been debating the subject for over 40 years, without any solution, because the racist, Zionist entity, established on the basis of aggression and injustice, shows no respect for this Organisation and refuses to comply with its resolutions. Only a short time ago the Council heard the illegitimate representative of that entity arrogantly flaunt the responsibility of its fascist régime for the massacres taking place in the occupied territories.

Are we to sit idly by, our hands tied, or will those who support the Zionist entity and paralyse the Council by casting a veto, paying no regard to developments in the occupied territories, change their position? I am referring to those who support the Zionist entity with arms and money, and with gases - such as those used for the first time a few days ago - so that they may be tested on the land of Palestine. We may wonder, despite our firm conviction, whether what is going on will lead to an awakening of the conscience of those Powers that have supported, and continue to support, the entity with finance and arms.

Those Powers talk about peace and peace initiatives. What kind of peace is it if it does not give the Palestinian people its right to self-determination, if it

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

does not mean an end to the mass killing of the Palestinian people? They talk about limited self-rule. Why? Do not the Palestinian people have a right to live? The Washington Post today carried a story on what the Under-Secretary of State had said about combating terrorism. He not only supports the Zionist entity, but feels that it has a duty to suppress what is going on. What kind of regard for human rights is that? Are not the Palestinians part of humankind, whose human rights we are defending?

We are witnessing a continuation of the massacre of the Palestinian people. No resolution, whatever its origin, can be effective unless the international community - especially those with special and heavy responsibility - takes effective action to put an end to the aggression by the Zionist entity. Talking about peace while supplying the Zionist entity with arms to massacre the Palestinian people and commit acts of aggression against the Arab nation is hypocrisy. Talking about peace while the Zionist entity is given billions of dollars to acquire more and more Zionist mercenaries to settle on more land is but further evidence of hypocrisy, which we cannot accept.

The Norwegian Ambassador to the occupied land has said that what is happening is worse than the Nazi practices during the Nazi occupation of his country. That is true. Hitler's Nazi acts, which we have all condemned, and which the international community has deplored, do not compare to what is taking place now in terms of massacre, attempts to starve out the Palestinians, and the Zionist entity's imposition of restrictions on the international media. A few days ago the Zionist entity denied the Palestinian people access to food supplies, something that can be described only as a Nazi-style, Fascist-style act.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

Regrettably, some justify such action. Some advise the Zionist entity to keep the journalists out of the occupied territories, because those who have contributed directly to what is going on now on the land of Palestine would like to keep the whole world ignorant of the tragedies taking place on the land of occupied Palestine.

The Zionist representative tried to draw the Council's attention to extraneous issues, beyond the scope of this debate. He showed a total disregard for the substance of the debate and for all the resolutions adopted by the Council and the General Assembly. He depends on the support of major Powers, on full support by certain members of the Security Council, which, regrettably, he receives.

We have repeatedly pointed out the true nature of the régime, the system. We have described it as a racist régime, as did the General Assembly when it equated Zionism with racism. However, this will not change the situation on the ground, because aggression cannot be resisted by resolutions.

What is happening in Palestine is only a beginning of the true resistance by the Palestinian people against the entity. This will be the beginning of the end. History has taught us that the forces of injustice and oppression, regardless of their might, will eventually end, just as nazism and fascism came to an end. Zionism must come to an end; it is bound to end. The Arab nation, with its long history of struggle, is undoubtedly capable of ensuring that. Just as it repelled the imperialist crusaders in the past, it will be able to repel this racist, Zionist Power, no matter who its supporters are. History teaches us the inevitability of that outcome.

What is happening in Palestine in terms of massacre and oppression shows once again the true nature of the Zionist régime.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

It shows that the international community is committed to resisting that régime. Just as we joined forces in fighting Nazism, we must join forces in resisting racist, fascist Zionism. Our resistance will not take the form of a resolution but of collective action in imposing a total blockade on the racist régime, implementing the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter and taking collective action to support the evolution of the Palestinian people by all possible means. I am confident that the Council will eventually assume its responsibilities and hand down its ruling, adopting actions that reflect our collective will to provide assistance to the Palestinian people in the face of the massacres.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for his kind words addressed to my country and to me.

The next speaker is Mr. Farouk Kaddoumi, Chief of the Political Department of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, upon whom I now call.

Mr. KADDOUMI (Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset I would thank the members of the Security Council for agreeing to invite the PLO to participate in these deliberations of the Council.

I wish also to express our confidence in the eminent qualities that have placed you at the head of the Security Council, Mr. President. The PLO has close relations with your country and people, and we are proud of those relations, for they are based on our common objective to support peoples, to help them fight against aggression and colonialism and to build peace and security on the basis of justice and equality.

The Security Council has heard frank and clear statements by Arab Ministers and by the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States as the spokesman of the Arab nation and the Council of the Arab League. It has also heard statements by

(Mr. Kaddoumi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

Heads of African Governments, through the representative of Zambia and my personal friend the representative of Senegal. We have also heard a statement by the representative of India. I should now like to get to the heart of the matter before us.

The Council is meeting at a crucial time, when Israel has just imposed a siege on occupied Palestinian territories, sealing off the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and preventing their inhabitants from honouring the memory of the fallen martyrs during Land Day, the anniversary of the expropriations carried out by Israel in Galilee in 1976.

Today Israeli soldiers are patrolling the streets of towns and villages and the Palestinian refugee camps. They are armed to the teeth, their faces twisted with hatred. Tanks obstruct the roads, and Israeli guns are targeted on the Palestinian inhabitants.

As for our Palestinian people in the occupied territories, they are courageously facing up to all Israeli actions, determined to put an end to the occupation and to win back their dignity and sovereignty, which are being mocked.

Four months have passed since the beginning of the Palestinian uprising, a growing and popular uprising against arbitrariness and oppression. And here in the United Nations, and more specifically here in the Security Council, members have thoroughly discussed Israeli practices and condemned them. They have condemned them again and again. Regrettably, that has been necessary. But the United Nations remains powerless, unable to adopt the necessary measures to provide the most elementary protection for our Palestinian people. And the United States, a great Power, regrettably continues to exercise its veto to prevent adoption by the Security Council of a resolution on measures to meet the situation. The world, as represented by this international Organization, which has a special responsibility

(Mr. Kaddouni, Palestine
Liberation Organisation)

for the maintenance of international peace and security, is powerless in dealing with this deteriorating situation.

As for Shamir the terrorist, he has just returned from his visit to the United States, having recharged his batteries, so to speak. With renewed vigour he is threatening the Palestinian people, promising the Israeli people that he will put down this heroic uprising. Thus Shamir reaffirms that Israel is resolved to pursue this repressive policy.

From the very first days of the Israeli occupation, Israel has undertaken to confiscate Palestinian land and to set up colonies. Its expropriations - I am speaking of the West Bank and Gaza - now extend to 57 per cent of the total area, and nearly 67,000 Jewish immigrants have been installed there - not to mention the annexation of Jerusalem and the Syrian and Golan Heights and the installation of other settlements there. Israel has also taken over water resources and requires the Palestinian inhabitants to pay new and exorbitant taxes. Twenty thousand homes have been destroyed, and there have been hundreds of thousands of arrests and hundreds of deaths, not to mention the dispersion and displacement of populations.

(Mr. Raddoumi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

Since the beginning of the uprising, in December last, Israel has been strengthening its arsenal of repressive and arbitrary measures. As a result, hundreds of martyrs have lost their lives and thousands of persons have been arrested. The Israeli Minister of Defence, Yitzhak Rabin, of the Labour Party, has stated that last month alone Israel arrested 5,000 Palestinians. The information that we are receiving indicates that 120 pregnant women have miscarried because of the use of gas bombs. More than 800 Palestinians, from 3 to 92 years old, have been wounded. In an effort to put down this uprising, Israel has also had recourse to a policy of beatings, clubbing and breaking the bones of Palestinians.

Today, Israel decided to close press and information agencies in Jerusalem and Haifa, as well as in other cities, and to forbid access by the international media to the occupied territories, in order to be able to continue to commit its crimes with impunity and without exposure to the outside world. Perhaps that is a response to something said by Kissinger, the former Secretary of State.

We must note here that Israeli repression has been stepped up since Shamir's return from the United States. The Israeli Council of Ministers has approved other repressive measures by sending reinforcements to the occupation troops, which now number tens of thousands of soldiers, as well as sending hundreds of tanks. Israel is having increasing recourse to live ammunition. Cities, villages and refugee camps are under siege. Water and electricity have been cut off, and logistical support has been impeded. The inhabitants are isolated from the outside world. A curfew has been imposed on them. Thousands of young people were arrested after their organizations were disbanded, and they have been sent to concentration camps, in utter defiance of human rights and the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilians.

(Mr. Kaddoumi, Palestine
Liberation Organisation)

These crimes have shaken the conscience of people throughout the world. Voices have been raised everywhere condemning them and demanding that they cease. The United States Government, however, despite the condemnation of American public opinion, remains silent about the crimes. Worse still, it is preventing the international community from adopting all the measures necessary to ensure that such crimes do not continue and to give the most basic protection to the millions of Palestinians who are threatened with extermination and are living under the shadow of death or famine.

If the Israeli leaders think that they will be able to hold on to the occupied territories for very long and to establish there security and peace non militari, they are very mistaken. Peace can be based only on the principles of peace, freedom and equality for all, without any persecution or discrimination. That is the historical truth, the cornerstone of peaceful coexistence by the peoples of the world. But the Israeli leaders show disdain for that truth. They have chosen the path of territorial expansion and military superiority, rather than that of the principles of justice and equality - the true foundations of peace between and coexistence by Palestinians and Israelis. Unfortunately, they are being given material and political support by the United States Government.

It would seem that Israel is harbouring the illusion that our Palestinian people has become resigned to the present situation. Indeed, it is maintaining its occupation of the Palestinian lands and trying to sanctify that occupation. It bases its policy on the mistaken premise that the occupation will last for ever.

But our people have heroically risen up and are battering the Israeli illusions, such as the notion of secure borders, the notion that the settlements serve as a buffer in case of attacks from outside. These settlements are in fact

(Mr. Kaddoumi, Palestine
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now a heavy burden on the Israeli occupier. The uprising has proved the hypocrisy of the democracy that Israel claims and its alleged respect for human rights. Israel has now shown its true colours as a racist entity like South Africa. The Palestinian uprising has also destroyed the illusions of the Israeli leaders and their dream of establishing Greater Israel. Our uprising has destroyed the myth of Israeli superiority as well as prospects for Israeli expansion and growth in the future.

(Mr. Kaddoumi, Palestine
Liberation Organisation)

Our uprising also stressed the internal divisions existing in the Israeli community. Nearly 40 years have elapsed since the birth of Israel. However, that country has not succeeded in ensuring its own peace and security; indeed, quite the opposite. Israel has been at the centre of tension, terrorism and successive wars which have ravaged the region. The reasons for this are the wild ambitions which have inspired Israeli leaders, expansion by trampling on Palestinian and Arab lands, by war and aggression.

The General Assembly of the United Nations has entrusted to the Secretary-General the mission of working to convene an international peace conference based on its resolutions, the Charter and international legality. Nevertheless, the United States and Israel constitute a stumbling-block to the efforts of the Secretary-General and the United Nations as a whole by their rejection of the international conference, to which I have referred, and the denial of the right of the Palestinian people to participate in those international efforts on an equal footing with other parties. They do that in order to prevent the Palestinian people from recovering its inalienable national rights, which are recognized by the international community.

What is called the United States peace plan - and Mr. Shultz, the United States Secretary of State, brought this plan with him on his visit to the region - does not include the major components for a just and durable settlement. Mr. Shultz once again brought up old ideas borrowed from the Camp David agreements and the Reagan plan, which have been rejected by the Palestinian people.

That plan advocates autonomy as a substitute for international sovereignty and does not require full Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. That plan does not give the attributes of an independent nation to the Palestinian people and

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Liberation Organisation)

denies that people its right to self-determination. It leaves the door open to outside trusteeship that would be exercised over it and denies the Palestinian people its right to independent representation and participation in the international conference on an equal footing with the other parties. That plan calls for elections conducted under Israeli occupation. We have had the experience of municipal elections in the occupied lands, to be precise, in 1976. The chairmen and members of the municipal councils very quickly fell victim to assassination, deportation and forced exile carried out by the Israeli occupation forces. Those councils were dissolved and the occupation forces proceeded to appoint others. Can one therefore really imagine that we are ready now to conduct a similar exercise when we note, and the world notes with us, the massacres that are perpetrated by Israel, the siege of cities, the famine imposed on our peoples and the arrests which are taking place? The elections carried out in the occupied territories can only take place under international control, after Israeli occupation has ended.

Given the face of Israel, the occupying power, our Palestinian people must defend itself, its freedom, its dignity and its right to independence and national sovereignty. It must use stones as arms to fight against the Israeli occupation forces with their sophisticated weapons. These actions, in truth, are a courageous and legitimate challenge to occupation, oppression and domination. They are acts of legitimate self-defence. Despite its repressive measures, Israel will not be able to bring the occupied lands back to the situation which existed before the popular uprising at the beginning of December 1987. Our Palestinian people rejects occupation and Israeli domination. It is ready to buy its freedom and independence at the cost of sacrifices which it is making, and making amply. The peoples of the world have already given thousands of martyrs for the cause of independence in

(Mr. Kaddoumi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

resisting racism and fascism, and they have gained victory in the last analysis. Our Palestinian people today is also giving its martyrs to resist racism and Israeli fascism. Israel can indeed kill thousands of Palestinians and arrest thousands. Israel can break the bones of children or cause thousands of pregnant women to lose their children through the use of gas bombs. But it can do nothing against the will of our people to triumph, its will to fight for its freedom, independence and sovereignty. Our people will be the victors on its own land.

The Security Council, which has direct responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, is called upon, under its commitments, to adopt all measures designed to ensure the effective protection of our Palestinian people in the occupied territories. It is called upon to require the occupying forces to cease immediately all arbitrary measures which are in violation of human rights and which contravene international law, whether written or customary. The Security Council must closely follow the situation in the territories through the measures available to the United Nations and it must entrust the Secretary-General with the task of pursuing his constructive efforts along those lines.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I should like to thank you for the attention which the Council has given to this cause, which is so vital for international peace and security, and I hope that the Council will adopt the urgent measures which are necessary.

(Mr. Kaddoumi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

We must not leave aside this possibility for a just peace, from which our international Organization will emerge enhanced. Peace can be established only through an end to Israeli occupation, and security can reign only if an independent Palestinian State is established.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Farouk Kaddoumi, Chief of the Political Department of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) for his kind and generous words addressed to my country and its policies.

Mr. OKUN (United States of America): A few speakers in today's debate have questioned the motives of my Government with respect to the conflict between Israel and its neighbours. I wish to reiterate that my Government is striving to find an agreed formula that would permit genuine, direct negotiations leading to a just and comprehensive settlement of this long-standing conflict. We believe that the latest efforts of Secretary Shultz will contribute significantly to this end. We do not believe that the extreme rhetoric engaged in by some speakers today does anything to resolve the dispute and only serves to exacerbate tensions further.

The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers for this meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue the consideration of the item on the agenda will be fixed in consultations with the members of the Council.

The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.

