



Security Council

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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
EIGHT HUNDRED AND NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 22 April 1988 at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. ZUZE

(Zambia)

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
Yugoslavia

Mr. DJOUDI
Mr. DELPECH
Mr. NOGUEIRA-BATISTA
Mr. DING Yuanhong
Mr. BLANC
Mr. Count YORK von WARTENBURG
Mr. BUCCI
Mr. KAGAMI
Mr. RANA
Mr. SARRE
Mr. BELOMOGOV

Sir CRISPIN TICKELL
Mr. OKUN
Mr. PEJIC

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The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

LETTER DATED 19 APRIL 1988 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF TUNISIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/19798)

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item, I invite the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Bangladesh, Cuba, Egypt, Gabon, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Mauritania, Morocco, Mozambique, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, the Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; and I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mestiri (Tunisia) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Siddiky (Bangladesh), Mr. Nunez Mosquera (Cuba), Mr. Badawi (Egypt), Mr. Biffot (Gabon), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Fakhoury (Lebanon), Mr. Ould Boye (Mauritania), Mr. Bennouna (Morocco), Mr. Dos Santos (Mozambique), Mr. Shah Navaz (Pakistan), Mr. Al-Kawari (Qatar), Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Osman (Somalia), Mr. Al-Masri (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Turkmen (Turkey), Mr. Oudovenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Mr. Al-Shaali (United Arab Emirates) and Mr. Basendwah (Yemen) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; Mr. Al-Kidwa (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bahrain, Greece, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Zimbabwe 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

(The President)

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. Al-Shakar (Bahrain), Mr. Zepos (Greece), Mr. Kittikhoun (Lao People's Democratic Republic) and Mr. Manzou (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of them on its agenda. Members of the Council have before them document S/19819, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Algeria, Argentina, Nepal, Senegal, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

The first speaker on my list is the representative of Morocco. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. BENNOUNA (Morocco) (interpretation from French): I should like first of all to congratulate you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Moroccan delegation, for the competence with which you have guided the work of the Security Council during the month of April. We should also like to extend our congratulations to your predecessor Ambassador Pejic, Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia, who successfully presided over the Council's deliberations last month.

I wish at the outset to welcome among us His Excellency Mr. Mahmoud Mestiri, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia, a pre-eminent Maghribi patriot who knows better than anyone that Tunisia and Morocco are indissoluble parts of the same body and that they stand together against any type of aggression committed against either of them.

For the second time Tunisian territory, which is located thousands of kilometres from the Middle East, has been the target of acts of aggression

(Mr. Bennouna, Morocco)

perpetrated by Israel, in violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter. As it did in October 1985, Israel has violated the territorial integrity of a sovereign State Member of our Organization, pursuing the Palestinian people and its representatives even in countries where they have been forced to find refuge.

The facts set forth in the letter from the Permanent Representative of Tunisia, the investigation conducted by that country and statements by the Israeli authorities themselves leave no doubt regarding Israel's direct responsibility in the cold-blooded planning and execution of this fresh criminal act of terrorism.

Because of its dedication to the values of civilization that underlie the United Nations Charter, the Kingdom of Morocco, in all international forums - here, in the General Assembly, within the Islamic Conference or in the Arab League - has called for the condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and by whomever it is committed. In his statement in the Security Council in October 1985, after Israel's bombardment of the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the suburbs of Tunis, Mr. Abdellatif Filali, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Kingdom of Morocco, said:

"Official terrorism cannot go unpunished, unless we want to go back to the rule of the law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth and to the endless escalation of violence and destruction." (S/PV.2613, p. 49-50)

At that time, Mr. Abdellatif Filali asked the Council to condemn Israel vigorously and to take appropriate measures to prevent such criminal and irresponsible actions in the future.

Less than three years later, after the Security Council's adoption of resolution 573 (1985) of 4 October 1985 and condemnation of the aggressor, Israel has once again transgressed, choosing as its target one of the survivors of the

(Mr. Bennouna, Morocco)

1985 air attack and one of the most important figures of Palestinian resistance. Our brother Khalil al-Wazir, Abu Jihad, and three other Palestinian and Tunisian patriots, have fallen under the fire of wanton Israeli fanaticism, which is attempting to undermine all the efforts being exerted both inside and outside the Security Council to find a peaceful and just solution to the tragedy being endured by the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Bennouna, Morocco)

How many times do we have to repeat that the Council's credibility is in danger and that we should act firmly and effectively when acts are committed that violate the most valuable achievements of our civilization and deeply wound humanity's conscience?

The Kingdom of Morocco expresses its natural and active solidarity with the Tunisian Government and people, whose sovereignty and territorial integrity have been trampled underfoot with disregard for the most sacred principles of the United Nations Charter. We extend our condolences to the families of the victims and to the fraternal Palestinian and Tunisian peoples. Khalil al-Wazir, "Abu Jihad", died as a martyr for a just cause - the cause of his people's right to self-determination and the establishment of a homeland on its own territory.

It is no secret to anyone that the terrorist crime committed on 16 April is part of a larger plan to wipe out the leaders of the Palestinian resistance, whatever the place or country where they might have found refuge. Israel is thereby making terrorism a government policy, stopping at nothing, however inhuman, as has been demonstrated by Israeli practices in the occupied territories, where the entire world, through the mass media, has been witnessing beatings, destruction of houses, assassinations and even attempts to bury Palestinians alive. All these events have been taking place in recent months. What then is at issue here? The whole world has been hearing for several months the legitimate demands of an unarmed people to gain recognition of its right to existence and hope for its children.

The final proof is evident: that Israel's so-called indignation at terrorism and its verbal declarations that it is at the vanguard of the fight against terrorism are only so much subterfuge to obfuscate its constant and avowed practise of State terrorism.

Tunisia, an eminent member of our Maghribi family, a country with which we

(Mr. Bennouna, Morocco)

share a historic past and a common cultural heritage; this moderate nation, known for its openness, tolerance and respect for basic human rights, has just become the victim of open and naked aggression, which we condemn most energetically. Everyone knows that those responsible for such acts are trying, first and foremost, to whip up all types of extremism and to divert all people of goodwill from the path of peace, concord and reconciliation. In such circumstances, only firmness in this Council, which bears the major responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, is likely to thwart the veritable plot against right and justice which is under way.

As far as we are concerned, we remain convinced that the Council will not fail to meet this new challenge and will prove itself worthy of the task assigned it by the Charter, so that the ideal might survive and the light and spirit of faith - of which the Middle East was the birthplace - might continue to shine and to guide all mankind.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Morocco for the kind words he addressed to me.

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

Mr. AL-KAWARI (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and express my confidence that you, with your skill and experience and faith in the causes of people around the world, will preside over the Council's deliberations in the best possible manner.

I am also pleased to pay tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Pejic, the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia, for the excellent way in which he presided over the Council last month.

The facts that have now become known to all - facts submitted to the Security

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

Council by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia - prove beyond doubt that Israel did indeed secretly send armed individuals, well trained and provided with the most modern technology, to penetrate under cover of darkness into the territory of a State Member of the United Nations and to perpetrate within that country premeditated acts of murder and then escape, again under cover of darkness. This can be characterized only as an act of flagrant violation of the sovereignty of the State of Tunisia, whose sovereignty and territorial integrity are guaranteed by international law. Is there a clearer example of a challenge to international law and the United Nations Charter?

Nor can we say this is a dangerous precedent. By that act Israel merely repeated earlier crimes: it has violated Lebanese sovereignty; it killed three prominent Palestinian leaders in 1973; it struck at the Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981; it breached Tunisian sovereignty in October 1985, destroyed the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and killed innocent Tunisians and Palestinians alike.

Such acts would not have been repeated had the international community shouldered its responsibilities by deterring the aggressor and preventing it from repeating them. Will this new act of aggression be a new opportunity for the Security Council and, indeed, the United Nations to review their positions and deal with Israel with the appropriate firmness justified by its repetition of such acts of aggression so as to preserve the sovereignty of States and deter aggression?

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

Can anyone characterize the crime of the assassination of the militant Abu Jihad as being anything other than State terrorism? It certainly was not terrorism by an individual. It was the type of terrorism that benefited from all the capabilities available to a State, including planes, military vehicles and jamming devices, as well as involving the violation of the sovereignty of a State and the liquidation of the leadership of a people. This criminal act perpetrated by Israel, in an attempt to affect the brave uprising of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, will not lead to the results desired by Zionism. We saw the reply of the Palestinian people from the very first day. We witnessed that in one day more martyrs fell under the bullets of the Israeli aggressors than on any other single day. The uprising of the Palestinian people will only continue and become more steadfast in the face of this blind violence. This ugly act will only strengthen the resolve of the Palestinian militants. This act merely represents more Palestinian blood shed on the blessed path of reaffirming the Palestinian identity - the blood of one of their prominent leaders. Let that be a clear indication to the world, namely, that sacrifice in order to achieve the aims of the Palestinian revolution is the great equalizer for the Palestinian people, for its masses and its leadership alike.

There is no doubt that the murder of the militant Abu Jihad is a great loss to the Palestinian people. He was a prominent and skilled leader who enjoyed the confidence and love of his people. However, Abu Jihad had been fighting against a savage enemy, an enemy without values and whose inhuman practices knew no limits. Therefore, Abu Jihad knew fully the dangers that he was facing and the risks to his life. Zionism is mistaken if it believes that by killing that militant it will lessen the determination of the Palestinian people to regain its freedom, dignity and legitimate rights.

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

Today we are facing a new reality imposed by the will of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. It is the fact and the reality created by this sacred uprising and it is clear that no one can reverse the course of history. No one can go beyond the fact of that uprising and deny the sacrifices that it has made, particularly the martyrdom of Abu Jihad. Zionism has resorted to all types of acts of oppression, which apparently it learned from nazism, against the valiant Palestinian people. It proceeded from killing women and children to breaking bones, to demolishing homes and whole neighbourhoods, to mass punishments. It then proceeded to deporting citizens from their homes and, last but not least, it now resorts to liquidating Palestinian leaders overseas. The killing of Abu Jihad is the clearest example of those practices. We believe that this is a mere indication of the desperation of the Zionist leadership.

The continuation of the uprising is a message to the conscience of mankind. Let that conscience awaken and realize that the Palestinians are a people who have the right to live, a right to enjoy their legitimate rights on their national soil. The Palestinians are not insects, grasshoppers or flies, as the Prime Minister of the enemy is so fond of repeating.

Will the international conscience represented in the United Nations indeed awaken to put an end to this racist behaviour? Will it say to that entity that the Palestinians are people like any other people who should enjoy the same rights? The world should look to the continuation of this uprising as proof that it is a genuine national movement with its own genuine roots, which will ensure its success.

My country, which strongly condemns this heinous terrorist act, the act of assassinating the martyr Abu Jihad, reaffirms its firm support for the struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of its sole, legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization. My country strongly

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

condemns Israel's violation of the sovereignty of the sister Republic of Tunisia. My country looks forward to the Security Council shouldering the responsibilities imposed upon it by the very gravity of the crime perpetrated by Israel. The Security Council should condemn Israel for its act of aggression against the sister Republic of Tunisia and for perpetrating this act of terrorism against the leadership of the Palestinian people and take measures to prevent the repetition of such crimes.

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

Mr. RANA (Nepal): Mr. President, I have great pleasure in joining you and other members of the Council in welcoming His Excellency Mr. Mahmoud Mestiri, Foreign Minister of Tunisia, here in our midst. We have listened with attention to the Foreign Minister's presentation of the circumstances attending the assassination of Mr. Khalil al-Wazir, a senior leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and three other persons in the early hours of 16 April. While this act of terrorism is offensive in itself, the fact that it was conducted in violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Tunisia makes it all the more outrageous. We condemn such acts of terrorism and aggression strongly and unequivocally.

This is not the first time that Tunisia has been subjected to such an attack. We still remember similar armed aggression perpetrated against Tunisia in 1985 by Israeli defence forces. The Security Council is on record as having vigorously condemned that Israeli aggression. Moreover, resolution 573 (1985), adopted on that occasion, also expresses the unanimous determination of the Council to prevent a recurrence of such criminal acts and attacks.

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

Mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States is the sine qua non of relations between States and is the foundation on which the United Nations stands. The security of one State should not and cannot be built at the expense of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of another State. Such acts are contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, international law and the norms of international behaviour. We therefore strongly condemn the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia, a fellow Member of the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement and a country with which we share a deep commitment to peace and co-operation. We also join Tunisia in urging that the Security Council should ensure that such acts are not repeated in the future.

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

Similarly, the assassination of Mr. Khalil al-Wazir is a tragic event full of foreboding. It has further exacerbated the already tense and troubled situation in the occupied Arab territories. His death has, if anything, only reinforced the Palestinian resolve not to accept a future under continued Israeli occupation.

I offer my condolences to the members of the bereaved family and to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) on their great loss. The assassination has added urgency to the quest for a just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the problem of the Middle East.

The brutal murder has confronted the international community with the question of resort to political assassination as an instrument of policy. The murder of Abu Jihad is an act of terrorism. Terrorism becomes even more obnoxious when it is a conscious part of State policy. Nepal condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. We are deeply committed to General Assembly resolutions 40/61 and 42/159. In our own region the seven members of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) have taken a joint step towards the fight against terrorism. The SAARC Convention on Suppression of Terrorism is, in our view, a historic and hopeful step forward in combating the menace of terrorism.

In conclusion, may I add that the Tunisian request has raised two fundamental issues. One is to ensure adherence to the Charter principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, and the other is the urgent need to co-ordinate our efforts in combating international terrorism. These issues, though related to Tunisia in the present context, are of universal character and concern. Therefore the matter deserves very serious consideration and positive decision of the Council.

Mr. President, it is in this context that we are happy that the Council has the benefit of your very able and wise guidance. I wish to assure you of the full co-operation and support of my delegation.

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

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

Mr. SIDDIKY (Bangladesh): Mr. President, I am glad to be able to say that my delegation's trust in your ability to conduct this month's proceedings in the Council with great skill, expressed in my statement earlier this month, has been vindicated. You have done so admirably, and therefore truly deserve our plaudits.

We gather here with anguished hearts to deplore the loss of a valiant freedom fighter who fell to the dastardly act of terrorism last Saturday in Tunis. The reason why I am making this statement is not just to condemn the dastardly action perpetrated by the agents of the Zionist entity, the brutal assassination of Mr. Khalil al-Wazir, Abu Jihad, and three others, but also to urge upon this House that all must be done to stay the hand of Israel, so clearly responsible for this reprehensible crime, so that such heinous acts do not recur.

We have often heard the Palestinians being accused of terrorism. Attempts to associate their liberation struggle with terrorist activities are legion. We are all aware that this accusation is often made by some quarters, particularly by Israel, with a relentless regularity. However, by its act in Tunis last Saturday, Israel has exposed its hypocrisy even to its friends. The contempt the Israelis have displayed towards the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia is abominable. We deeply appreciate the valuable information provided to us by the Foreign Minister of Tunisia, His Excellency Mr. Mahmoud Mestiri, who has travelled such a great distance to be with us.

The Israeli action poses a threat to international peace and security. Israel has thus shown blatant disregard for Security Council resolution 573 (1985). This

(Mr. Siddiky, Bangladesh)

is yet another addition to the list of repugnant acts of State terrorism unleashed by Israel on its neighbours and the Palestinians. I refer to its past bombings of Tunis and installations in Iraq, and to its aggression against Lebanon. It is indeed ironic that we in the United Nations had to spend some months resisting the closure of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) Observer Mission to the United Nations, despite the absence of any wrong doing on their part, while those who are now obviously the true culprits remain unscathed. This is not how peace is going to be achieved in the Middle East.

Violence will breed violence, and this is never to be condoned. This madness must cease forthwith. If there are those who believe the martyrdom of Khalil al-Wazir and others in Tunis will stem the surge of the spirit of the Palestinians, they are mistaken. The upheaval in the occupied territories is a spontaneous uprising which, instead of being cowed down, will be provided additional impetus from that leader's death.

How much longer must the global community bear in silence the atrocities of Tel Aviv? If we do not act now, the slide to disaster will be inevitable.

We cannot bring Khalil al-Wazir and others who have been killed back to life. But surely we can prevent more lives from being snuffed out in violence and anarchy. Surely this is good enough a cause to muster the political will of all around this table.

The blood spilt in this glorious struggle for freedom the Palestinians have embarked upon cannot be allowed to go in vain. The Council must ensure that and act to prevent the loss of more innocent lives. Those guilty of violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia and committing those gruesome murders must be brought to book. Let us make an all-out effort to end violence in the Middle East. The only way to do this now is to make Israel withdraw from the

(Mr. Siddiky, Bangladesh)

occupied territories. Following this, the way to bring about a just, lasting and enduring peace to the region is to hold the Middle East Peace Conference envisaged in General Assembly resolution 38/58 C and reiterated by the General Assembly so often subsequently. It is heartening to note that the major Powers are taking interest in this. It is our cherished hope that we will reap benefits from the positive global ambiance flowing from increased super-Power understanding. We commend the efforts towards the solution of the crisis by the Secretary of State of the United States. It is our firm belief that for such endeavours to succeed the PLO must be allowed to participate in the peace efforts as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

There is no other way peace can come to that volatile region. There is no other way to ensure that justice can be done to the Palestinian people, who have suffered so long in such excruciating pain.

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

Count YORK von WARTENBURG (Federal Republic of Germany): Let me first of all extend a cordial welcome to Mr. Mahmoud Mestiri, Foreign Minister of Tunisia, a country with which my country enjoys excellent and very warm relations. I would like to express our deep sympathy to Tunisia which was the victim of a most condemnable terrorist act. This crime has provoked shock and abhorrence.

Let me also extend our warm sympathy to the Palestinian people, which has suffered a severe loss, and our condolences to the bereaved families.

Most of what we wanted to say on this matter has already been brought forward in this debate. Let me just state this: The assassination of Khalil al-Wazir, an act committed apparently out of political motives, is liable to exacerbate the situation in the occupied territories further and to put still more obstacles in the way of a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

My country condemns this political murder no less than other acts of terrorism. We regret the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia, in whose territory the assassination was perpetrated, and we vigorously condemn the assassination of Khalil al-Wazir, as well as all other acts of terrorism, by whomever and wherever committed - as the General Assembly formulated in its resolution 42/159.

Murder does not lead to solutions in the Middle East. It can only inflame further the already high tensions in the territories occupied by Israel. The situation in the occupied territories can only effectively and lastingly be changed for the better through a comprehensive settlement of the political conflict lying at its roots.

The most fundamental elements of such a settlement, I would like to recall here, are the right of Israel to exist within secure and recognized boundaries, the

(Count York von Wartenburg,
Federal Republic of Germany)

right to self-determination of the Palestinian people, and the renunciation of the threat or use of force - and this applies to all sides.

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

Mr. DOS SANTOS (Mozambique): May I at the very outset congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council and wish you the fullest success in the conduct of the deliberations during this month. Your professional background is a sure guarantee that a timely takeoff of this ship will take place and that the target will not be missed.

I would also like to congratulate your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia, for the exemplary manner in which he steered the work of the Council last month.

I wish to thank the Council for having allowed me to participate in this debate. In return I will offer my melodious voice.

I wish also to recognize the presence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia. Circumstances allow me neither to welcome him to New York nor to congratulate him on his comprehensive representation of the grisly act that took place in Tunis in the early hours of the morning of 16 April 1988.

The Security Council is meeting once again to consider an act of aggression and state terrorism perpetrated by Israel against Tunisia, a Member of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). My country views with utmost gravity the Israeli terrorist commandos' attack in Sidi Bou Said, resulting in the murder of an official of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Mr. Khalil al-Wazir, and three others. May I take this opportunity to express our most heartfelt condolences to and solidarity with the PLO, the Palestinian people and, through them, to the bereaved families. To the

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

Government of Tunisia, I want to convey the solidarity of the Government of Mozambique in the face of yet another violation and aggression perpetrated by Israel against their sovereignty.

This recent Israeli terrorist action is not an isolated act, but yet another link in the chain of numerous acts of aggression and State terrorism committed by Israel against sovereign States Members of the United Nations in general and against the Palestinian people in particular. In fact, this terrorist action must be seen in the light of a long list of previous acts by Israel which have involved the arrogant and unprovoked use of force, such as the occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, the Syrian Golan and Jerusalem, the raid against the Iraq nuclear facilities in 1981 and the aggression against and continuous occupation of Lebanon in 1982. It is indeed shocking and disturbing to see that Israel, after persistent and repeated violations of the sovereignty of its neighbours in the Middle East, has now chosen to carry similar actions far away from its region to North Africa, as witnessed by its bombing in Tunis in 1985 and the recent terrorist action.

My delegation cannot but vigorously condemn this aggression and acts of terrorism committed by Israel.

Unfortunately, although we are used to the increasing use of violence in the Middle East, this latest Israeli terrorist action, by virtue of its timing, characteristics and inevitable political consequences, takes on special and ominous gravity.

It is our strong belief that such acts against the Palestinian people, regardless of where they take place, only increase the cycle of violence. They will only increase the feeling of hatred and enmity in the entire region.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

Time and again grave concern has been expressed over the escalating cycle of violence in the Middle East. More than ever before it is now clear that there can be no end to violence without peace, and peace cannot be achieved except through a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

It is recognized that such a solution must be based on Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and the attainment by the Palestinian people of its right to self-determination and independence. It is also recognized that such a comprehensive and lasting solution can be achieved only through a concerted international effort under the auspices of the United Nations. We therefore attach particular importance to the early convening of the proposed international peace conference on the Middle East.

Therefore, the timing of this terrorist act by Israel could not have been worse. By committing this latest terrorist act Israel has shown once again that it is not seriously entertaining peace. While the entire international community is seriously exploring ways and means of achieving peace, Israel has chosen that precise moment to commit yet another act of aggression and an act of State terrorism. The motives behind this irrational behaviour are clear to all of us. These actions are aimed at frustrating the efforts of the international community peacefully to resolve the problem of the Middle East. Israel has once again shown proof of its arrogance and its lack of respect for the principles of the United Nations and international law.

It is a well-known fact that whenever the international community has sought to embark on a new initiative in the direction of a comprehensive solution to the Middle East question Israel has consistently frustrated those efforts through stepped-up repression in the occupied territories and aggression against its neighbours.

By its latest act of violation of the sovereignty of a State Member of the United Nations and the murder of a representative of the Palestinian people, Israel has shown that it is not satisfied with having displaced the Palestinian people and dispersed them throughout the world, that it is not satisfied with perpetrating

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

acts of aggression against its Arab neighbours, but that it will persist in pursuing its illusory goal of annihilating the Palestinian people and its sole, legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). But the Palestinians have demonstrated, beyond any shadow of a doubt in the last four decades, that the Israeli policies of repression, subjugation, forced exile and murder will not deter them from the struggle for the restoration of their inalienable rights to freedom and national independence.

The ongoing uprisings in the occupied territories, which have reached unprecedented levels in the last four months, must be viewed within this context. They cannot be interpreted as being a result of incitement by a single person, as they are being widely portrayed. Israel, more than anybody else, should realize that the uprisings are a direct result of its continuing occupation of Arab and Palestinian territories and the denial of their people's most basic rights to justice, peace and freedom. Only a comprehensive solution to these problems can bring peace to the occupied territories.

The policy of the iron-fist, might, power and beatings, with all its tragic and shameful consequences, which we are all passively witnessing, the murder of the genuine representatives of the Palestinian people, or the illegal practice of deportation will not bring about peace in the occupied territories. On the contrary, such actions will only increase the determination of the Palestinian people to struggle for self-determination and independence, regardless of the price to be paid. Events in the occupied territories speak for themselves. The murder of Abu Jihad will not bring peace and security to Israel. On the contrary, it rekindles the light of Jihad. Why pump more than 70 bullets into a man's body? Is the death of a man with fewer bullets less death than with more bullets?

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

By permanently violating the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent States and by systematically embarking on the practice of political murder, Israel has proved beyond any doubt that it practises terrorism. Unfortunately, that practice is not limited to the Middle East. A pattern can be seen. In our region, like Israel in the Middle East, racist South Africa has elevated terrorism to a State policy. Like Israel, racist South Africa has systematically committed acts of aggression against and occupation of neighbouring States; like Israel, racist South Africa has practised and openly supported terrorist acts in neighbouring States; like Israel, racist South Africa has pursued and physically eliminated the victims of oppression and occupation. Like Israel, which killed Abu Jihad in front of his two-year-old child, racist South Africa murdered a Mozambican married couple in front of their two-year-old child in Maputo.

In fact, in a desperate attempt to silence the resistance of the South African people against apartheid, racist South Africa has embarked, in an unprecedented manner, on an all-out campaign of international terrorism aimed at physically eliminating the legitimate representatives of the South African people. Thus we recently witnessed with dismay the cold-blooded murder of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) representative in Paris, the attempts on the lives of ANC representatives in Brussels and London, and the aggression against Botswana and the murder of its citizens together with a South African refugee. In Maputo on 7 April a South African refugee working in the Ministry of Justice miraculously survived, with severe injuries, when a powerful bomb exploded while he was trying to turn on the engine of his car.

It is no wonder that there are similarities between the irresponsible international behaviour of racist South Africa and Israel. After all, they are close allies, and their multifaceted collaboration is a well documented fact and

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

has for quite some time now been a source of understandable concern to our Organization.

My country, which is bitterly suffering from State terrorism being practised and supported by racist South Africa, is a staunch advocate of effective multilateral action against State terrorism. We are of the view that State terrorism should not go unpunished, unless we want our world to be governed by the law of the jungle. The United Nations, particularly this Council, must see to it in the interest of international peace and security that countries practising such heinous policies cannot get away scot free. Failure to do so will be tantamount to tacit approval of such unwarranted actions.

(Mr. Dos Santos, Mozambique)

The tragic events now taking place in the occupied territories and the danger of a further escalation of violence in the Middle East have made imperative, more so than ever before, the search for a just and comprehensive solution to the problem of the Middle East. Experience has shown us that the longer a conflict persists the greater are the chances of its escalation, with all the attendant consequences for international peace and security. The Security Council, having as its major mandate the maintenance of international peace and security, must do its utmost to make a positive contribution to the solution of this problem. The Security Council must spare us the sight of a two-year-old toddler trying to throw a stone at Israeli soldiers.

It is therefore regrettable that last week this Council was unable to adopt a resolution on the situation in the occupied territories. It is now widely recognised that the inability of the Security Council to take collective and positive measures whenever they are required has only led to more arrogance and to the repetition of the same or worse crimes by the perpetrators.

It is our sincere hope that this time the Security Council will not fail to see to it that justice prevails. The Security Council has an overriding obligation to come to the assistance of the Palestinian people and to demand that Israel cease its acts of aggression and terrorism.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Mozambique for the kind words he addressed to me.

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

Mr. BADAWI (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): First of all, Sir, I should like to congratulate you sincerely on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are especially gratified to see you guiding the work of the Council at a time when much is taking place on the international scene. You are a man of wisdom and the representative of a fraternal African country dedicated to the principles of non-alignment.

I wish to take this opportunity also to express our great appreciation to your predecessor, the Ambassador of Yugoslavia, for the wisdom and competence with which he presided over the work of the Council last month. It goes without saying that this was in keeping with the special role always played by his friendly country.

The Security Council is meeting today to consider an important case of the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a peace-loving State Member of the United Nations. Yesterday the Council heard a statement by Mr. Mahmoud Mastiri, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia, in which Israel was accused of being responsible for sending terrorist commandos from Israel to Tunisia to assassinate a Palestinian militant, an outstanding Palestinian leader: the martyred Mr. Khalil al-Wazir.

The irrefutable proof already submitted by the Tunisian Government ought to compel us all to condemn this Israeli act, which violated the rules of international law and all international practice agreed upon by civilized peoples and countries.

All those who are participating in the work of the Council today will surely recall that this is not the first time that Israel has attacked Tunisia and violated its territorial integrity, even though thousands of kilometres separate the two countries. In fact, on 1 October 1985 Israeli military aircraft bombed Hammam Plage, near Tunis, killing dozens of fraternal Tunisians and Palestinians

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

who had been forced by repeated Israeli aggression to leave their homes and settle in Tunisia.

At that time the international community, in Security Council resolution 573 (1985) of 4 October 1985, expressed its most vigorous condemnation of Israel's armed act of aggression against Tunisia. The international community considered it a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and international law and norms of conduct. Israel claimed that its aerial attack against Tunisia was an act of reprisal against Palestinians for killings in Cyprus it said had been carried out by Palestinians. But the fact is that in September and October 1985 the Middle East was the focus of active efforts to renew the peace process and pave the way towards an international peace conference with the participation of all parties, including the Palestinians, on an equal footing, through a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. The Israeli attack was aimed at eliminating Palestinian opposition and destroying legitimate heroic representatives of the Palestinian people.

Thanks to Divine Providence, Israel did not succeed in killing Yasser Arafat and his colleagues, but it achieved its other objective: the abortion of the peace process.

Today, information coming out of Israel is gradually revealing the facts behind the criminal attack: it was an act of reprisal for the killing of three Israeli workers at an Israeli nuclear facility in the Negev Desert.

Israel has had to face the fact that its efforts to hinder the peace process have failed and that serious attempts continue on all fronts to promote the peace process in the Middle East and reach a comprehensive peaceful solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

Israel has reverted to its customary practices by committing a terrorist act and assassinating one of the pillars of the Palestinian revolution with a view to thwarting the new efforts that threaten its plan to maintain its domination over the occupied Palestinian territories.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

It is no secret to anyone that the selection of this precise moment to carry out this terrorist attack is related to the fact that the occupied territories have in the past five months been the scene of unprecedented protests in which the Palestinians have demonstrated the authenticity of their revolution and their determination to achieve their right to self-determination. Israel has resisted their demands for independence and freedom and has, in disregard of international law and human rights, adamantly and violently opposed the uprising of the Palestinian people. It has killed Palestinians, destroyed their property and deported them from their homeland; forgetting the lessons of history and of the past, it has shown its true face to the world.

Israel has felt compelled to do something to satisfy the extremists in its own ranks who wish to pursue the policy of expelling Palestinians through the use of armed force. Its actions have been designed to appease such elements and unleash their terrorism. It is regrettable that Israel has learnt nothing from the past. The tragedy that has recently occurred is almost an exact repetition of similar actions Israel has carried out against the leaders of the Palestinian people and the symbols of their struggle, especially the killing of the Beirut martyrs, Kemal Nasser, Kemal Adwan and Yousef Al-Najar, in their homes in Beirut in April of 1973. However, the deaths of those martyrs on the field of battle will not destroy the Palestinian revolution or break the will of the people to make further heroic sacrifices.

In recent months Palestinian youths have taken the situation in hand and understood its key element - martyrdom for the sake of self-determination. We are fully convinced that the assassination of the martyr Abu Jihad will not discourage the Palestinian people, despite the repeated violation of Tunisia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, nor will it distract the Tunisian Government or people from supporting the fraternal Palestinian people.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

The international community must condemn this violation of the sovereignty of a State Member of the United Nations and reaffirm the validity of the Organization's dedication to human values and international law. The international community cannot tolerate a State that sets itself above the law or that considers itself to be its arbiter. We cannot condone the attitude of those who maintain that it is opportunistic to condemn Israel when it violates international law and that such condemnation might have negative results. Such a position can only encourage Israel in its obstinacy. It is high time that the international community represented in the Security Council made it clear to Israel that we are not prepared to condone such practices, which are in defiance of the international will, and that we will oppose them most firmly.

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

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

Mr. BIFFOT (Gabon) (interpretation from French): I should like to extend to you, Sir, the congratulations of the delegation of Gabon upon your assumption of the Council presidency for this month. Our congratulations go also to your predecessor, our colleague from Yugoslavia, who so brilliantly and conscientiously shouldered those responsibilities last month.

One fact is clear and undebatable: Mr. Khalil Al-Wazir has been killed, his body riddled with a hundred bullets.

To kill an enemy on the battlefield is usually viewed as a manifestation of military valour and honour - and I emphasize the word "military." To almost all peoples - I know of none here who would view things differently - it is a source of popular pride and national dignity. The confrontation between the Horatii and the Curiatii of Ancient Rome: that is to kill on the battlefield.

(Mr. Biffot, Gabon)

To murder an enemy for the purposes of defence and security, of achieving a desired absolute peace, is an act which, according to military ethics and national dignity and pride, brings dishonour, an act that is of a debatable social or ethical morality. Comparative history shows that opinions have differed considerably on this point and that there has almost never been unanimous approval or disapproval of murdering an enemy - of killing him for the purposes of defence, security or total peace.

(Mr. Biffot, Gabon)

But to riddle an enemy, a human being, with 100 bullets so as to kill him - even with only half that, 50 bullets - is an act that is universally described as monstrous. In other words, it is a monstrosity; in short, the act of a monster; an act perpetrated by a monster that makes us shudder; an act from which we recoil, particularly when we bear in mind that it was perpetrated in the very home of the victim.

That act strikes terror into our hearts and paralyzes us. That is so because from a moral, social and psychological standpoint it sows terror. That is why I, or any other member of this august assembly constituted here, cannot fail to classify among acts of terrorism - in terms of the way we understand it from the logical standpoint of our feelings - this act of riddling a human body with so many bullets.

The murder of Mr. Khalil al-Wazir is terrifying from a religious standpoint, that is, in terms of our religious beliefs. It is just as terrifying in an atheistic world, because there is a rock-solid, moralistic atheism that cannot allow itself to be stained by Darwinism or, a fortiori, machiavellism.

Today we deplore the death - more than that, the assassination; nay, the massacre - of a human being carried out in the presence of a woman and children. Whose children? Those of the victim. Who was that woman? The victim's spouse. To the end of their days those children will never forget; nor will the spouse ever be able to erase this spectacle from her memory. All of them have been marked for ever.

In summary, the assassination of Mr. Khalil al-Wazir is an act of terrorism. Those who have perpetrated that act are terrorists, nothing else. Those who have ordered the act are also terrorists.

(Mr. Biffot, Gabon)

My country, Gabon, deplores that act and vigorously condemns it. We extend to the bereaved families the assurances of our profound indignation and feelings of sympathy. We extend that sympathy to the great Palestinian family whose terror and pain we fully share.

The murder of Mr. Khalil al-Wazir has been committed in a sovereign country by killers, and their sponsors, who are not citizens of that sovereign country. Therefore, the act is further fraught with the consequences of an internationally proscribed crime, namely, the violation of a State and its sovereignty. The United Nations Charter has clearly been trampled underfoot. I repeat: the United Nations Charter has clearly been trampled underfoot.

The presence in the Council of His Excellency Mr. Mahmoud Mastiri, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia - to whom we express here our fraternal feelings - is a very clear indication of the importance the Tunisian Government attaches to this stain on its honour and respectability, for the second time in three years.

My country wishes to express through me its indignation. We offer our support to Tunisia and renew to all the parties concerned our continuing invitation to dialogue.

I shall conclude with the following eloquent statement by a wise man, His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo, a tireless pilgrim and messenger of peace:

"In perpetrating their act at a time when efforts are being made for a final settlement of the Palestine question, those responsible for this odious act have become the enemies of peace and will thus bear the heavy responsibility for this before God and history."

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Gabon for the kind words he addressed to me.

(The President)

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

Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): I should like first to welcome you, Sir, to the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your great diplomatic experience and profound knowledge will no doubt help you to discharge your responsibilities as President of the Security Council in the best possible way.

We should also like to express our gratitude to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia, Ambassador Pejic, for his skilful and effective guidance of the Council's busy schedule for the month of March.

The latest act of aggression by Israel committed on Tunisian territory against the sovereignty and integrity of that Arab country has rightly aroused indignation and condemnation the world over. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR finds full justification in the concern expressed by the victim of that terrorist act and its appeal to the Security Council to consider yet another crime committed by Israel as part of that country's policy of aggression and expansion in the Middle East and yet another link in the chain of crimes committed against Arab peoples.

The detailed statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia, Mr. Mestiri, and that by the Deputy Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations reaffirm Israel's direct involvement in the despicable murder of an outstanding Palestinian political figure, one of the leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Khalil al-Wazir. The Ukrainian SSR extends its deepest condolences to the Palestinian people and the Executive Committee of the PLO in connection with his tragic death.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

This senseless terrorist act prepared and carried out, as we have seen from the latest information provided by the mass media, by the Israeli secret service with the direct participation of the Israeli Chief of Staff, Mr. Shamron, can only lead to increased tension in the Middle East, where the situation has already reached the boiling point. The crime committed clearly shows Israel's intention to annihilate the most active representatives of the Palestinian people and thereby undermine the process of a just settlement of the Palestinian problem. The premeditated murder of a political figure in another country is an outright act of State terrorism which was roundly condemned by the United Nations General Assembly in resolutions 39/159, 40/61 and 42/159. This act was a flagrant violation of the norms of international law and of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. Israel's aggressive act has been committed in spite of Security Council resolution 573 (1985), adopted after the piratic attack of the Israeli Air Force on the suburbs of Tunis. The resolution demanded that Israel refrain from the threat or use of aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia.

Israel's act of State terrorism must be seen against the backdrop of events which have been taking place now for five months in the occupied Palestinian territories. How many times in recent months has the Security Council had to meet to discuss the critical situation in the Middle East? Several times this major United Nations body has demanded that Israel end its repression against the Palestinian population in those territories and the deportation of its peaceful inhabitants. Feelings of indignation and anger are increasing throughout the world over the repressive measures of the occupier and the inhuman suppression by the Israeli authorities of the actions taken by the Arab inhabitants to demand elemental human rights and freedoms.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

Information agencies daily broadcast statements made by political figures and organizations in the most varied countries of the world demanding that reprisals be ended. A clear example of this was the meeting yesterday of the Committee on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, at which all members, including the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, demanded an end to Israel's aggressive acts.

How have the Israeli authorities responded to such appeals? The position of open defiance, which Israel has flaunted in the face of all the civilized world, is cause for indignation. What is taking place today in the Israeli-occupied territories is one of the most cynical and unabashed violations of basic human rights, an insult to the national dignity of the Palestinians and to their religious feelings. It is an example of high-handedness and discrimination.

In occupying the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in 1967, Israel thought that a brutal social and economic yoke, accompanied by military and police terror, would paralyse the determination of the Palestinians to resist and would bring them to submission. Current events plainly show that such calculations were only an illusion.

A people which has never reconciled itself to enslavement is today writing new pages in the annals of the Palestinian liberation struggle, which has proceeded from isolated actions to become a mass democratic uprising encompassing all the occupied territories and all strata of the population. Virtually the entire world now supports the proposal to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East, which was made a few years ago. In fact, the level of support for such a conference has recently been growing steadily, and the need for such a conference, in view of the critical situation in the region, has become more urgently felt.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

In such circumstances, in the view of the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, it is important that the international community, through its collective efforts, undertake practical steps to prepare for such a conference and begin, for example, with the relevant preparatory work in the Security Council. Some basis for beginning such work, as we see it, has already been established. Unfortunately, not all in the Middle East consider the convening of an international conference an imperative need of our times. Israel and those that support it by vetoing draft resolutions in the Security Council which condemn the unlawful activities taken against the Palestinians in the occupied territories are simply unwilling to look the facts in the face and to recognize the crying need for and the inevitability of a just solution to the key problem of the Middle East situation, the Palestinian issue. It is necessary to rely not on armed force but on negotiations, not on efforts to dictate but on an equitable and business-like dialogue. Those are the policies that should underlie the search for an end to the impasse in the Middle East conflict. It seems to us that more favourable conditions for such a settlement have recently emerged.

The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, while strongly condemning Israeli aggression against Tunisia and the brutal murder of Khalil al-Wazir, calls upon the Security Council to take effective measures against the Israeli policy of State terrorism. We also urge the permanent members of the Security Council to take it upon themselves to begin to prepare for the international conference. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic hopes that all interested parties will bend their efforts to find a comprehensive and lasting settlement in the Middle East and a just solution to the Palestinian issue.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic for his kind words addressed to me. The next speaker is the representative of the United Arab Emirates. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. AL-SHAALI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): Sir, it gives my delegation great pleasure to see you presiding over the meetings of the Security Council for this month. You are a friend and you represent a friendly country. It is a source of pride for me personally because of your well-known courtesy, skill and fairness. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia for his competent conduct of the affairs of the Council last month.

Last Friday, while the Council was meeting to vote on a draft resolution dealing with one part of the Israeli policy of aggression, namely, its decision to deport a group of Palestinian citizens, the Israeli Government was busy hatching a further act of aggression against the sovereignty of another country and the commission of another crime. It was able to do so largely because this Council has been unable to adopt any resolution against it, not even one calling upon it to observe international conventions, such as the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

In the same context, and in his statement this morning before the Council, the representative of Lebanon announced that Israel had committed another act of aggression against some Lebanese cities. Thus, Israel never ceases its acts of aggression. Once it finishes one it begins another. It might be a coincidence, but we see that this aggressive Israeli policy has become very clear during the last eight years, namely, since 1980.

This Israeli aggression against sisterly Tunisia adds a new dimension to the discussions in the Security Council and the General Assembly on the meaning of aggression, terrorism and the sovereignty of States and their international commitments - especially their commitments to the United Nations Charter and to the treaties and conventions based on it, as well as to the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. This aggression reaffirms certain basic facts with regard to the policies of Israel and its international relations, as follows:

First, a State can commit terrorist acts; thus, no one can say that no country commits terrorism. Hence, when we say that there is State terrorism, we are speaking about realities and acts committed by certain countries directly. This adds further dimensions to our definition of terrorism.

Secondly, Israel is a terrorist State. It was based and built on terrorism, which it continues to practise in various forms. The fact that Shamir, a terrorist, is now Prime Minister of Israel - especially since his history is replete with crimes - reflects the reality of the Israeli State, its Zionist creed based on racial concepts, and its political and military structure based on what they call the long arm, which aims at striking at any possibility of social or economic development in the Arab region. This has been proved clearly by the 1981 attack on the Iraqi nuclear installation devoted to peaceful purposes. Thus, all

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

of us are called upon to review our concept of Israel and what it represents. Israel represents a great danger, not only to the Middle East but to the concept of international relations, especially in view of the fact that it still enjoys membership of the Organization, and more especially because of the fact that contrary to one of the basic conditions of the Charter, it is not a peace-loving State. Does the international community still entertain the idea of continuing to accept this country among its members?

Thirdly, during the past 40 years, since the establishment of Israel on the land of Palestine and the expulsion of its people, Israel and the Western countries and the Western media - and, regrettably, some members of the Council - have spoken about the security of Israel and secure borders for Israel. The question now is: whose security is threatened and by whom? During the past 40 years, since the establishment of Israel in the heart of the Arab region, it has never been proved that Israel's security was threatened. What has been proved is that Israel not only threatens the security of Arab countries but that it has carried out this threat.

The Arab region as a whole, not only the neighbouring countries, have been subjected to Israeli aggression, with the political support of America and American military hardware. If the security argument means anything, it means the manipulation of concepts.

On the basis of this security argument, Israel absorbed the territories of Palestine and other Arab countries, attacked Lebanon and invaded its capital, and still occupies part of its land. It attacked the Iraqi nuclear installation; and it attacked Tunisia in October 1985, when it assassinated the leaders of the Palestinian revolution. Israel has also carried out all manner of deportations

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against the Palestinians in the occupied territories. Israel has become the only nuclear State in the Middle East.

After today we simply do not want to hear anybody speaking about the security of Israel, because our understanding of this phrase and those who use it is to give legal cover to Israel to play havoc with our security.

Lastly, we are facing two closely related dilemmas. The first is that Israel is a State that is based on aggression and practises aggression. This is a violation of international customs and norms. This is an exception, as it was with nazism and as it is in the case of the South African racist régime.

These are the diseases and exceptions in mankind's history, a history based on common sense, human feelings and social justice. This exception can be absorbed, but the other problem is the way the international community deals with these exceptional and sick cases.

Anyone can imagine what the world today would be had the international community not closed ranks against nazism and put an end to it. It is a mistake for anyone to believe that Israel is merely a small country living on the assistance and aid given to it by some Western countries. Israel is the embodiment of much more than that. It is the embodiment of the Zionist creed which penetrates, and even controls, the destinies and basic decisions of some big countries. Thus, the danger it poses goes far beyond the Middle East region.

It is sufficient to note that the foreign policy of a super-Power like the United States of America has been devoted throughout the last eight years to the defence of the policies of Israel. Israel has enjoyed immunity in the Council, such as its permanent members do, without having to bear the responsibilities of membership. When the Charter gave some countries certain responsibilities for

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab
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international peace and security, it gave them the right of veto in order to prevent any arbitrariness in international relations. But the veto has been misused in a way that runs counter to the main purposes of the Charter - and this is the main dilemma facing the Council today.

My delegation strongly condemns this aggression and considers it an act of State terrorism perpetrated by Israel. It wishes to emphasize its solidarity with sisterly Tunisia in its just struggle and with the Palestinian people and the Palestinian resistance and to extend its condolences to the family of the martyr, Khalil al-Wazir, and the families of the other martyrs.

So far we do not have any information on the involvement of other States in this aggression. However, past precedents make us suspicious. The only thing that will prove whether this suspicion is justifiable or not will be the pattern of voting on the draft resolution before the Council.

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

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

Mr. BASENDWAH (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. President, I thank you and the other members of this Council for responding to my request to participate in the debate on the issue now before you.

Allow me, Sir, to congratulate you personally on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month and to express my full confidence in your ability to preside over the deliberations of this important Council with skill and wisdom.

At the same time, I would like, through you, Mr. President, to commend your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia, for his able presidency last month.

The Security Council, after only a few days, is convening to consider yet another crime of the Zionist Israeli leadership, the usurper of the homeland of the Arab Palestinian people. I do not believe anybody has any doubt about the seriousness, and indeed the danger, of this heinous crime: the assassination of the Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the Palestinian revolution, a member of the Central Committee of the Fatah Movement, the great Arab Palestinian Khalil al-Wazir, known as Abu Jihad, on the morning of last Saturday, 16 April, in his home in one of the suburbs of Tunis, in front of his wife and young child, by a gang of professional killers and terrorists of the Israeli Intelligence Service.

That assassination is yet another testimony of the fact that the Israeli régime is one which practices international terrorism in flagrant defiance of this international Organization and the world.

(Mr. Basendwah, Yemen)

It is not strange, because Israel, as everyone knows, was based essentially on terrorism. Indeed, some of its previous and current leaders were themselves at the head of well-known terrorist gangs, to the point that some of them were prohibited from visiting certain States, until that prohibition was lifted under considerable pressure from the world Zionist movement. I think that Begin himself was prohibited from visiting Britain, for example.

There is no doubt that this inhuman crime represents a flagrant act of aggression against the territory of an independent African Arab State, Member of the United Nations. It is doubly serious for that reason, and therefore it requires that the Council condemn the perpetrator of that crime, which, most regrettably, is a Member of this Organization. That crime indeed calls upon the Council to expel that Member from the Organization to prevent the world from becoming a jungle in which the security and territorial integrity of independent States are vulnerable to the crimes of outside parties.

Israel perpetrated its crime in Tunis at the time when the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), represented by its leader and others in Cyprus and elsewhere, was trying to solve the problem of the hijacked Kuwaiti aircraft.

So who is perpetrating terrorism here? Is it the PLO, whose leader has condemned acts of terrorism? Or is it Israel, which, after killing and wounding innocent Palestinians in the occupied territories on a daily basis, recklessly proceeded to dispatch a gang of professional killers to Tunisia to kill a militant Palestinian leader, whose only objective was to liberate his country from the claws of Israeli occupation.

Perhaps Israeli wrongly believed that killing the great martyr Khalil al-Wazir in Tunis, which is so far from Palestine, would put an end to the wave of popular revolution in occupied Palestine, that it would frighten the leadership of the

(Mr. Basendwah, Yemen)

Palestinian people in exile. However, as events in the last few days have shown, that heinous crime will only feed the flames of that revolution until the victory of the Palestinian people. It will only make its heroic leadership more determined to continue the struggle whatever the number of martyrs, for the Palestinian people is capable of producing and generating more leaders every day.

The Palestinian people resorted to armed struggle as a matter of right: it is attempting to liberate its national soil, as is the right of every people whose land is occupied.

As for the colonizer, like any other colonial country, Israel does not have the right to kill innocent citizens, nor indeed does it have the right to assassinate the Palestinian leadership, whether in Palestine or outside.

Israel's responsibility for the crime of assassinating the brave Palestinian leader Khalil al-Wazir is reaffirmed by all the available evidence and testimony. Furthermore, the methods used in Tunis are very similar to those used earlier in Beirut, Limassol, and other cities, in the crimes committed against other well-known Palestinian leaders.

Indeed, the silence or gloating on the part of Israeli leaders, together with evidence that the crime had been planned by the Israeli Cabinet proves beyond the shadow of a doubt Israel's direct involvement in its commission.

This Council, which is responsible for the peace and security of the world, bears responsibility for preventing the soil of independent States from becoming arenas for international terrorism. The Council must take strong measures against Israel. If the Council fails to decree the appropriate pre-emptive punishment against the real criminal, a State Member of this Organization, the Council would be giving its blessing to terrorism, in which case the assassination of Abu Jihad and other crimes committed by Israel's criminal leaders would indeed be punished by the militant, free Palestinians.

(Mr. Basendwah, Yemen)

Finally, I hope that the draft resolution will not fail to point the finger of blame against the true criminal here.

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

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

Mr. TURKMEN (Turkey): May I first offer my congratulations, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of April. I am confident that your diplomatic skills and wisdom will enable you to guide the deliberations of the Council towards resourceful and constructive conclusions at a particularly critical time. I also pay tribute to Ambassador Pejic, who served as President of the Council in March with remarkable distinction and efficiency.

The Foreign Minister of Tunisia, who, as a colleague of ours for many years, has won our admiration and profound esteem, explained clearly and convincingly to the Council the circumstances under which Tunisia was once again the target of terrorist actions, in violation of its sovereignty and territorial integrity. As in 1985, we have witnessed with consternation and exasperation the deliberate use of force against a country unanimously respected for its constant quest for peace, conciliation and international co-operation in its region and in the world. We cannot but strongly condemn the propensity to flout every principle of international law and morality for the vindication of a misguided perception of national interest which is impervious to the national interests and rights of all others. Such policies can only be counter-productive to their proponents and hamper urgently needed peace initiatives in the Middle East.

On October 1985, following the attack against the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Tunisia, our representative stated in the Security Council:

"It is not possible for my Government to tolerate the Israeli military action against Tunisia. We strongly condemn that action, which violates Tunisian sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is indeed shocking and disturbing to see that Israel, after persistent and repeated violation of the

(Mr. Tur kmen , Tur key)

sovereignty of its neighbours in the Middle East, has now chosen to carry similar actions to North Africa, more than halfway across the Mediterranean."

(S/PV.2611, p. 13)

Our position remains the same. We deplore and stigmatize the brutal and odious murder of Khalil al-Wazir, an inspiring leader of the noble Palestinian cause. There can be no greater mistake than to assume that his death will slacken the valiant struggle of the Palestinian people against cruel oppression and for self-determination and national dignity. The indomitable courage of the Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank must have demonstrated to all who still had doubts that there can be no lasting solution to the Middle East conflict unless justice is restored and the legitimate rights and interests of all parties are recognized.

Turkey has for a very long time stressed that determined action is indispensable against terrorism, whatever its causes or proclaimed motives. State-sponsored terrorism is even more intolerable and outrageous. Terrorism thrives on lack of resolve and selective indulgence.

I wish to reiterate the sympathy of my Government with the bereaved family of Abu Jihad and to the leadership of the PLO.

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

The next speaker is the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. KITTIKHOUN (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (interpretation from French): My delegation is very pleased to see you, Sir, presiding over the Council this month. The wise and competent manner in which you have presided over the Council's deliberations so far promises success in the consideration of this question, which we regard as being particularly important.

I also wish to take this opportunity sincerely to congratulate the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia on the efficient way in which he conducted the Council's proceedings in the busy month of March.

In addition, the Lao delegation would like to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for enabling us to take part in the debate.

The Security Council is once again called upon to consider a situation created by renewed deliberate aggression launched by Israel against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Tunisia. The international community will recall Security Council resolution 573 (1985), which, inter alia, demanded that Israel refrain from perpetrating acts against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States. Despite that international verdict, on Saturday 16 April 1988 at 1.30 a.m., a commando of terrorists entered the home of Mr. Khalil al-Wazir, Abu Jihad - a member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) - in the locality of Sidi Bou Said, in the northern suburbs of Tunis, and murdered him in the presence of his wife and daughter.

According to an Agence France Presse report on 18 April, the United States television network NBC confirmed that the Israeli Cabinet had voted to do away with Abu Jihad, the PLO No. 2, who was killed at his home in Tunis. To date, while most Israeli authorities have refrained from commenting on Mr. Wazir's assassination, Israel's Trade Minister, Ariel Sharon, has boldly advocated the elimination of other Palestinian leaders, according to The New York Times on 19 April. Moreover,

(Mr. Rittikhoun, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

the preliminary results of the inquiry conducted by the responsible Tunisian services have contributed to establishing Israel's involvement in that criminal, odious act.

The international community is indignant over this assassination of a PLO political leader, which was organized in cold blood by the Israeli Government. At an emergency meeting on 21 April the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement strongly condemned this Israeli terrorist attack on Tunisia, an independent, sovereign country, Member of the United Nations and of the Non-Aligned Movement.

This terrorist action is bound to lead to renewed violence and further to aggravate the already explosive situation in the occupied territories. What is more, it will divert the problem of the Middle East from the path of a political solution, which the international community firmly advocates.

(Mr. Kittikhoun, Lao People's
Democratic Republic)

The time has come for those who strongly advocate the elimination of political leaders to understand that such inadmissible practices can only sully their own image. No one can destroy the struggle of a people by eliminating its political leaders, for when a people decides to wage a just struggle nothing can stop it.

In perpetrating this odious crime against the Palestinian people - a crime whose dangerous consequences no one can predict - Israel attacked Tunisia and violated its territorial integrity and sovereignty with total disregard for the most basic norms and principles of international law. The Lao Government and people stand in solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, for the attainment of its inalienable national rights. In that spirit, and in view of the incorrigible behaviour of the Israelis, my delegation believes that the Security Council should take resolute measures to put an end once and for all to this practice of State terrorism. All States without exception must make their full contribution to the international community's tireless efforts to persuade Israel never again to resort to acts that run counter to international law and practice.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic for the kind words he addressed to me.

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

Mr. ZEPOS (Greece): We are particularly pleased to see the representative of a friendly African State presiding over the Security Council in a manner worthy of the noble traditions of his great country, Zambia. I wish to extend to you, Sir, my warmest congratulations and the assurance of my personal esteem. I would also request you to allow me to pay a tribute to the exemplary way

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

in which the business of the Council was conducted last month by your predecessor, Ambassador Pejic of Yugoslavia. With his country, our neighbour and oldest friend, we have shared a lot, in good and in difficult times.

Following upon the letter dated 19 April 1986 from the Permanent Representative of Tunisia, the Security Council is again seized of critical issues related to the recurrence of acts of terrorism and of the violation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of an independent State. Tunisia having been the target of these abhorrent acts, it is all the more significant that the Tunisian Foreign Minister has personally sought to have the Security Council take action in the most appropriate manner. I wish here to reassure His Excellency Mr. Mahmoud Mestiri of Tunisia of my Government's strongest feelings of solidarity with Tunisia at this difficult moment.

The Greek Government has consistently and firmly condemned all acts of terrorism in all circumstances. It has condemned in unequivocal terms the murder of Khalil al-Wazir, a leading member of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), in Tunis on 16 April, in what is clearly considered to be a terrorist act. The Prime Minister of Greece, Mr. Andreas Papandreu, has stressed that such acts undermine the peace efforts in the Middle East and moreover raise questions not only about their physical authors but about their moral ones as well.

Time will tell: It will expose those responsible for this hideous act. We hope that the international community will hold them fully and effectively accountable for their crime. In carrying out their task, the perpetrators of the murder acted in a manner going beyond their heinous act itself. The sovereignty and security of Tunisia have been violated, and my Government cannot fail to express its concern at these extremely grave consequences.

(Mr. Zepos, Greece)

In 1985, Tunisia was the victim of another act of aggression. At that time Greece immediately reacted, condemning that act in no uncertain terms. It certainly cannot fail to do so again, and it is doing so now.

The cycle of violence we have witnessed in recent days in Tunisia and elsewhere in the region is a constant reminder of the imperative need to find a solution to the crucial underlying problem: the situation in the Middle East. That problem is almost as old as our Organization. My country's position on this is well known and has been consistent all these years.

In conclusion, I should like to extend to the Government and the people of Tunisia, to the Palestinian people and to the family of Khalil al-Wazir the profound sympathy of my Government.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Greece for the kind words he addressed to me.

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

Mr. MANZOU (Zimbabwe): The delegation of Zimbabwe is delighted to see you, Sir, presiding over the affairs of the Security Council this month. Zambia and Zimbabwe are bound together not only by national, cultural and historical bonds, but also by links of close co-operation in fighting poverty and the evil system of apartheid in our sub-region. Your proven diplomatic skills and your renowned personal qualities give us full confidence that you will guide the proceedings of the Security Council in an outstanding manner.

Permit me, Mr. President, to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Fejic, Permanent Representative of friendly Yugoslavia, a founding and active member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, for the exemplary manner in which he guided the work of the Council last month.

(Mr. Manzou, Zimbabwe)

Once again the Israeli régime, already condemned and castigated by the vast majority of the international community for its iron-fist policies in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, has demonstrated its persistent and arrogant contempt for the basic tenets of international law, the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the relevant decisions of the Security Council. Once again, in total disregard of the fundamental rules that govern the conduct of relations between and among States, rules which demand respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity, Israel has launched yet another deliberate attack against peace-loving Tunisia, this time brutally assassinating Mr. Abu Jihad, Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and other Palestinian and Tunisian nationals.

There can be no justification whatsoever for such barbaric acts by the Israeli régime. The Government and people of Zimbabwe, and, indeed, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, condemn in the strongest terms possible this latest Israeli aggression against Tunisia and the Palestinian people. Addressing this grave issue, the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement, meeting yesterday in urgent session, vehemently condemned

"the terrorist assault perpetrated by Israel during the early hours of 16 April 1988 against Tunisia, violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of this State Member of the Movement and of the United Nations, by attacking under cover of darkness the residence of Mr. Khalil al-Wazir, 'Abu Jihad', Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the Palestine Liberation Organization, brutally assassinating him and other Palestinian and Tunisian nationals by means of an Israeli commando unit estimated to number no less than 30, supported by sophisticated naval and aerial coverage."

(Mr. Manzou, Zimbabwe)

Further, the Bureau

"condemned this repeated act of State terrorism against a hospitable and peaceful sovereign State Member of the United Nations in total disregard of Security Council resolution 573 (1985), which demanded that Israel refrain from perpetrating such acts of aggression and requested the States Members of the United Nations to take measures to dissuade Israel from resorting to such acts against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States. The Bureau expressed its support and solidarity with the people and Government of Tunisia and the Palestine Liberation Organization in the face of this blatant act of aggression and its dangerous consequences."

The Israeli attack on Tunisia aimed at assassinating Abu Jihad is part and parcel of the Tel Aviv régime's campaign of State terrorism against the PLO, the Palestinians in the occupied territories and against the Arab front-line States. Like its mentor in Pretoria, which has heightened its campaign of assassinating the leaders of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and perpetrating acts of aggression and State terrorism against the independent States of southern Africa, the Tel Aviv régime desperately hopes that by eliminating the PLO leadership and attacking the Arab front-line States it can undermine the popular uprising of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. The régime is indeed mistaken and no doubt has failed to learn from recent history.

It is a matter of public record that since December of last year Israel has tried countless illegal and brutal practices in an attempt to destroy the popular uprising in the occupied territories. Earlier on, we witnessed Israel's ruthless campaign of breaking the bones of innocent Palestinian men, women and children and the use of live ammunition against peaceful demonstrators, acts that were roundly condemned by the Council. When those brutal acts failed to deter the oppressed Palestinians, the Tel Aviv régime recently embarked on the renewal of its illegal

(Mr. Manzcu, Zimbabwe)

policy of deportation. Prime Minister Shamir was recently quoted in The New York Times as saying that deportations were necessary because they were probably the most severe form of punishment Israel could employ and, hence, one of its best weapons for deterring Palestinian political activism. As Gadi Yatziv, an Israeli parliamentarian, stated:

"It means that we actually recognize, without admitting it, that the Palestinians' love of their land is so deep and so strong that the greatest pain we can inflict on them is disconnecting them from it. If that is so, then trying to fight their uprising with simple police methods will be fruitless because we are dealing with a deeply rooted nation and national will."

Indeed, Yatziv was correct. As with any other people, the Palestinians' love for their land is so deep and so strong that even the most brutal police methods and illegal deportations will not shake it. No amount of brute force or violence can stifle the will of the Palestinian people to be free. The breaking of the bones of old men, women and school-children did not deter the Palestinians from fighting for their national right to self-determination. The recent brutal Israeli measures will not work either. If anything, those measures will strengthen the Palestinian people's resolve to be free to determine its own destiny.

That those who were victims of the Holocaust could, barely five decades later, become leaders in perpetrating genocidal acts against another people is the great enigma of our times. The Israeli authorities should be the last to be expected to have such a short memory and to indulge in the inhuman practices of wiping Arab villages from the face of the earth and treating Palestinians like grasshoppers - especially since Israel itself continues to enjoy the status of a special case in the world following the Holocaust.

(Mr. Manzou, Zimbabwe)

The international community is in duty bound to compel Israel to stop its genocidal acts in the Middle East. It is the hope of my delegation and other members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries that the Council will once again condemn in the strongest terms possible the acts of aggression and State terrorism perpetrated against Tunisia and the PLO and that the Council will take effective and appropriate steps to ensure that such acts are not repeated.

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

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

Mr. AL-SHAKAR (Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic): I should like at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, upon your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. I am convinced that your vast experience and diplomatic skills will allow you to guide the work of the Council effectively and successfully. I should also like to express our gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Pejic, the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia, for the exemplary way in which he presided over the Council's work during the month of March. My thanks go also to you and the other members of the Security Council for allowing me to participate in the Council's deliberations on the item on its agenda.

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

Once again the Security Council has convened to consider a barbaric act of aggression perpetrated by Israel against the territory of a peace-loving State Member of the United Nations, Tunisia, with which we maintain fraternal ties.

Yesterday, His Excellency Mr. Mahmoud Mestiri, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia, set forth in detail proof of the Zionist act committed by Israel against Tunisia resulting in the murder of martyr Khalil al-Wazir, Abu Jihad, one of the principal leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), along with a Tunisian citizen and two guards.

Once again Israel has flagrantly and most seriously violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia, a country with which we have fraternal ties. This act is totally proscribed by international law. Israel's violation of Tunisia's sovereignty and territorial integrity has triggered indignation and deserves the condemnation of the entire international community.

In the light of that cowardly act resulting in the assassination of Khalil al-Wazir, Israel's aggression against Tunisia once again bears witness to the policy of State terrorism pursued by Israel against Arab States in general and the Palestinian people in particular.

Israel's aggression against Tunisia is no isolated act in the annals of the region's history; indeed, the region's history abounds with similar acts perpetrated by Israel against Tunisia and other Arab countries. We shall always recall the act of aggression against Tunisia perpetrated by Israel in October 1985.

By the assassination of Khalil al-Wazir Israel sought to bring to nought the popular uprising in the occupied Arab territories that has brought the entire world face to face with the stark facts of Israeli occupation and oppression, facts which make clear the Zionist occupation and the designs hatched by Israel against Arab peoples.

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

Khalil al-Wazir, Abu Jihad, has by his death joined the list of martyrs who have fallen in the course of the Palestinian people's struggle. The only thing about his loss that consoles us is the very fact of the audacious popular uprising, which is now in its fifth month as we speak, in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. This uprising is still under way, and the Palestinian people there are more determined than ever to stand up to the Zionist occupation authorities and to regain their legitimate rights, especially the right to self-determination and to establishing an independent State on their own territory, whatever the cost.

The people and the Government of Bahrain have strongly condemned this barbaric act perpetrated by Israel against Tunisia's sovereignty and the killing of the militant PLO fighter Khalil al-Wazir, Abu Jihad. We stand shoulder to shoulder with our Palestinian brothers in this hour of their grievous loss.

We also voice our deep conviction that Israel will not manage, whatever its power and might and no matter its threats, via assassination and terrorism to annihilate and crush the popular uprising. It will not stop the popular uprising of the Palestinian people against Zionist occupation which has been visited upon them for over 20 years now.

The leaders of Israel have always mistakenly believed that force and military superiority could impose a peace dictated along Israeli lines and that Israel's force and terrorism would indeed allow it to pursue its expansionist, terrorist policy throughout the Middle East and thereby break the Palestinian people's legitimate resistance.

The Middle East has experienced and will continue to experience constant tension so long as Israel denies Arab legitimate rights, particularly the right of the Palestinian people to their own homeland, on their own soil, and so long as it

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

continues its arbitrary terrorist and aggressive practices. It will continue to fail.

We express the conviction that a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem is impossible unless it includes a just settlement of the Palestinian question in all its ramifications.

Israel's violation of Tunisia's integrity and sovereignty for a second time - despite Security Council resolution 573 (1985) of 4 October 1985, which demands that Israel refrain from perpetrating such acts of aggression against Tunisia's sovereignty and territorial integrity - shows its contempt for the Council's authority. My delegation therefore calls upon the Council to shoulder its responsibility under the provisions of the United Nations Charter, adopt a firm stand in the face of this flagrant act of aggression, condemn Israel in the strongest possible terms and take the effective measures provided by the Charter to dissuade it from perpetrating such crimes in the future.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Bahrain for the kind words he addressed to me.

I should like to inform the Council that I have just received letters from the representatives of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Sudan 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. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) and Mr. Adam (Sudan) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

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

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of my delegation, I should like at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. Since you represent a fraternal African country, your presidency is special to me and my delegation. I am confident that, given your well-known skills, your presidency will promote the objectives of the United Nations and respect for its Charter.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

I should like also to congratulate your predecessor, the representative of friendly Yugoslavia, who presided over the Council last month in an exemplary manner.

The Council is convened today to examine, as it has examined before, the continued Israeli aggression against an Arab nation. The Council has discussed Zionist aggression against Baghdad and Zionist aggression against Tunisia, and once again it is discussing another Zionist aggression against Tunisia. The target of this Zionist aggression was the Palestinian cause in order to carry out the Zionist policy of liquidating that struggling people.

The Foreign Minister of Tunisia made a statement before the Council in which he presented full evidence that the Zionist terrorist entity was responsible for that aggression. In view of our long experience, we do not even need that ample evidence. Aggressive by nature, the Zionist entity continues to disregard the resolutions of the United Nations, the Charter and international law. While the Council is discussing the aggression against Tunisia, the Zionist entity is also committing aggression by air against Lebanon, adding new martyrs to the long list of Palestinian martyrs. The martyrdom of Abu Jihad in Tunisia is only a link in a chain of events, only one name in a long list of martyrs of the Palestinian people. Despite the unanimous international condemnation of that act, the Zionist entity's disregard of all international laws and customs will continue as long as the international community fails to take the necessary practical measures.

Let us call what took place in Tunisia by its real name: State terrorism. What is terrorism then? It is an act of direct aggression aimed at perpetrating the crime of murder. This is something we have become accustomed to expect from

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

the Zionist entity. A whole people has been displaced, is living in camps and is still being killed. The martyrdom of Abu Jihad is only, as I mentioned before, a link in the chain of the struggle of the Arab nation. The blood of Abu Jihad and his countrymen, the blood of the other martyrs who fell in brotherly Tunisia, will only increase the determination of the Arab nation and add further flames to the uprising in the occupied lands until the occupation ends and until the Palestinian people is able once again to return to its land and regain its legitimate rights.

A resolution might be adopted. The Council has a draft resolution before it; the veto may also be used once again against that draft resolution. But despite its weakness in that it is only an expression of international condemnation, it will be one of many resolutions adopted by the United Nations. The question is: what can we do now? I think that our experience with nazism and fascism points the only way: the whole world rallied to the struggle against nazism and fascism. Today the world is facing another danger represented by the racist-Fascist Zionist entity. We must join forces and fight it.

On the one hand, Israel's disregard of international resolutions is a matter of record; it needs no further evidence, no further words of expression or any resolutions. Those resolutions may have been strong in their condemnations, but the Zionist entity makes no bones about rejecting and disregarding all international resolution. I have seen the press release issued by that entity concerning the convening of this Council.

No words, no matter how strong, can express the vehemence of our condemnation of this act of aggression against Tunisia. Let me reaffirm to the Foreign Minister of Tunisia our full support of the people and Government of Tunisia in the face of that aggression. We reaffirm also our support for the heroic Palestinian people.

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(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

We shall not express condolences because we console ourselves in the martyrdom of Abu Jihad, convinced as we are that his blood will not have been shed in vain and that the enemy will pay the price. Its power, no matter how strong, will come to an end. History has no mercy. Just as we put an end to nazism and fascism, Zionism and aggression also will come to an end. We are an Arab nation.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan
Arab Jamahiriya)

We are an Arab nation. Whatever may be the weakness that we are now facing, we are alive, able and capable. Whoever reads history is aware of this fact. Those who support the Zionist entity is one way or another now recognize that it is high time to become practical and logical. Terrorism is terrorism, whether by Shamir or Botha in South Africa.

Acts of killing against the Palestinian people will never be different from those perpetrated in any other place against any other people. The supporters of the Israeli entity should recognize the fact that it is high time to tell the enemy to put an end to his aggression. One has to be practical and realistic. One cannot fight terrorism and yet at the same time encourage the Zionist entity to commit terrorism. One cannot struggle against international terrorism while supporting those who are, in an organized, official and collective manner, committing these acts of terrorism.

One day everyone will recognize that Zionism has become a danger not only to the Palestinian and Arab nation but to humanity as a whole. The Council has a heavy responsibility and is held accountable for the persistence of these acts of killing and terrorism against the Palestinian people. There is now more than ever a need for prompt measures to stop this aggressor and its acts that run counter to international laws and customs.

There is no need for further evidence beyond the resolutions which have already been adopted in the General Assembly and the Security Council condemning Zionist aggression. It is high time to implement - even for once in our history - chapter VII of the Charter, the only measure that will ensure putting an end to terrorism and the acts of killing to which the Palestinian people and the Arab nation are subjected as has happened to sisterly Tunisia.

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

There are no further speakers on my list. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue its consideration of the item on its agenda will take place on Monday, 25 April, at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.

