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# Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.2866 8 June 1989

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Thursday, 8 June 1989, at 3.30 p.m.

#### President: Mr. PICKERING

(United States of America)

Members:	Algeria	Mr. DJOUDI
	Brazil	Mr. NOGUEIRA-BATISTA
	Canada	Ms. THOMSEN
	China	Mr. WANG Guangya
	Colombia	Mr. PEÑALOSA
	Ethiopia	Mr. HAGOSS
	Finland	Mr. TORNUDD
	France	Mr. BROCHAND
	Malaysia	Mr. HASMY
	Nepal	Mr. RANA
	Senegal	Mr. LY
	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. SMIRNOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and	
	Northern Ireland	Mr. BIRCH
	Yugoslavia	Mr. PEJIC

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

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

LETTER DATED 31 MAY 1989 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SUDAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/20662)

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item, I invite the representatives of Bahrain, Bangladesh, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Israel, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Yemen to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; I invite the Permanent Observer of Palestine to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Shakar (Bahrain), Mr. Mohiuddin (Bangladesh), Ms. Florez Prida (Cuba), Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Badawi (Egypt), Mr. Bein (Israel), Mr. Kagami (Japan) Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Shah Nawaz (Pakistan), Mr. Al-Kawari (Qatar), Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Al-Masri (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Ghezal (Tunisia), Mr. Oudovenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) and Mr. Sallam (Yemen) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; Mr. Terzi (Palestine) 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 Afghanistan, the German Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritania and Zimbabwe in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance 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 conformity 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. Roshan-Rawaan (Afghanistan), Mr. Kutschan (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Ould Mohamed Mahmoud (Mauritania) and Mr. Tsokodayi (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

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

The first speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

<u>Ms. FLOREZ PRIDA</u> (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. I also congratulate your predecessor, Sir Crispin Tickell, on his skilful conduct of the discussions during the month of May, in particular for his efforts in implementation of General Assembly resolution 43/233, adopted on 20 April 1989, which clearly

"Requests the Security Council to consider with urgency the situation in the occupied Palestinian territory with a view to considering measures needed to provide international protection to the Palestinian civilians in the Palestinian territory occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem".

(General Assembly resolution 43/233)

Plainly, we are confronted with a policy intended not only to flout the most basic rights of the Palestinians in the territories occupied by Israel, but also, and all the more serious, to jeopardize the very basis of their survival in those territories.

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#### (Ms. Florez Prida, Cuba)

We have noted with alarm the intensification of repressive measures adopted by the occupying authorities, which have resulted in the deaths of dozens of civilians, injuries to hundreds of others and the imprisonment of thousands, in violation of the most fundamental norms of law. And of what were these dead, injured and gaoled guilty? Were they guilty of fighting against freedom, of imposing a repressive régime upon an entire people or of preventing others from recovering their legitimate national rights? If, in the eyes of the occupying authorities, they were guilty of something, is it not of fighting for freedom, standing up to the actions of a repressive usurping Government and struggling to recover their legitimate national rights, so extensively violated?

The Palestinians in the occupied territories, faced with the deterioration of their living conditions and systematic attacks by the Zionist authorities, have resorted to the <u>intifadah</u>, their legitimate popular rebellion against oppression. Since the earliest times peoples have supported the legitimacy of fighting an oppressor, in particular when the oppressor is an alien occupier.

Who among us here would have dared to oppose or have failed to appreciate the activities of the French <u>maquis</u>, the Italian <u>partigiani</u> or the heroic Russian guerrillas when they took up arms against the Hitlerite hordes occupying their territories? Is there any difference between the goal of freedom pursued by those freedom fighters and the objectives that are currently being by the Palestinian people in the occupied territories? The only difference may be that the Palestinian freedom fighters of the <u>intifadah</u> are weaponless, apart from their bare hands or the sticks and stones they can pick up from the paths and fields of their long-suffering land and baring their chests to the onslaught of Zionist barbarism, which spares neither the elderly nor defenceless children are spared.

#### (Ms. Florez Prida, Cuba)

This is what prompted the General Assembly to approve resolution 43/21, which condemned Israel's policies and practices against the Palestinian people and demanded that Israel abide immediately and scrupulously by the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. That resolution also recognized the need for increased support and aid for, and solidarity with, the Palestinian people under Israeli occupation.

Such assistance should be proffered not only to put a halt to the repression of that people and to ensure respect for its most sacred religious and cultural convictions, but to compel the Zionist authorities to give up their systematic policy of uprooting Palestinians from the land of their birth. Indeed, it is a proven fact that the policy pursued by the Zionist forces is part and parcel of a preconceived plan which, through the use of repressive legislation, mass arbitrary detentions, torture, uprooting of individuals and the destruction of homes, seeks to sap the Palestinian people's will to resist and to strengthen the warped concept that the territories occupied in 1967 must now be considered to be part of Israel.

Such practices as confiscation and expropriation of Palestinian lands, restrictions on the use of water, systematic exploitation of the Palestinian labour force, the closure of schools in parts of the occupied territory, the altering of patterns of trade in the occupied Palestinian territories through the imposition of restrictions on commerce and, in particular, the mass establishment of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, all have the same objectives.

For all these reasons it is essential that the Security Council, pursuant to the request made by the Assembly, adopt urgent measures for the protection of the Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories and for the full and complete implementation of the Fourth Geneva Convention. The time has come for practical

# (Ms. Florez Prida, Cuba)

steps in this regard. The time has come for the permanent member of the Security Council, the United States, that has systematically impeded all initiatives to assist the Palestinian people, to cease its obstructionist approach.

Likewise, with a view to halting this shameful and alarming situation once and for all and as a means of achieving peace in that important strategic part of the world, we once again strenuously call for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East and for the Council to channel its best efforts to that end.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Cuba for the kind words she addressed to me.

<u>Mr. RANA</u> (Nepal): I wish to begin by extending to you, Sir, the warm felicitations of my delegation on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for the month of June. You represent a great country whose friendship and good will we deeply cherish. Your wide experience and skill as a diplomat are well known to all of us. We are therefore confident of your ability to guide the business of the Security Council in a fruitful manner.

I wish also to express our appreciation to Sir Crispin Tickell, Permanent

My delegation need not emphasize here the gravity of the situation now prevailing in territories occupied by Israel since 1967. The international community, and particularly the members of the Security Council, are painfully aware of the daily deteriorating situation in the area. We have had the benefit of listening to the representative of Palestine at the beginning of this debate, when he apprised the Council with evidence and eloquence of the plight of his people under Israeli occupation. As we express our full solidarity with the people of Palestine in their legitimate struggle for freedom and justice, my delegation strongly deplores the iron-fist policy pursued by Israel to intimidate the civil population and to suppress the popular uprising.

While the Security Council should persist in its efforts to find a permanent and peaceful solution of the problems of the Middle East within the framework of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), its immediate responsibility is to ensure the protection of the human rights of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. Faced with spontaneous defiance of its occupation, Israel has resorted to harsh and repressive measures. The systematic destruction of life and property, mass detentions, collective punishments, deportations, the closure of

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#### (Mr. Rana, Nepal)

schools, economic coercion and unrestrained use of force cannot be explained in terms of the need to maintain law and order. Nepal wishes to impress upon Israel that its method of dealing with the popular uprising is consistent neither with law nor with justice.

My delegation is gravely concerned that the Israeli authorities are not taking immediate steps to curb the excessive use of force that has resulted in the deaths of hundreds and the injury of thousands of Palestinian nationals. The frequent use of firearms and acts of physical violence against defenceless civilians violate the fundamental principles of humanitarian law. The prolonged closure of educational institutions in parts of the occupied territory is fraught with immense negative consequences for the future of a whole generation of Palestinian children. The growing incidence of vigilante attacks by Israeli settlers and their wanton rampage through the villages, killing and torturing people and firing on houses and livestock have added another extremely dangerous dimension to the cycle of hatred and violence in the occupied territories.

In this regard it is pertinent to recall resolution 465 (1980), by which the Security Council drew attention to the grave consequences of Israeli settlement policy for any attempt to reach a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East and determined that all such measures have no legal validity.

The Security Council has on several occasions in the past reaffirmed the applicability of the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the occupied territories. Israel's defiance of the Council's decisions, and the failure of the Council to enforce respect for the provisions of the Geneva Convention by the occupying Power, have already produced tragic consequences of great proportions. It is therefore incumbent upon the Security Council to take urgent measures to ensure the safety and protection of civilian persons in the occupied territory.

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#### (Mr. Rana, Nepal)

In this context my delegation wishes to recall the report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 605 (1987). That report, submitted in January 1988, contains important recommendations. The Council must now act decisively on ways and means of ensuring the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation. Such a firm step would, my delegation believes, have immeasurable value in preparing the groundwork for a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the problem of the Middle East.

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.

<u>Mr. MOHIUDDIN</u> (Bangladesh): The <u>intifadah</u> is the silver lining in the dark cloud of occupation. It is the spark that will set alight the torch of liberty in that repressed land. Palestine is more than a territory; it is a cause, and a glorious one at that.

Before I proceed further, Mr. President, I should be remiss if I did not congratulate you on your commendable conduct of our proceedings. It pleases us not only because your great country and mine have the best of relations but also because we consider you yourself a very good friend of ours.

Similarly, the performance of your predecessor, Sir Crispin Tickell of the United Kingdom, was deserving of the highest praise.

The sorrows of Palestine grow more poignant every day. Its pains grow more excruciating as the world stands idly by. Our inaction is truly a sad commentary on our contemporary values, a bitter statement on the ethics of our times. We will lend ourselves to the harsh and justifiable criticism of posterity that our

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## (Mr. Mohiuddin, Bangladesh)

generation failed to stand up to an oppressor that was allowed to flout with impunity the urgings of reason in an age we call civilized.

It is bad enough to have been thrown out of one's land and home. It is worse still when one is denied basic civic rights and is beaten mercilessly if one dares to speak out in protest.

But then one is not converted simply because one is silenced. One's spirit is not necessarily broken because one's bones are. The people of Palestine can bear this tyranny, and more. At least they are able to hold their heads high in honour, when their oppressors must hang theirs in shame. Nonetheless to be beaten without cause, to be imprisoned without trial and to be expelled without reason is the potential fate of the Palestinian today. Such a state of affairs cannot, must not, go on for long.

The Government in Israel continues to perpetrate unspeakable atrocities on the Palestinians. It continues to flout in abandon the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949. Human rights in the occupied territories are non-existent. Since the unarmed <u>intifadah</u> began 18 months ago, there have been over 700 Palestinian fatalities and nearly 25,000 injuries. We have held a United Nations session on the events at Nahalin. That village was earlier, in 1954, the scene of a ruthless slaughtering orgy by Israeli authorities. History repeated itself this year. There was little this forum could do to deter that. We draw small comfort from that.

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# (Mr. Mohiuddin, Bangladesh)

The <u>intifadah</u> is many things. It is not simply a response to persecution. It is the product of pride, of human dignity, of the Palestinians' desire to build a future for themselves without denying others the same hope. There is no vengeance inherent in the <u>intifadah</u>. Only a thirst for freedom. Can the world begrudge the Palestinians this?

The Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people has come a long, long way in the quest for peace. They have accepted Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Sadly, Tel Aviv has not matched these gestures. Happily, however, there are burgeoning signs that the Israeli Government is meeting with increasing resistance from the people of Israel, many of whom want the conflict to end.

The Security Council must act now, for every day of delay means added pain. The path to peace is not that intractable. This has been set out in General Assembly resolution 43/176 of 1988. Time and again this forum has urged restraint, but to no avail. The Secretary-General in his report of 21 January 1988 made a series of recommendations. Tel Aviv has turned a deaf ear to them and to other voices of reason.

Bangladesh supports the <u>intifadah</u> and the Palestinian struggle for freedom. The issue of Palestine is at the core of the crisis that bedevils West Asia and the world. We have always advocated the early convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East in conformity with relevant United Nations resolutions. We want the Palestinians to have a home just like other nations yours and mine - have. Palestine is theirs. Till such time as they are allowed to call it home, peace will not come to the Middle East. And none of us here shall be immune from the resultant blame. JSM/edd

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

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.

<u>Mr. OUDOVENKO</u> (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): I should like at the outset to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on taking up the responsible post of President of the Security Council and to express our certainty that your diplomatic experience, and in particular your profound knowledge of the item being considered today, will make it possible for you most successfully to discharge the responsibilities you bear when discussing the very critical situation prevailing in the occupied Palestinian territories.

We should also like to express our gratitude to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Crispin Tickell, for his high degree of professionalism and his skilful guidance of the work of the Council last month.

The statement of the Permanent Observer of Palestine, Mr. Terzi, as well as the entire debate, and also news from the West Bank, Gaza and Jerusalem coming to us from the media, indicate persistent terrorism against the Palestinians and arbitrary treatment by Israeli soldiers of Palestinian women, children and the elderly.

The arsenal of the occupying forces contains the most modern firearms and highly toxic tear-gas, plastic bullets and clubs. These so-called representatives of authority are acting spurred on by the appeals of extreme right-wing groups in Israel. JSM/edd

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#### (Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

With the connivance of the authorities in the occupied territory, organizations and underground groups, made up from among Israeli settlers, operate with impunity. The number of casualties among the Palestinian population today, without any exaggeration, can be counted in the thousands. At the same time, Tel Aviv is taking steps as far as possible to tie the economy of the occupied territory to Israel and to do away with all political, social, cultural and historic traces of the Palestinian identity.

There is every reason to assert that the actions of Israel in the occupied territory are in blatant contradiction with the Charter of our Organization and with numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. As many speakers who took part in the discussion in the Council on this question have said, these actions of Israel are very significant and represent an outright violation of the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, and other fundamental international legal documents. Therefore, it is by no means surprising that the report of the State Department of the United States, which came out in February of this year and which contains facts attesting to the violation by Israel of the rights of the Palestinians in the occupied territories, caused such indignation in Israel.

In the light of the extreme seriousness of the incidents that have taken place in the occupied territories in recent days, and also the growing number of fatalities, the Security Council must take urgent steps in order to ensure international protection for the peaceful Palestinians, as provided for in General Assembly resolution 43/233 of 20 April of this year.

It is particularly urgent to mobilize all collective political efforts and, first and foremost, the machinery of the Security Council, together with the

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#### (Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

constructive role of the Secretary-General, in order to overcome the current political barriers standing in the way of resolving the problem of Palestine. The encouraging trends in international life which we have been witnessing and participating in over the last 18 months create favourable conditions for this.

We already clearly note the overwhelming interest of the majority of States Members of the United Nations finally and once and for all to bring about a decisive breakthrough in the Middle East by convening for this purpose an international peace conference on the Middle East.

Further evidence of this was the adoption at the forty-third session of the General Assembly of resolution 43/176 which calls for the convening of such a conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of all parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, on an equal footing, and the five permanent members of the Security Council, based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, primarily the right to self-determination.

In practical terms, of particular importance, as we see it, are paragraphs 5 and 6 of that General Assembly resolution, which request the Security Council to consider measures needed to convene the conference, including the establishment of a preparatory committee and the Secretary-General to continue his efforts with the parties concerned to facilitate the convening of the Conference.

Furthermore, the continuation of the <u>intifadah</u> quite clearly raises the whole question of the need to start the peace process for the Middle East as soon as possible.

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#### (Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

Throughout the world the Security Council is rightly regarded as the highest forum and as the international body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. That is no accident: We can think of numerous examples, including recent ones, of constructive peace-making work by the Security Council in the resolution of very difficult regional conflicts.

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On 2 April 1947 it was proposed that the question of Palestine be included on the agenda of the General Assembly at its second session. Since then, four decades have elapsed, and more than one generation of diplomats has had to face this extremely difficult question either within this Organization or outside it. It must, however, be said that the efforts of the Security Council to untie this Gordian knot have thus far met with no success. For well-known reasons, the Security Council has in recent years been unable to adopt even a single practical resolution capable of making progress towards resolving the Palestinian question.

Six months ago, in his 28 November 1988 report on the situation in the Middle East, the Secretary-General described the role of the Security Council with respect to a Middle East settlement in the following terms:

"In these circumstances, I think that the time is right for the Security Council, which has a major and historically recognized responsibility for this complex issue, to commit itself to a thorough review of the situation with a view to adopting a pragmatic approach that would take fully into account the concerns and security interests of all the parties. I intend to pursue this matter with the Security Council." (S/20294, para. 35)

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR believes that the Security Council and its members, in keeping with their responsibilities under the United Nations Charter, should immediately undertake practical action - in any form acceptable to the members of the Security Council and observing a balance of interests among all the

### (Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

parties - to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East as soon as possible, on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. As events in the occupied territories show, it is time to act. Our common task is to give peace a chance in the Middle East and to make it reality today.

I wish to assure you, Sir, that as President of the Security Council you can expect all possible support from the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR in this matter.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic for the kind words he addressed to me.

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

<u>Mr. KAGAMI</u> (Japan): I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. I am confident that, with the benefit of your wisdom, able guidance and dipolomatic skill, the work of the Council will be fruitful. I should also like to express my appreciation for the exemplary manner in which your predecessor, Ambassador Sir Crispin Tickell of the United Kingdom, guided the work of the Council during the month of May.

During the 18 months since the <u>intifadah</u> began, the Security Council has been convened on numerous occasions to consider the situation in the occupied territories, and it is obliged to do so once again now. That is not to say, however, that the situation there has remained the same. For those Palestinians living under the occupation, conditions have steadily deteriorated. The situation has become truly desperate and requires the immediate and effective attention of the international community.

#### (Mr. Kagami, Japan)

The Palestinian people have been protesting against Israel's policies of annexing and establishing settlements in the occupied territories and deporting Palestinians, policies to which the Government of Japan has long expressed its opposition. But even more basic, of course, is Israel's continued occupation of the territories. Since I understand that these meetings are devoted mainly to the issue of ensuring the safety and protection of Palestinian civilians, I feel obliged to limit myself to emphasizing before the members of this Council the need to address this issue with the utmost urgency.

The ever-worsening situation in the occupied territories is a source of profound concern to the Government of Japan. Japan is opposed to the very presence of settlers in those territories, and the reported vigilante attacks by some settlers against Palestinian civilians are therefore a new and deeply troubling source of concern. It is Israel's responsibility to prevent any recurrence of such attacks.

Also of concern to us is the closing of schools, including those run by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), in the occupied territories. By keeping schools closed, Israel is not only depriving today's young Palestinians of an education but is making the restoration of political and social stability in the area even more difficult.

The increasingly repressive and lethal measures to which the Israeli authorities are subjecting Palestinian civilians cannot be justified. Repression only invites reaction. Violence only invites violence. My delegation has stated repeatedly in this and other forums that, as in any situation where tensions run high and violence is endemic, mutual restraint by all parties concerned is crucial, but that Israel, as the occupying Power, must bear responsibility for protecting the civilian population in the areas it is occupying.

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# (Mr. Kagami, Japan)

In that regard it cannot be stressed too often that the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 are applicable to the occupied territories and that Israel should fulfil its obligations as the occupying Power. The Council made clear its position on that issue when it adopted resolutions 605 (1987) and 607 (1988). My Government appeals once again to Israel to comply with those Security Council resolutions.

Some of the previous speakers in this debate have referred to article 1 of the Convention, which stipulates the obligation of the High Contracting Parties to respect and ensure respect for the Convention in all circumstances. Japan is fully aware of that obligation and has sought to ensure that it is honoured. It is important that all of us, as High Contracting Parties, continue our efforts until Israel acknowledges that the Convention is applicable to the territories it is occupying.

#### (Mr. Kagami, Japan)

At the same time, my Government strongly hopes that the Council will be able to reach a solid consensus on actions to take to stabilize the immediate situation and to alleviate the sufferings of the Palestinians in the occupied territories. In the light of the Council's recent series of successful efforts to resolve various regional conflicts, it is quite natural that Palestinians under occupation should turn to it for assistance.

In closing, I wish to reiterate my Government's strong conviction that it is the Palestine issue itself that needs to be addressed with urgency, for it is the  $\infty$ re issue that underlies the intifadah.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Japan for his kind words 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.

<u>Mr. TSOKODAYI</u> (Zimbabwe): First, let me congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June. Similarly, I commend your predecessor, the Permament Representative of the United Kingdom, for the excellent manner in which he guided the Council's affairs during May.

Once again the Council is deliberating on the dangerous situation created by the continued occupation of Arab territories by Israel. The delegation of Zimbabwe also joins previous speakers who have condemned Israel for its policies and practices in the Palestinian territories of the West Bank, Gaza, Jerusalem and other occupied Arab territories.

The delegation of Zimbabwe has on several other occasions, either before the Council or before the General Assembly, condemned the brutal policies and practices of the occupying Power, Israel, against the Palestinian people. Those policies have included the killing of defenceless civilians; the torture, wounding and

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## (Mr. Tsokodayi, Zimbabwe)

massive detention of youths; the beating and harassment of women and children; deportations; the imposition of sieges; acts of aggression against religious and holy places; usurpation and destruction of property; collective punishment, including the demolition of homes and depriving whole communities of basic services, such as water and electricity; the closure of schools and universities; and the denial of the right of Palestinians to worship freely.

Those acts of aggression against the Palestinian people have been carried out through the administrative machineries of the occupying police and military forces. More recently, however, a new and more sinister element has been added to the repression meted out to the innocent victims of occupation. Vigilante attacks by Israeli settlers against Arab inhabitants have been escalating. The Government of Zimbabwe has always regarded the Israeli policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories not only as a usurpation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, but also as an obstacle to the solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In other words, the twin policies of occupation and settlement, aimed at altering the demographic character of the occupied territories, are the direct causes of the dangerous situation in Palestine.

Israel, as the occupying Power, must, as a bare minimum, respect the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949. Israel must accept the <u>de jure</u> applicability of the Convention to the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and fully comply with its obligations under that Convention.

The Security Council has obligations, too, in respect of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. Under the Convention, in Article I all parties undertake to

"respect and to ensure respect for the present Convention in all circumstances."

#### (Mr. Tsokodayi, Zimbabwe)

The situation in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967 constitutes a threat to international peace and security. As the organ of the Organization primarily responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Council has an obligation to take steps to put an end to this dangerous situation by compelling Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories.

The Palestinian people, like all other peoples, have legitimate and inalienable rights in its own homeland. It has a right to self-determination, national independence and the establishment of an independent sovereign State in Palestine.

Since the "Intifadah Session" of the Palestine National Council (PNC) held in Algiers in November 1988, and since the General Assembly session held in Geneva in December 1988, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has taken significant initiatives. In this connection, the delegation of Zimbabwe wishes to reiterate its conviction that if Israel were to respond positively to those initiatives and to reciprocate the goodwill demonstrated by the PLO since the Algiers meeting of the PNC, which the rest of the international community has already welcomed, the important and bold confidence-building measures initiated by the PLO would yield positive results for the peace process in the Middle East. Israel must begin to engage in dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

However, lasting peace can come about only as a result of a comprehensive solution. Some of the prerequisites for such a solution are: an end to the aggressive and expansionist policies of Israel; its complete and unconditional withdrawal from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, with Palestine participating as an equal partner; Israel's adherence

#### (Mr. Tsokodayi, Zimbabwe)

to all relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions; and its adherence to the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

My delegation wishes once again to reiterate Zimbabwe's solidarity with the people of Palestine and to condemn Israel for its policies and practices since 1967, and particularly since the <u>intifadah</u> in the occupied territories began in 1987.

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

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

<u>Mr. ROSHAN-RAWAAN</u> (Afghanistan): Allow me first, Sir, to express to you my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June. We are confident that with your vast diplomatic skills and experience you will provide the effective and constructive guidance needed for the fruitful work of this prestigious United Nations body. May I also express my appreciation to your predecessor, the Permament Representative of the United Kingdom, for the able manner in which he presided over the activities of the Council during the month of May.

# (Mr. Roshan-Rawaan, Afghanistan)

The Security Council is seized once again of the question of the situation in the Palestinian occupied lands illegally usurped by Israel by military aggression and the use of arms. The deteriorating situation in those lands and the overall situation of tension, instability and military confrontation in the entire Middle East region are the direct result of Israeli persistence in continuing its illegal occupation of Palestinian and other Arab lands.

To that irresponsible expansionist Israeli policy, which is aimed at the unrealistic ambition of creating a "Greater Israel", should be added the brutal repression by means of which Israel has always sought to perpetrate that policy. The totally excessive, uncivilized and brutal measures with which Isreali occupationist forces have chosen to meet the legal and legitimate <u>intifadah</u> of the Palestinian youth in the occupied lands embody the intensification of the iron-fist policy that for decades has subjected Palestinians to onerous trials of suffering, subjugation and degradation as a people.

The Palestinian response to that inhuman situation, one imposed upon them by resort to the constant use of arms and violence, has been resistance against the aggressor and a heroic struggle to regain what is legally, morally and historically theirs - that is, their homeland, their liberty and their dignity as a proud nation.

The <u>intifadah</u>, demonstrating the will of the entire Palestinian nation down to its teenagers and children, is the glorious zenith of the resistance prompted by the aggressor, which persists in its arrogance in denying the Palestinian nation its natural right to independence, liberty and freedom in its own State, as well as its human rights, including its rights under the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949. Thus, the <u>intifadah</u> is legally justified, morally right and historically inevitable.

RM/8

## (Mr. Roshan-Rawaan, Afghanistan)

On the other hand, the response of the aggressor, the occupying Power, has been and continues to be legally condemned, morally deplorable and historically doomed. Israel has so far blocked every effort and every initiative to bring peace to the Middle East and to restore the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including statehood. Even more distressing, it has intensified its acts of brutal repression against the Palestinian people, including the youth and children of Palestine participating in a legitimate protest against the occupation of their land and the cruel denial of even their most basic human rights.

This is a situation the international community and the Security Council, responsible as it is for the maintenance of international peace and security and for upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law, must not allow to continue unchecked. The Council is expected to exercise its legal and moral powers and to adopt with urgency the measures needed to provide international protection to the Palestinian civilians in the Palestinian territory occupied by Israel. The people and children of Palestine have been left for too long at the whim of the Israeli aggressors. It is time the Security Council extended its protecting hand to them.

While strongly emphasizing the urgent need for the adoption of immediate measures by the Security Council to protect Palestinian human rights, as well as for measures to alleviate that people's sufferings in the occupied territories, we remain hopeful that the Council will expedite its efforts to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and to settle the question of Palestine at its core.

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

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

<u>Mr. KUTSCHAN</u> (German Democratic Republic): Allow me first of all, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June. We hope that the issues the Security Council will be seized of during your presidency will be brought to a solution.

My delegation would also like to take this opportunity to express its appreciation to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Crispin Tickell, who presided over the Council during the month of May.

I also wish to thank you, Mr. President, and, through you, the other members of the Council, for giving me the opportunity to explain the position of the German Democratic Republic on the subject of today's meeting.

The Observer of Palestine, Ambassador Terzi, has elucidated here in the Council the scope and underlying reasons for the continuing measures of terror taken against the Palestinian population in the territories occupied by Israel.

Like almost all the speakers who have spoken in this debate, my delegation has noted with great concern and dismay the fact that, contrary to all norms of international law and numerous United Nations resolutions, the Palestinian people are not only being denied the exercise of their inalienable rights, but that that sorely afflicted people's will to freedom is being suppressed with ever-more brutal means. Along with the overwhelming majority of States, the German Democratic Republic resolutely condemns the growing violence being resorted to against unarmed civilians, women and children in the territories occupied by Israel, which is completely incompatible with the obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949.

What is needed now more than ever before are urgent measures by the Security Council to provide international protection to the Palestinian civilians, as was almost unanimously called for by the General Assembly in resolution 42/233 of 20 April 1989.

# (Mr. Kutschan, German Democratic Republic)

As an active member of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, the German Democratic Republic fully supports the view expressed in the letter addressed by the Chairman of that Committee to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 10 May 1989, which states that

"genuine protection can ultimately be achieved only through the attainment of a  $\infty$ mprehensive and just settlement of the Palestine question in accordance with the principles contained in General Assembly resolution 43/176 of 15 December 1988, which have received the near-unanimous support of the United Nations membership." (S/20623)

It is now important to step up all efforts to reach that basic goal.

BCT/edd

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# (Mr. Kutschan, German Democratic Republic)

Attempts at solving other regional conflicts have shown that only negotiations which are conducted on an equal footing and on the basis of United Nations resolutions, only result-oriented dialogue and a joint struggle for comprehensive and just solutions can lead to lasting peace. That goes also - and with all it entails - for the Middle East conflict, with the question of Palestine at its CORE. With its decisions at the nineteenth Congress of the Palestine National Council in Algiers and the peace initiative submitted by Yasser Arafat in Geneva during the forty-third session of the General Assembly, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has offered a realistic concept for a negotiated settlement. The great efforts made to translate the proposals for negotiations into practical steps towards a solution of the conflict and the flexible and constructive approach of the PLO also testify to its unconditional readiness for the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the region.

That goal can be attained, however, only if Israel too makes serious endeavours to attain a settlement of the conflict; if the two sides, on the basis of equality, take their places at the negotiating table and start their practical work.

It is, in our view, time that the Security Council too used its potential to initiate preparatory steps for a start of the negotiating process. There is, after all, far-reaching international agreement that a Middle East peace conference would offer the most favourable conditions for a settlement of the conflict. The permanent members of the Security Council and all interested parties, including the PLO and Israel, should participate on an equal footing in such a conference. We also advocate the Secretary-General's continuing his efforts to achieve the convening of that negotiating forum.

In the face of the persistence of the suffering of the Palestinian population living in the territories occupied by Israel, but also in the light of world-wide

# (Mr. Kutschan, German Democratic Republic)

demands for the convening of the conference, any further delay in this process should not be allowed.

Today nobody can in good conscience go on just standing by and watching the expansion of the policy of aggression and occupation.

Compliance with all norms of international law, and in particular the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, has to be guaranteed without delay. Also, the demands for the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights, for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all territories occupied since 1967 and for the granting to all States of the region of the right to independence and secure boundaries have to be finally implemented. The German Democratic Republic will continue to do all it can for the attainment of that goal.

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

The Permanent Observer of Palestine has asked to be allowed to speak, and I now call on him.

<u>Mr. TERZI</u> (Palestine): In a dramatic presentation this morning, the representative of Israel produced a graphic letterhead symbol which includes the map of the State the Palestinians seek to establish. Certainly we still use the map of Palestine as it appears in all the authorized literature of the United Nations - and we shall continue to use it until such time as the definite borders of the two States recommended by the United Nations resolution are drawn and internationally recognized, after mutual acceptance and recognition by the parties concerned.

It is up to the United Nations, it is up to the Security Council, to help us, at the negotiating table, draw the lines, the geography, of the two States. I am BCT/edd

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#### (Mr. Terzi, Palestine)

afraid that the Security Council has failed so far in that attempt. But I wish to repeat here that until those lines are drawn we shall use the map of mandated Palestine in all our insignias, and this is what we shall look for.

But, then, one may ask: what are the borders of Israel, of the State of Israel? Nobody seems to know. Not even the Government of Israel seems to be in a position to tell us what Israel's borders are. They refer to the occupied territories as the administered territories, when it pleases them to do so. But they behave there in such a brutal way, such a dictatorial and fascist way. And they say that they want to maintain law and order, regardless of their legal obligations under the Geneva Convention.

But let us stop and think for a moment. Who runs Israel now? The current Government is actually some kind of a mixture; we do not seem to know what it is. In fact, however, it is dominated by a party that has really drawn up a map - and I now show it to the Council. This is its map of Israel. This is the map that reflects the ambitions of one of the major parties in the Government of Israel. On this map, the State of Israel stretches all the way through mandated Palestine; it goes across the River Jordan; it covers the entire Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Perhaps - who knows? - they have missed one spot here: why do they not include the birthplace of Abraham as well? This is the map of the Herut Party, which is the backbone of the Likud.

At least we use a map which the civilized world has accepted for Palestine. That is why we were not surprised to hear the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Baker, advising the Israelis to wake up and give up their dream of Greater Israel.

The party that drew up this map, the Herut Party, has some principles. But first let me recall that the Herut Party was established by the so-called National

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#### (Mr. Terzi, Palestine)

Military Organization - the Irgun Zvai Leumi. Now, we all know that it was the Irgun Zvai Leumi which on the eve of the Second World War openly called for collaboration with the National Socialists in Germany, the Nazis, because their ideologies linked them together. In their pamphlets they called for co-operation with Hitler, because he was their ally in the "joint struggle" against the British. That is what Israel has as the backbone of its ideology and policies.

But what are the principles of the Herut Party? I quote here from the "Principles of the Jewish Liberation Movement" - that is how it is called:

"(a) The Hebrew homeland on both banks of the Jordan River is a historical and geographical whole.

"(b) The partition of the homeland is an illegal act and does not bind the Jewish people.

"(c) The task of this generation is to reunite the divided parts of the homeland and establish on them Jewish sovereignty" -

and so on and so forth.

Have I ever heard anyone round this Council table ask Israel for its borders, for its principles, for its ambitions? What is more: has anybody ever invoked those points? Yet we know that some States are pouring billions of dollars into that régime to help it expand - at least up to the River Jordan and later, possibly, across the River Jordan.

So much for the map and collaboration with the Nazis.

Again, in his statement this morning the representative of Israel said that we had written the Covenant. Of course we wrote the Covenant. But we wrote it in 1964, not in 1946.

Those principles of the Herut date from before 1948; our Covenant was written in 1964, and it was written as a representation and expression of our plight after 18 years of deprivation of our rights, of our homes and of our homeland, Palestine. Yet, between 1964 and this day, our National Council - which is our parliament or congress, if you wish - has acted in a spirit of reality and realism and reacted and interacted with developments and the need to achieve peace.

It was with the noble aim of achieving peace that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), in the meeting of our National Council in Algiers in November 1988, adopted a peace plan. Mind you, it was written in Arabic. All the speakers pronounced their positions in Arabic. There were not two languages there. For those who claim we say one thing in Arabic and a different thing in English: our resolution was adopted in Arabic. That Palestinian intitiative was openly proclaimed by President Yasser Arafat when he addressed the General Assembly on 13 December 1988, at a time when the United Nations was denied its proper function at its headquarters and had to transfer to Geneva, because somebody did not respect his obligations under the Headquarters Agreement.

Be that as it may, we are proud to say that that Palestinian peace initiative was welcomed by the overwhelming majority - I dare say, unanimity minus two, which names I need not mention here. General Assembly resolution 43/176 of 15 December 1988 was adopted and still awaits action by the Council.

Almost all of the speakers - and we definately thank them - have stressed the need to achieve peace under the auspices of the United Nations. Honestly and sincerely, we wish that the Council had been convened at its own request to address the need for and the achievement of peace. We wish the Council had responded to the endeavours of the Secretary-General and invited the six parties to the conflict, as identified by the Secretary-General.

But that, unfortunately, was not the case. That is why we keep coming here, hurling accusations and sometimes citing history. But the aim of this meeting was to address the responsibility of the Council for ensuring respect for the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention - specifically by Israel, the occupying Power.

Let me affirm once again that the Palestinian people, through its representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is acting temporarily as the Government of Palestine, is ever ready to participate in and contribute towards the international peace conference. And yet, one permanent member of the Council is still the first obstacle blocking the road to peace and denying the Secretary-General even the chance to initiate his endeavours.

The other day, the members of the Arab League held a summit conference, and President Arafat addressed that conference. Let me quote part of his statement, which was spoken in Arabic, the way decisions are taken in our National Council: (spoke in Arabic)

"On the basis of decisions approved by the Palestine National Council and the decisions of previous Arab summits, particularly the peace initiative of Fez, and the decisions of the Palestinian summit conference in Algiers, and in compliance with the decisions adopted in acccordance with international legitimacy and in response to the will of the international community, the Palestinian peace initiative was proclaimed from the rostrum of the General Assembly of the United Nations in Geneva last December. That initiative has removed all Zionist and American pretexts and makes clear who wants a just peace and who has sought more destruction and war, subjecting peoples, usurping freedoms and national homelands".

#### (continued in English)

Yet we are told that the Israelis have a plan. But what is that plan? That plan has been rejected by the Israelis themselves. Yet the Palestinian peace initiative has received the unanimous support of the Palestinian people, the unanimous support of the League of Arab States and its members at summit level and the almost unanimous support - unanimous minus two - of the international community.

We were told this morning that poor Israel has to exercize its responsibility to keep law and order. Well, what has it done? Nothing. There have been more Palestinians killed by the Palestinians themselves. But let me quote again: So far there have been 750 martyrs, all killed by Israeli troops or settlers. We have 40,000 wounded and we are responsible for their treatment. Six thousand of those injured are disabled. There are 50,000 who have been detained, and of course somebody has to look after their families. We have thousands and thousands who have run away to the mountains because Israeli troops are trying to locate them at their homes.

Economically, the stress is even worse. We all realize that Israel is imposing bans and special ribbons, badges or papers on the Palestinians when the latter want to go as cheap labour to work in order to help the industry of Israel. But people have to work and live and survive; that is their only way. The only way to frustrate the transfer plan - the elimination plan, the genocide plan - is to stay on the ground and work for whatever wages, by whatever means, and survive, because human beings can survive.

Palestinians in the occupied territories are subject to 38 different kinds of taxation. Nobody seems to know how the balance is made and how people pay. Of course, if they don't pay, the Israeli troops break into their houses and take away valuables and non-valuables in order to settle the debt.

But talking about terror, His Excellency mentioned this morning that he was born in 1929 - I do not know where: he never mentioned it. But I was born in 1924 in Jerusalem. My home is still there and I plan to go back there. But what do I remember of those years? I remember bombs planted by the "Jewish gangs" - that was how they were referred to - in the souks, killing innocent people, farmers bringing in their produce. I remember, as a young man in the broadcasting department, how that broadcasting department was blown to pieces, even though it was only a children's programme that was on. Those bombs were planted by Jewish gangs. I remember the assassination of Lord Moyne. I also remember the poor "Tommies" - as the British soldiers, members of the allied forces against the Nazis, were called. They were killed - hanged - their corpses filled with exploding mines by members of the armies fighting the British.

JB/10

I remember the blowing up of the King David Hotel. I remember also the assassination of the first envoy of peace, Count Folke Bernadotte. I shiver when I see the murderer receive the red carpet treatment at the White House and given almost the same treatment and reception in this building.

The representative of Israel said: "What do we do? We have to win by ourselves?"

There is an expression called "chutzpah". A boy appears before the court and says, "Listen, Your Honour. I have killed my father. I have killed my mother. I have killed my sister. Please have pity on me, I am an orphan now."

This is exactly what he told us. He had no reason to be in those territories. He is the occupying Power, and the occupying Power receives that treatment. So he can in no way say that he was being attacked. He was the aggressor. His mere presence in the occupied territory is aggression.

Then he mentioned something about a friend of his from his childhood, the Ambassador in London. But he omitted saying that those who shot at that British Ambassador had as the next target on their hit list the representative of the PLO in London. He forgot to mention that. He said that he had heard about 1929, the year of his birth. He still has a few more years to live to get to my age, but he will never catch up. What happened in 1929? In 1929 Mr. Churchill reaffirmed the "national home" policy for the Jews in Palestine. That "national home" policy meant that the Palestinians would be denied their survival and presence, that there would be a Jewish homeland with the Jews having political rights, but the non-Jewish Palestinian community - and mark my words, it was 92 per cent of the population; the non-majority or the non-minority, whatever you call it - had only religious and civil rights. And yet in 1929 Mr. Churchill announced that Britain was determined to reaffirm its "national home" policy.

Of course violence erupted, and the British Government as the Mandatory Power assigned a Commission headed by Sir Walter Shaw, a retired Chief Justice. I quote what Sir Walter Shaw said:

"In less than 10 years three serious attacks have been made by Arabs on Jews. For 80 years before the first of these attacks there is no recorded instance of any similar incident. It is obvious then that the relations between the two races during the past decade must have differed in some material respect from those which previously obtained. Of this we found ample evidence."

Let me tell the Council what happened. Not only did Mr. Churchill reaffirm the obligation of Britain to implement the Balfour Declaration concerning a "national home", but the Palestinians noted that in the years between 1920 and 1929 there came into Palestine almost 100,000 Jewish immigrants from Europe. And in the three-year period 1924, 1925 and 1926 there were at least 60,000 Jewish immigrants. To bring in 60,000 immigrants would create an overflow, a stampede, and the people would resent such an unnatural increment. I do not think I am in the mood now to explain why the refugees from Europe came to Palestine instead of to this land of milk and honey across the Atlantic, but in a word, there was a quota imposed and they could not. They had hoped to come here to have a better future, but the quota system in the United States prevented them from doing so, because before 1924 they used to come into Palestine at the rate of 10,000 each Year. Yet the yearly rate rose to 20,000. But that was not the only reason that we Palestinians became conscious that there was something fishy going on.

The British Mandate established the Jewish Agency. The Constitution of the Jewish Agency: Land Holding and Employment Clauses read as follows:

"Land is to be acquired as Jewish property and... the same shall be held as the inalienable property of the Jewish people."

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# (Mr. Terzi, Palestine)

In the Keren-Kayemeth draft lease it read:

"The lease [of land] also provides that the holding shall never be held by any but a Jew."

And the Keren-Hayesod Agreements, which spoke of employment, read:

"The settler hereby undertakes that... if and whenever he may be obliged to hire help, he will hire Jewish workmen only." and

"The settler undertakes... not to hire any outside labour except Jewish labourers".

These seeds of racism were of great concern to our people: that on the land the Arab worker should not be employed, that exclusively Jewish workers were to be employed. And one is supposed to read those words of the year 1929 and still expect that we Palestinians would just accept them and give them a welcome reception. There is also the Zionist plan, which is now being implemented by Israel. We are not here to discuss again, as was said this morning, the settlements and what they entail. But all these were the reasons, and one would ask why it did not happen earlier than 1929.

Yet there is a bright side to this, and I am sure that the representative of Israel failed to mention it: How many Jews in Hebron were saved and given protection by Muslim families there? That is something that history will have to record if it is to be fair. However, the Council has heard almost every speaker make it clear that the Council is under an obligation to focus on one single issue: how to ensure that the provisions of the Geneva Convention are respected; how to provide protection for the Palestinians under occupation until such time as the occupation is terminated and the people can exercise their rights - because no one in his right mind can say that elections can be held under the bayonets of the enemy. That is nonsense. It is contradictory. Of course, the role of the United

Nations, as enshrined in the Security Council, has to be manifested, and this is where we feel that the Security Council has a major duty, responsibility and role to play.

The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers for this meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on the agenda will take place Friday, 9 June 1989, at 11 a.m.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.