



## Security Council

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ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND  
SEVEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Monday, 14 December 1987, at 6.35 p.m.

President: Mr. BELONOGOV

(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

Members: Argentina  
Bulgaria  
China  
Congo  
France  
Germany, Federal Republic of  
Ghana  
Italy  
Japan  
United Arab Emirates  
United Kingdom of Great Britain  
and Northern Ireland  
United States of America  
Venezuela  
Zambia

Mr. PFIRTER  
Mr. TSVETKOV  
Mr. YU Meng Jia  
Mr. KOUNKOU  
Mr. BLANC  
Mr. ERATH  
Mr. DUMEVI  
Mr. BUCCI  
Mr. KIKUCHI  
Mr. SHIKIR  
  
Sir Crispin TICKELL  
Miss BYRNE  
Mr. AGUILAR  
Mr. ZUZE

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The meeting was called to order at 6.35 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

LETTER DATED 11 DECEMBER 1987 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF DEMOCRATIC YEMEN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/19333)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): In accordance with a decision taken at the 2770th meeting, I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to take a place at the Council table.

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

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): In accordance with a decision taken at the 2770th meeting, I invite the representative of Israel to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Netanyahu (Israel) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the Syrian Arab Republic, 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. Badawi (Egypt), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Al-Kawari (Qatar), Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia) and Mr. Masri (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 14 December 1987 from the Permanent Representative of the United Arab Emirates to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request the Security Council to extend an invitation, under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure, to His Excellency Dr. Clovis Maksoud, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, in connection with the item presently under consideration, entitled "The situation in the occupied Arab territories".

That letter will be published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/19339. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation to Mr. Maksoud under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

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

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

Mr. MASRI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, I take this opportunity warmly to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are sure that your well-known broad diplomatic experience is the surest guarantee of success for the Council's work.

I should also like to thank Ambassador Kikuchi of Japan for the exemplary manner in which he presided over the Council's work last month.

The Council is once again considering the dangerous situation in the occupied Arab territories - a situation which, pursuant to its responsibilities, calls for an end to the Israeli occupation of those lands, thus enabling the Palestinian Arab people to exercise its inalienable national rights and achieve its national aspiration to the establishment of an independent and sovereign State on its national territory, Palestine.

No one can disregard the rights and aspirations of a people which over the past 40 years has suffered from terrorism, repression, oppression and all forms of random violence at the hands of Zionist occupation forces reminiscent of the barbarity the Nazi occupation forces unleashed against the people under their control during the Second World War.

The popular uprisings taking place in the occupied Arab lands - in Gaza, the West Bank, the Syrian Arab Golan and southern Lebanon - against the Fascist Israeli occupation forces clearly deserve the support of the Security Council.

The situation before the Council is not merely one of popular unrest or demonstrations; it is the will of a people to resist occupation and the Fascist terrorist measures practised against it by Israeli occupation forces and a racist régime waging a systematic extermination campaign against the inhabitants of the

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occupied Arab lands. This campaign in all its ramifications and aspects smacks of the crime of genocide, which is prohibited under international law.

The Israeli occupation forces, in the face of mass popular unrest in the occupied Arab lands, have once again stepped up their repression in which weapons have been used resulting in death and injury to dozens of innocent unarmed demonstrators, including male and female students and a nine-year-old child.

The Fascist Israeli behaviour in the occupied Arab territories is intended to bring about the evacuation of the inhabitants, induce a state of psychosis among those in the area who are daily subjected to harassment, house arrest and collective punishment, and the demolition of houses over their heads forcing them to flee the area.

The continuation of Israeli occupation of Arab lands represents a constant violation of the United Nations Charter and international law. Worse still is the fact that the occupation has resulted in the establishment of settlements in the territories to accommodate waves of Jewish immigrants.

The United Nations has in numerous resolutions condemned Israel's behaviour and the policy it practices in the occupied Arab lands, the most recent of which were adopted at the current session of the General Assembly and condemned, inter alia, the decision to annex Jerusalem and the Syrian Arab Golan, subject the inhabitants of the occupied Arab lands to exorbitant taxes, establish Israeli settlements, expel the inhabitants of those lands, expropriate their property and subject them to collective punishment, disregard of their fundamental freedoms, interfere with freedom of religion and infringe on the rights of Arab families by disregarding their traditions, closing trade-union offices, harassing trade-union leaders, muzzling the press, repression of freedom of opinion, killing and injuring

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of demonstrators, and forced allocation of accommodation. The list of Israel's Fascist activities is lengthy indeed.

The General Assembly in its most recent resolutions has also condemned measures taken against students, members of the Palestinian teaching staff in schools, universities and other centres of learning in the occupied Arab territories, including the shooting of unarmed students.

The General Assembly has also condemned the campaign of constant repression launched by Israel against the universities and training institutes for professionals in the occupied Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories, and the restrictions imposed upon the academic activities of the Palestinian and Arab universities through interference with teaching methodology, school programmes and textbooks, together with the registration of students and the appointment of members of the teaching staff in order to ensure control by the military occupation forces, in flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention.

Since the end of the nineteenth century our region has seen waves of Zionist colonialist and racist invaders who have spread out from Palestine throughout the entire region with a view to securing total control over its resources and natural wealth, owing to its geographical and strategically important location. These invasions, which have received the support of British colonialism, culminated in the establishment of a Zionist, racist and colonial entity in Palestine, accompanied by the expulsion of a whole people from its land, deprivation of its rights, confiscation of its goods, and harassment within its own occupied territory and elsewhere in an attempt to liquidate it.

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All of this occurred in broad daylight before the eyes of the entire world and with the blessing and support of the colonial and imperialist forces of the world. This gave rise to the tragedy which has no parallel in history. Those imperialist forces have impeded the quest for a just solution to this tragedy, one that would finally and unconditionally end the occupation and enable the Palestinian people to exercise its inalienable national rights, particularly the right to return to its homeland, Palestine, the right to self-determination, and the right to independent, sovereign statehood on its own national territory. The Arab people in Gaza, on the West Bank, in the Golan, in southern Lebanon will not cease its heroic fight against expansionist Israeli occupation until the last inch of those occupied lands has been freed and the rights of the people restored.

Israel is attempting to implement its expansionist colonial programme in the Arab lands, flouting thereby the will of the international community, the Charter of the United Nations and international law. Israel has undertaken, within the context of this expansionist and aggressive plan, the annexation of the Arab city of Jerusalem, the Syrian Arab Golan and has intensified its expansionist policy in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories and in the Lebanon. It is also pursuing this expansionist and aggressive policy by diverting the water resources in the region for the benefit of its activities in occupied Arab territories.

All of this continues to occur because of the financial and military support provided by the international imperialist forces which are encouraging the pursuit of this expansionist policy. In this connection, we should mention the attempts made to paralyze the Council and thus prevent it from exercising its

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responsibilities under the United Nations Charter and under international law and to prevent it from respecting the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention relating to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War in the occupied Arab territories and from compelling Israel to withdraw from those territories.

The file on this aggressive, terrorist régime is no less distressing than the file built up by the Nazis during the Second World War and the record of the racist régime in Pretoria. We are all aware of the appalling crimes committed by the Nazis against mankind and the crimes of genocide perpetrated by them. The struggle against that régime and its fascist practices is currently symbolized by the struggle of man to achieve freedom, human dignity and the future of generations to come.

Peace and security will not prevail in so sensitive and contested a region as the Middle East until we see the total withdrawal of the occupation force from the Arab and Palestinian occupied territories and until the Arab people is in a position to exercise its inalienable national rights, including its right to self-determination, the right of return and the right to independent and sovereign statehood upon its national soil in Palestine. To speak of peace and security in the region without fulfilling these conditions is merely to preach pious words.

Attempts are being made to thwart Arab resistance to Israeli occupation and expansion and put an end to the Palestinian cause. However, thanks to the determination of the Arab people to pursue its struggle, those attempts were unsuccessful. Suffice it to mention the Camp David agreements, which serve only to increase tensions in the area and to promote the expansionist and colonialist policy pursued by Israel. Those accords resulted in the annexation of Jerusalem

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and the Syrian Arab Golan, the invasion of the Lebanon, the occupation of the southern region of that territory and in the strategic alliance between Washington and Tel Aviv with participation by the latter in the "Star Wars" programme which will enable it to develop and strengthen its military capacity.

The primary responsibilities of the Security Council require it to act to put an end to this behaviour and to adopt measures, notably those under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, to compel Israel to comply with the United Nations resolutions and the provisions of international law by withdrawing fully and unconditionally from all the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. Otherwise, the perilous and explosive situation resulting from the continued occupation of Arab lands, the establishment of settlements and the denial of the national rights of the Palestinian Arab peoples will present a grave threat to international peace and security.

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

In view of the lateness of the hour, I would say to members of the Council, and those who have been invited to participate in our meeting, who obviously have an interest in our further plans, that it is my intention to hear two further speakers today on the understanding that the remaining representatives who are scheduled to take part in today's debate will be able to make their statements tomorrow at the meeting to begin at 4 p.m.

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): It is a source of pleasure for me, Sir, to see you presiding over the work of the Security Council this month. We have known you as an ambassador of your great country in my capital and have followed your untiring efforts to develop the bonds of friendship that bind both Egypt and the Soviet Union. We are fully confident that your well-known abilities and great experience will be the best guarantee for the success of the Council's work.

I should also like on this occasion to express our deep appreciation to the Permanent Representative of Japan for his successful presidency of the Council last month.

During the past two weeks the General Assembly considered the question of the Middle East and the question of Palestine, which constitutes the core and crux of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The General Assembly adopted a number of important resolutions on those items, foremost among which are the two resolutions pertaining to the convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all parties to the conflict on an equal footing.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

That was not the only call made recently for the convening of an international conference to achieve peace in the region: the summit meeting of the Arab States held in Amman reaffirmed the desire of the Arab nation for peace. It called for the convening of the conference with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council as the appropriate way to achieve a just, comprehensive and peaceful settlement of the conflict.

The ink in which those resolutions were written was hardly dry before the Israeli occupation authorities reacted to them with an extended series of acts of coercion against the population of the occupied territories, whether in Gaza, throughout the West Bank or in Arab Jerusalem. In fact, the General Assembly, in its thorough analysis of the situation, seems to have anticipated such reactions by the occupation authorities.

The General Assembly adopted a number of other resolutions dealing with the question of the illegal, coercive Israeli practices in the occupied territories and called for termination of Israeli occupation.

During the Assembly's deliberations Egypt made clear its position in denouncing the acts and practices of certain highly vocal forces in Israel that aim at impeding peace efforts through the inculcation of mistrust and the escalation of violence against Palestinians in the occupied territories.

The last few days continue to bring to us news of the distressing and horrifying events that have resulted in the martyrdom of a number of unarmed Palestinian youths who have no alternative but to demonstrate against the violence and oppression of the occupation authorities. This savagery and bloodshed mean only that those forces in Israel have decided to continue suppressing and terrorizing the population of the occupied territories. That path cannot possibly

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lead to a final, just and comprehensive settlement, for it is the path of brute force and of resort to the use of force and violence as a means of settling conflict.

Egypt condemns all such acts and calls for their immediate cessation. Egypt also calls upon all peace-loving international forces to intervene to put an end to these outdated practices and bloodstained actions which do grave harm to all efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

While following these tragic developments, we expect all groups that support peace efforts in Israel to stand resolutely against that force which continues to live in the illusions of the past and the dreams of hegemony, intolerance and violence. Frankly, we cannot imagine how Israeli forces and groups that aim at the achievement of a negotiated settlement through an international conference on peace in the Middle East can have a clear conscience while all these events are taking place before their very eyes. In the face of the deteriorating situation in the occupied territories, all those who believe in universal human rights without distinction as to race or creed must take a stand to deter the advocates of intransigence, violence and oppression.

It is the duty of all international organizations and eminent personalities active in the field of defence of human rights to oppose the act taking place in the occupied territories, for they run counter to all international norms and instruments, foremost among which is the fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

For a long time Egypt has been warning that the standstill of the peace efforts threatens grave consequences and would lead to the explosion of the situation in the occupied territories. The recent developments bear out the

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Egyptian analysis of the situation now that the occupied Arab territories are witnessing this popular uprising against the practices of the occupation authorities. Egypt is convinced that no amount of violence or oppression can break the Palestinian people's will to resist. Rather, it will lead them to carry out more acts of resistance to occupation and terrorization.

Suffice it to say that 20 years of occupation of the Arab territories in the West Bank, Gaza, East Jerusalem and the Syrian Arab Golan Heights have not extinguished the flame of nationalism, the sense of belonging, or the awareness of Arab rights on the part of all these Palestinian young people who were born under the yoke of that occupation.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

More bloodshed, oppression, force or violence will not lead to the stabilization of the current deteriorating situation. That situation can be ended only by the complete withdrawal of Israel. Pending such withdrawal, the occupying Power must carry out policies that can restore the confidence of the population of the occupied territories in the sincerity of Israeli society's attitudes about peace.

Israel's acceptance of the International Conference as a way to achieve peace and to negotiate with all the other Arab parties on the basis of the principles agreed upon by the international community would be the best guarantee of the achievement of stability, good-neighbourliness and fruitful, constructive co-operation among all the peoples of the Middle East.

Egypt expects the Security Council to shoulder its responsibilities for international peace and security by reaffirming the resolutions it has previously adopted on the situation in the occupied territories and reaffirming that the Israeli occupying Power must undertake to implement strictly the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. It must renounce all the shooting and other acts of violence against the unarmed Palestinian youth. The Council must demand that Israel desist forthwith from all such acts.

My country believes that if, confronted by such a grave situation, the Security Council were to fail to shoulder its responsibilities, the occupying authorities might believe that they had a free hand to continue carrying out these illegal practices against the Palestinian people. We therefore once again call upon the Council to take a resolute, unanimous stand against these acts.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Egypt for the kind words he addressed to me.

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

Mr. SALAH (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): First, Sir, I extend to you our warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We have every confidence that your competence and experience will enable the Council, under your guidance, to work effectively to face the challenges of more than one important question threatening international peace and security.

I extend our thanks and appreciation also to your predecessor, Ambassador Kikuchi of Japan, on the exemplary way in which he presided over the Council last month.

I also express our gratitude to the members of the Security Council for allowing my delegation to participate in the Security Council's consideration of the item "The situation in the occupied Arab territories".

There was an uproar throughout the world when Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982. At the time, that uproar was reflected in the world press - and rightly so. It exposed the expansionist aims behind that invasion by Israel and emphasized its adverse consequences. Faced with that uproar, Israel sought, in co-operation with its friends and supporters, to remove the problem of Palestine and the deteriorating situation in the occupied Arab territories from the purview of the intense media coverage, and even from the scope of the international diplomatic activity, if possible. Israel's aim was to prevent this problem and the deteriorating situation from being highlighted and, hence, to prevent Israel from being put in the spotlight as an occupying Power, thereby exposing its practices and policies towards the Arab citizens in those territories and its nefarious role in exploiting the situation in the Middle East region, as well as the adverse effects that such acts have on international peace and security.

Israel's leaders and those who plan its foreign policy believe that if they can succeed in diminishing international concern over the situation in the occupied

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territories, the world will grow accustomed to Israel's presence as an occupying State and will come to accept it as it is.

All of Israel's other machinery began to intensify their activities and to seek, by various means, to consecrate this reality in the context of a process of political engineering vis à vis the situation of the occupied territories and the Arab population. They did that in the belief - a false belief - that the Arabs would accept Israel's wishes as a *fait accompli*, once the world's concern over the problem of Palestine had waned.

Hence, Israel began to intensify its political plans and programmes - foremost among them being the endeavour to break out of its international isolation, while consolidating its creeping annexation of Arab territories. Its leaders wished to solve Israel's problems while maintaining Israel as an occupying State and by intensifying the occupation rather than putting an end to it.

Thus, Israel's leaders have begun to ascribe the problems - the most prominent of which is the present civil disobedience in the West Bank and Gaza - to external factors and reasons. Indeed, this was done by the representative of Israel before the Council last Friday evening, during the first of this series of Council meetings convened to discuss the situation in the occupied Arab territories. He explained the Arab resistance to occupation as being the result of instigation from abroad. The Israeli representative went even further in insulting the intelligence of the members of the Council and their thorough knowledge of the facts of the Israeli-Arab conflict by stating that such Israeli actions as brutal murder and oppression are admissible under the principles of international law. Of course, he did not identify the principles he had in mind. He merely gave comparative examples of various acts of violence that had occurred in several countries and that had not been the subject of consideration by the Security Council. He forgot - conveniently - that none of those States is occupying the territory of

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other States and none of them has been dominating another people for more than 20 years in the most heinous way. He forgot - conveniently - that the basic function of the Security Council is to maintain international peace and security and to deter aggressive, non-peace-loving States; and that Israel and South Africa are the only two States which fit that description.

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Hence members must surely have understood the significance of the statement of the representative of Israel: he wanted to say that the situation in the West Bank and Gaza involved acts of legitimate resistance and was an internal question for Israel, and that the resistance is instigated from abroad by other regional parties having their own motives.

All members know the conventional wisdom that the oppressor can use anything as a pretext for his oppression. Thus Israel uses anything to justify its brutal acts of oppression against the civilian population in the occupied Arab territories. But allow me to give the Council an accurate picture of the situation.

The Palestinian Arab people, chafing under occupation, has long been frustrated and humiliated as a result of Israel's tendency, especially in the last two years, to strengthen its actions of annexation of the occupied Arab territories.

Young Palestinians who are as old as the occupation itself have begun to lose hope of attaining their freedom and getting rid of the humiliation of foreign rule and hegemony. Members will appreciate the depth of the bitterness and deprivation experienced by the Palestinians when they recall the hideousness of any form of foreign rule. But the present situation is even worse, given the cruelty and brutality of the Israeli occupation, which surpasses conventional foreign occupation because of the systematic endeavour to eradicate the moral and physical presence of the Palestinian people. There have been impartial international reports about the hideousness and gravity of the occupation, which touches on all aspects of life, violating all the fundamental freedoms of the Palestinians.

The Palestinian citizen is not spared any of the forms of Israeli oppression unless he surrenders his fundamental rights and freedoms. If we consider Israel's conduct against the Palestinians, we find that most of the human rights provided

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for in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights have been violated.

As a result of this situation of foreign occupation, imposed by various Israeli practices and policies, an explosive situation has developed among the Palestinians, whose frustration and hopelessness must find expression. It was only natural that their feelings would be manifested in resistance against the occupation and its policies.

Hence students demonstrated in Gaza, Khan Yunis and Nablus and in universities in the West Bank, and citizens in those areas demonstrated against the occupation regardless of the direct result of their demonstrations - be it a premeditated "accident" or any other kind of response. What is important is that the Palestinian people under occupation has rightly come to feel that any such Israeli act is an aggression against it. Possibly that is what caused the incident in which the Israeli settler was stabbed in Gaza a few days ago. Such an act is a result of the Israeli settler colonialist policy. Israel has confiscated one third of the land of Gaza, which is inhabited by 650,000 Arabs, in an area of no more than 370 square kilometres. The settler possibly lives on and exploits land belonging to a Palestinian citizen expelled from it by Israel to force him to work in Israel's factories or to suffer unemployment.

That anomaly was recently expressed by none other than the Foreign Minister of Israel in commenting on these events. Anyone who believes that the cause of the bloody events now taking place in the West Bank and Gaza are individual incidents, or that they are instigated from outside, is gravely mistaken. Such events are the result of the continued Israeli occupation and Israel's conduct and practices aimed at consolidating its occupation. Hence in Gaza and the West Bank there is an overwhelming popular revolt, an expression of rejection of the occupation.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

That was confirmed by Abba Eban, the former Foreign Minister of Israel, when he said, "The main cause of the unrest is the lack of any political solution, any light at the end of the tunnel".

But how did Israel respond? Having heard the reply of the Israeli representative here, we should not be surprised by the reply of Israel's leaders to the Palestinians who demonstrate and call for an end to the Israeli occupation. The cities of the West Bank and Gaza and the Palestinian refugees have been transformed into something akin to a battlefield, but the battle is between an army that wants to impose occupation and civilians who only want freedom and dignity.

Just as Israel's representative disregards the truth, Israel's leaders disregard the reality of the Palestinians under occupation. Hence they saw a threat to Israel's security in students' demonstrations and the closing of stores in protest against the occupation and the murder of Palestinian civilians. The Israeli forces responded by opening fire indiscriminately against the demonstrators. So far they have killed more than 10 civilians, most of them children, and they have injured scores of people. They have also arrested hundreds of others. Israeli forces have used helicopters, half-tracks, and various other weapons to intimidate and terrorize the civilians. Even hospitals and ambulances have not been spared Israeli acts of aggression. Students and women fell victims in Khan Yunis, the village of Nahallia and the refugee camps of Ballatpa, Allazza and Jeballia.

This is an extract from a report by Agence France Presse of 9 December concerning the situation:

"In the Jeballia camp, which seems to be in revolt, stones and calls for freedom are met with deadly bullets and shells, while an Israeli soldier cries, 'Now blood will flow!', and Israeli forces are mobilized near the mosque and the hospital. Suddenly an old woman begins to tear off her

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clothes, weeping and raising her hands heavenward, crying 'One of my sons has just fallen a martyr'. The boy, Hattem Alsis, was hit in the head a few minutes before by a bullet fired by an Israeli unit stationed on top of the Falluja school. This was preceded by the martyrdom of Rai'd Shehadi, who is 20 years old."

The report goes on to indicate the tension prevailing in Gaza, where the Israeli soldiers had opened fire over the demonstrators outside the Gaza hospital.

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Reuters quoted international relief workers as saying that on 9 December at least nine Palestinians had been injured. Palestinian children, including two girls, one age 10 and the other 13, had been moved to the hospitals. That scene is repeated continuously in various cities in the West Bank and the Palestinian refugee camps. The most recent instance took place at noon today in the city of Khan Yunis, where Israeli forces killed a young man, Hassan Abu Garun, and injured six others.

In the light of this explosive situation, we find it necessary to recall again that if the Security Council is to preserve its credibility and prestige and to maintain the confidence of the peace-loving peoples of the world in our international Organization it should consider the crux of the problem and scientifically establish the cause and effect. The real problem lies not in the legitimate Arab acts of resistance against Israel and Israel's illegal response to it, but in the Israeli occupation of the Arab territories and Israel's desire to annex those lands, after depopulating them. It began that process in 1967, when it annexed the Arab city of Al Quds, and it subsequently annexed the Golan in 1981. Such an understanding will give the Council the true picture of the Arab-Israeli conflict and allow members to distinguish the cause and effect in the series of developments taking place in the occupied Arab territories.

There is first the problem of occupation. Then there are Israel's oppressive practices. Finally, there are the Arab acts of resistance. Therefore, if the Council wants to consider seriously the deteriorating situation in the occupied Arab territories, it cannot consider any of those problems in isolation. Nor can it consider them as a whole without placing them in their proper causal context. The basis is the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan and then the arbitrary military rule over approximately 2 million Arabs. That has naturally

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led to the displacement of some 3 million Palestinians, about 2 million of whom are refugees scattered all over the world, including those camps in Lebanon whose inhabitants are subjected to continuous aggression, especially by Israel.

Thus the Israeli occupation seeks to undermine the two most important objectives of the Palestinian Arab people - the return of the displaced refugees and freedom for the Palestinians chafing under foreign domination. But instead of seeking to put an end to its occupation of the Arab territories in order to enable the Palestinians to exercise those two natural rights, Israel has taken an opposite tack by seeking to consecrate the occupation. It has given the refugees a choice between assimilation in the societies in which they now are and continuous displacement. As regards those Arabs chafing under its domination, it has given them a choice between accepting the fait accompli and departing.

But the Palestinians have a right to another legitimate option, that of freedom and return. I believe the whole world, including the Council, supports them in that. It is the duty of all of us to seek to enable them to achieve that noble objective, which is enjoyed by the peoples of the States we represent. I believe that only in that context can we understand the nature of the recent developments unfolding in the West Bank and Gaza and those that have occurred in the Syrian Golan on previous occasions. Such events will be repeated in all those areas, because as long as there is Israeli occupation of the Arab territories there will be an Arab resistance aimed at getting rid of the occupation and not merely obtaining privileges or humanitarian treatment under such occupation. The attempt to imbue the Israeli occupation with a humanitarian character by referring to various cosmetic administrative and economic actions is proof of Israel's expansionist intentions, and hence is additional justification for resistance. That is matched by the attempt to delegitimize the struggle of the Palestinian people by branding it as terrorism and extremism.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

It therefore becomes clear that Israel's practices and arbitrary policies are symptoms of the basic disease of occupation and that the Palestinians' legitimate resistance is the cure for that disease, which has been a cause of suffering. It may appear that the Arab violence is a reaction to the repressive acts and inhuman policies of Israeli organs. That is what Israel wants to convince the world of, but I am confident the members of the Council realize that the reason for the current conflict is the continued occupation, just as Israel's policies and oppression, first, are a means to consecrate the occupation and, secondly, are aimed at responding to the legitimate resistance.

We all realize that the Israeli acts of oppression increase the Arab acts of violence and resistance, because those Israeli acts of oppression create a difficult psychological situation and a tense political condition among the Palestinians. If there are feelings of hatred, rejection and vengeance on the part of the Palestinians, such feelings are the result of the ill treatment, aggression and injustice they are subjected to by Israel.

What does Israel expect from Palestinian students, one of whom was killed by the bullets of its soldiers? What does Israel want from the sons of the occupied territories while they escort the funeral of their martyr - or more than one martyr - every day? Does it expect them to throw flowers at the occupation soldiers instead of stones and Molotov cocktails? Did the members of the French resistance during the Nazi occupation of France behave any differently from the way in which the Palestinians are behaving now? Did the American resistance behave differently? The sons of the Palestinian people have even resorted to Gandhi's non-violent, passive resistance, but to no avail.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

These are the elements of the volatile situation in the occupied Arab territories: an abominable Israeli occupation, which inflames the Palestinians' national feelings; cruel and illegal policies; deteriorating social and economic conditions. To that list we must add Israel's arrogance and disregard for the realities and dangers of occupation. We must add an army of occupation that employs the most sophisticated and hideous means of oppression; settlers that come from all over the world through suspect deals; politicians who try to outdo one another in extremism and in spouting slogans of hegemony and expansionism. They are all playing an infernal game targeted against the Palestinian Arab people in the West Bank and Gaza.

Palestinians under occupation are witness to the confiscation of their lands; the demolition of their homes; the hideous exploitation of their resources; the injury, imprisonment and murder of their children; the confiscation of their freedom; disregard for their dignity. They are witness to an imminent threat to their future; they see not a glimmer of hope.

Their response to all this is positive action: resistance. Resistance is morally, legally and politically justifiable. The Palestinians under occupation do not need instigators from abroad; their motivation is at home: the hideous occupation and its attendant brutal policy of oppression, which is unjustifiable and illegal. When the occupier attempts to perpetuate its occupation and change the legal status, demographic character and Arab nature of the territories it occupies, it has no legal justification. We therefore expect the Security Council to denounce the continued Israeli occupation of Arab territories and Israel's policy of attempting to enshrine that occupation. We expect the Council to call upon Israel to end its acts of aggression and oppression, including firing on civilians, and to begin to put into place conditions conducive to moving forward

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

the peace process, through the convening of an international conference under United Nations auspices, with the participation of all parties, in implementation of United Nations resolutions relevant to the question in its principal context, the Arab-Israeli conflict, first and foremost the binding resolutions of the Security Council.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Jordan for the kind words he addressed to me.

I had intended to adjourn the meeting following the statement of the representative of Jordan, but the representative of Israel has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I therefore invite that representative to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): Again, it is almost 8 o'clock, and the Council has just spent a long hour in a debate - if one can call it that - laden with jargon, long on rhetoric and very short on fact. This will extend to tomorrow, and maybe it will extend to the next day; because the idea is to extend. Just as the idea here is to extend the convening of this body to allow political attacks against my country, that idea is matched in the field by calls to extend the violence there: extend the violence there, extend the attacks here; political attacks, physical attacks feeding one upon the other, to occupy the time of this body, which should be devoted to other things.

I think we saw this evening a demonstration of what the purpose is, at least here. The purpose is not to discuss the recent incidents; the purpose is to use the convening of the Council to launch a full-scale political assault on the very foundations of the Jewish State, to brand it as "illegitimate", as "racist", as "Fascist" and so on, and of course not really to deal with the facts - the facts are not interesting.

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

I found it interesting that the last attack was delivered by the representative of Jordan. He spoke at length about the "inhumane conditions", the "illegal occupation", the "annexation" and the "inevitable hopelessness" - that is his theme - of young Palestinian Arabs born to this occupation that "denies them their national rights". That frustration bursts out in demonstrations. That is the line repeated endlessly not only by speakers here, but by others as well; this is an orchestrated campaign.

I think the representative of Jordan conveniently forgets that the annexation of Judea-Samaria was a Jordanian annexation. For 19 years, Jordan first annexed then illegally occupied what it calls the West Bank. By the way, until that time, 1949, it never called it the West Bank; it called it Judea and Samaria; in the United Nations documents one finds Judea and Samaria. That occupation was also an attempt to change, to extinguish any of the long-standing historic and actual Jewish connections, starting with the eradication of the name and, upon occupation and annexation, going on to the destruction of Jewish communities that had lived there, in Hebron for example, since time immemorial - and, of course, the destruction of other Jewish towns and villages in Judea-Samaria.

They conquered, they changed the name, but one thing they did not do - and nobody did - was to say a word at that time or at any time throughout those 19 years about Palestinian nationalism, about frustration, about the hopelessness of youth. They did not talk about Palestinian nationhood because it did not exist then. There were other sources of unrest and disturbance under that annexation of Judea-Samaria. The representative of Jordan spoke about brutality, murder and oppression; I should like to remind him of some incidents that took place during Jordan's 19-year rule.

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

In October 1954, according to a 26 October 1954 dispatch from Beirut Radio, there were riots and demonstrations in Jenin, Nablus, Ramallah and Jerusalem; the army was called in; a state of emergency was declared; an official announcement said that 14 were killed, with 10 in Amman, and 117 injured, while the media claimed that 90 were killed.

Then, in April 1957 actions were taken by King Hussein: there were riots in Jerusalem and Ramallah; emergency regulations entered into force; a curfew was imposed in Jerusalem and Ramallah; newspapers were closed; municipal councils in Bethlehem, Nablus, Tulkarm and Jenin were dismissed; there were wide arrests, including 169 UNRWA teachers. That was from Al-Difa' of 19 April 1957.

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

The following is taken from Al-Nahar: on 24 April 1963, in Jerusalem, 11 killed, 150 wounded, including 17 girls students; in Ramallah, one killed, 35 wounded; in Jenin and Irbid, dozens wounded; 120 politicians arrested.

On 22 November 1966, according to Reuters and Al-Goumhuriya: Some 200 students barricaded in a school in Nablus; they stoned the police which used tear-gas to disperse them. But they do not normally use tear-gas. Again, this is from Al-Goumhuriya: Riots in Nablus and in Hebron; police open fire against demonstrators on the 19th; tanks used to quell demonstrators in Nablus and Hebron on the 20th; some 50 killed and wounded in Nablus and later more killed at the funeral.

No Palestinian nationalism. One will not find a word about it. No pent-up frustrations of Palestinian youths. One will not hear a word about that either. No talk about ending the illegal occupation. But one does see the application of means of "restoring order" that Israel would never dream of using. We never fire point-blank with Browning .5 submachine-guns into a crowd. We did not put our tanks in front of refugee camps and blast away. We would not and we do not, because if we did that is the number of casualties we would have.

The Jordanian Legion was liberated from any restraint, any inhibition, any constraint on the use of fire-arms: They did not fire rubber bullets; they did not have orders that only if their life were in jeopardy they fired. No, they simply fired away. So to receive these lectures from the representative of Jordan - I do not want to say it is insulting, because it does not insult me - amuses me.

The same goes for the message we heard from the representative of Syria. But what can I say? He spoke - with feeling - about the Palestinian Arabs, about the "systematic extermination and genocide". A few persons lost their lives, it is true. I said on Friday - and I stand by what I said - that we regret that loss of

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

life. Did Syria regret the loss of lives of thousands of Palestinian Arabs that it slaughtered in the camps in Lebanon, that it slaughtered in the Bekaa Valley? Should we call that - and is it not - systematic extermination?

The representative of Syria spoke of occupation and international law. Syria occupies 60 per cent of Lebanon; there is no Geneva convention there and we did not hear about that. Then he spoke about dozens of innocent demonstrators, and I thought: What about those people who demonstrated against the oppression of the Syrian régime in the town of Hamah? What happened to them when they were cut down, when 10,000 persons lost their lives? He talked about the disregard of tradition, but did not mention the mosques in Hamah - some of them ancient mosques - destroyed under rubble by Syrian artillery. He spoke of muzzling a free press. I assume he spoke from the vantage point of the free press in Damascus.

But most interesting, he spoke about the racist régimes, that is, equating Israel to the Nazis. He said: "We are all aware of the appalling crimes committed by the Nazis against humanity." As well you should, Sir, because you are holding the most notorious, arch-Nazi criminal, Eichmann's deputy, Alois Buehler, in your capital. You had the gall to speak about the Nazis. You speak from knowledge. Mr. Buehler is protected by your President and his brother. He is instructing them in techniques of crowd control and other things that he brought with him from his fruitful experience.

Then we heard the expressions of the representative of Egypt. I must say I was troubled to hear from a representative who knows the history of the Gaza Strip and I shall not take up any more of the Council's time - but if it becomes necessary we shall on another occasion - to describe what happened in the Gaza Strip before the six-day war, when it was under Egyptian rule; before there was

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

talk of Palestinian nationalism, hopelessness, desperation, the techniques of crowd control used by Egyptian forces there, the riots, the killings, and the absence of law. For that matter, I shall not go into a discussion of the riots, demonstrations and loss of life that have continuously plagued Egypt in recent years and the actions taken by the Egyptian Government to quell those demonstrations. They certainly merit close scrutiny by anyone criticizing the actions that my Government has taken under strict and difficult orders for its forces. They merit comparison, and we shall not fall short in that comparison.

The attempt here to create a political argument that the source of the conflict that we witness in the Middle East - it was repeated again - the core of the conflict in the Middle East, is the fact that 20 years ago Israel repelled an attack on its life and was able to drive away forces staged on the killing grounds of Judea, Samaria and Gaza that threatened to extinguish its very life force. The attempt to describe that as the source of the conflict is absurd. The attempt to say that the disturbances in those specific territories began in 1967 is absurd.

But I do not want to get into a long discussion about the conflict. I have talked about this, but I shall repeat it - if I may summarize this point - merely because these statements were hurled at my country in an attempt to open up here a political front for broadside attacks. This is not our interest. Our interest is to try to deal with the facts and explain what is happening. I did not notice anyone dealing with the facts. Let me try to do so briefly.

The facts are that the incidents we are now witnessing began a few days ago and were then primed up by a carefully orchestrated campaign. There were two important incidents: the first was on 9 December with the murder of Schlomo Saker, who was shopping in an Arab market; he was stabbed to death by a member of 417,

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

Yasser Arafat's personal bodyguard force, which took credit - that is the word - for that action. On 10 December, the day after Saker's murder, there was a traffic accident in Jabaliya near Gaza in which four Arab bystanders lost their lives. On the day of that traffic accident Al-Fajr, a pro-PLO paper in Jerusalem - by the way a paper that did not exist there before 1967 - said: "This was an intentional and deliberate assault" - the accident. And all PLO organs spread the idea, this canard, that the accident was caused not merely by Jews avenging Saker's death; this was caused by Saker's brother, they said, who was driving the truck when it hit the bystanders - which is, of course, nonsense. Here was a deliberate attempt to incite passion and disturbances, accompanied on that same date - 10 December - by a broadcast from Baghdad, from Arafat, exhorting the Arab population "to increase the disturbances and to teach the enemy an unimaginable lesson". And one of Arafat's advisers, Bassam Abu Sharif suggested that would be "a message to Reagan and Gorbachev".

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

Now, on 11 December, following those exhortations, there were disturbances in in Jebaliya and, on 12 December, in Ballata and Kalandia.

I said, on Friday, that none of this was spontaneous, that there were attempts to organize in November an incitation of riots that were boosted by those events. I mentioned a few dates in November, not all of them: 2 November, the Balfour Declaration; 8 November, the Amman Summit; 19 November, the tenth anniversary of Sadat's visit to Jerusalem; 11 December, the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the PFLP; 12 December, the end of the United Nations Middle East debate and 1 January is the date of the founding of the Fatah. All those dates converge, and they converge annually as one can see by the graph of violence which rises in anticipation and in exhortation - deliberate incitation and deliberate exhortation around those dates. That is exactly what we are witnessing right now, with the one added difference that they were able to use that unfortunate accident and the murder of Shlomo Saker, which the PLO itself committed, to generate an acceleration of this violence.

I just want to describe here a typical disturbance, because it is important to understand how it breaks out. A typical disturbance breaks out when students are either going to school or leaving school after school hours. We have had hundreds of incidents where PLO masked men enter a girls' school - typically they do not do it in a boys' school; they do it in a girls' school. They come in, with clubs or other weapons; they force the girls into the streets; they stone the school yards. One school principal came to our security forces and said: "Please protect the school; build me a new wall to keep these people out because there is no way that we can prevent this violence."

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

They forcibly force the girls out into the street - forcibly. Ambassador Badawi said here "they have no other alternative". He is absolutely right. Frequently, anyone who wishes to stay in the school yard and not go into the street has no other alternative: he will be clubbed. They push the girls out into the street, and occasionally some boys; they form a mob; and they force a confrontation with the security forces who reach the scene, usually in small numbers in small patrols. They then surround them, throw bottles at them - sometimes Molotov cocktails - bars, stones, rocks and jeopardize their lives. Some response takes place; some violence takes place; and all of that is inflamed by these people in the rear; by that time they have taken off their masks; they do not have a problem: there is a crowd. They incite, they force, they coerce, they inflame and then they bring it here.

The way to bring it here is to orchestrate a propaganda campaign. And of course the call for the convening of the Security Council starts the cycle that I describe before: violence, political debate; violence, political debate; in order to keep it going as long as they can.

They do the same thing with the hospitals. I said on Friday that the claim, the assertion, that our forces block the hospital entrances is a flat lie. It is a flat lie, but what is important to understand is who does block the hospital entrances. It is the same people who organize the demonstrations. They prevent the Israeli forces from opening up the hospitals. If you try to open up the hospitals they throw stones, rocks and Molotov cocktails to prevent any medical treatment from coming in. They block access to the hospitals and then they falsify and claim that we block access. Well, as I have indicated, we have been able to open up access to the local hospitals and to take any injured person to the hospitals nearby in Ashkelon and Beersheba.

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

There is one other tactic that they use: the stealing of corpses. Corpses are very useful. They are a very useful way to inflame crowds. So they go to the hospitals and steal the corpses. We have had appeals from families who say:

"Please take the corpses away from the PLO and bring them back to us." The corpses are necessary if you want to start a riot. Families have begged us to return the bodies of their loved ones.

We have had some experience with this incitation. We know that the majority of the people in Judea-Samaria and in Gaza do not participate, do not want to participate, abhor this violence and would want to see calm restored. Our authorities have met with the local Arab representatives to defuse the situation and to restore calm. For example, the Mayor of Nablus and the IDF Commander of the Central District met a day or so ago and decided on several measures to do just that. We are determined to preserve stability and order for the benefit of all. We will also continue, despite the objections of my Jordanian colleague and others here, with these "cosmetic" things to improve the life of the inhabitants - "cosmetic" things like electrification and housing, agricultural improvements and improvements in the banking system, in the fisheries and so on. We shall continue with all these "cosmetic" things because our idea is coexistence, our idea is peace and a peaceful settlement. That is not the ideal of those who organize and orchestrate and incite, including in this Council. There is one principle we are discussing here, and that principle is the right of any Government - military or civilian - to administer a territory and ensure law and order for the safety of all. This is a principle that I believe is recognized by virtually every

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

fair-minded representative here. It is one that was enunciated by someone who I think should know something about it. He said: "We find it our duty to take a series of measures to restore law and order, to preserve the life of every citizen, his means of living and his property." This is not a quotation from the leaders of the Israeli Government or from their representative here in this Chamber. It is a quote from none other than King Hussein, who, in his biography written by Peter Snow said, on page 222: "It is a principle that we should all repair to. It is a correct one." We fully concur and we believe that everybody who has the facts of the matter at hand knows that this is precisely what Israel is doing.

But the question is: What is the Council doing? Why is the supreme body of the United Nations - the one charged with the maintenance of international peace, quelling wars and resolving conflicts of unimaginable magnitude that are now flaring up in the world - allowing itself to be misused in such a distortion of truth and the purposes for which it was founded?

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The representative of the Syrian Arab Republic has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MASRI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): We have become accustomed to hearing untruths, distortions and lies. The Council, which is regarded as the supreme international body with responsibility for international peace and security, is well aware of the situation. It knows the truth of the matter. The speaker preceding me has not spoken the truth. He has told lies.

The grave situation in the occupied Arab lands is fraught with the most serious danger to international peace and security. Nobody can be unaware of the fact that this danger arose primarily because of the occupation and the blind forces of repression of the occupying Power against the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories.

That representative, without the slightest embarrassment, spoke of his wish for peace. But what peace was he talking about? Peace under occupation, within the context of expansionism - and indeed reminiscent of measures taken by the Nazis during the Second World War?

How can one describe the massacres that have taken place in towns and villages in occupied Palestine? How can one describe the massacres of Deir Yassin, Nahhalin and elsewhere, and the massacres committed by the Israeli occupying forces throughout the occupied Arab territories? How can one describe the barbaric invasion of Lebanon and the brutal bombing of the city of Beirut? How, indeed, can one describe all this except as brutal massacres, such as those that occurred in Sabra and Shatila? Are these less than what was done by the Nazis; less than the measures they adopted during the Second World War?

In his statement that speaker suggested that there was a kind of hysteria in our describing as Nazi the acts perpetrated in the occupied Arab territories. Yes, that is how we describe them, because how else can one describe the indiscriminate massacring of women, children and the aged?

(Mr. Masri, Syrian Arab  
Republic)

That speaker scorned all recognized values by giving Jewish names to Arab territories. But I reaffirm that Arab land will remain Arab land. It will never be Zionist land. Whatever the duration of the occupation, or of those Fascist, Nazi repressive measures which are adopted against the entire Arab Palestinian people in the occupied Arab territories and in occupied Palestine, the resistance will continue. It is legitimate resistance. It is resistance to occupation, resistance to outside invasion.

That representative of the Fascist occupying forces is trying to distort and remake the truth. And why is he doing this? There is a proverb to the effect that one cannot hide the sun with the palm of the hand. The immutable truth is that there is occupation; there has been an invasion; the Israeli occupying forces have enacted a whole arsenal of repressive measures.

What do you expect of people suffering every day, in their homes and in their schools, because of those measures? The speaker innundated us with lies and more lies, as if he could cover up the truth. It was just a smokescreen, however: the truth cannot be hidden. It is clear to everybody. There has been an invasion; there is an occupation. The people of the occupied Arab territories have been exiled. There have been massacres. There is killing.

By what right does that representative claim that his authorities are entitled to take certain measures to restore public order and law and order? What kind of law and order? Where? In the occupied Arab territories? By what right do the occupying forces use such brutal and barbaric measures against national resistance? They do this on the pretext of preserving law and order. Law and order in these territories can only be achieved if there is a complete withdrawal from them and if the inhabitants of those lands are allowed to enjoy their

(Mr. Masri, Syrian Arab  
Republic)

inalienable rights that are recognized under international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

Security can never be achieved through Nazi, Fascist and repressive actions. It is claimed that these authorities took certain actions. But that speaker forgets that they are like the Nazis were. This is the greatest threat to peace and security. He forgets that these occupying forces are the Nazis of today.

The Council must adopt the necessary measures. The Council must, as soon as possible, adopt these measures so as to force the racist and Fascist régime to withdraw entirely and immediately from the occupied Arab territories, thereby enabling the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable national rights.

Nobody can justify this occupation. Nobody can claim that these measures are legitimate.

The Council, the principal organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, has not yet been able to take the necessary measures against that expansionist and colonialist régime. It has not yet been able to put an end to its misdeeds.

We do not wish to abuse the Council. We do not wish to launch campaigns and to make accusations, which is what the preceding speaker claimed. We avail ourselves of the forum provided by the Council to tell the truth to the world, to denounce the neo-Nazi measures being taken against the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories and against the Arab people. We avail ourselves of this forum not to hurl accusations but to ask for restoration of the rights of oppressed peoples.

(Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

We have told the world the truth and we therefore expect the international community to take the position incumbent on it by its responsibilities for international peace and security, and to combat this outlaw régime, which has placed itself outside the pale of all moral and human values.

We appeal to the Security Council to take the measures required to protect the Arab inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories, to give them international protection against these barbaric actions by the occupying Israeli forces.

I do not wish to dwell on this matter; I know that the Council's time is valuable. I would merely say once again that we are here today awaiting the adoption of the measures required by the situation; we are awaiting the Council's shouldering of its responsibilities to law, right and justice.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply, and I now call on him.

Mr. AL-KIDWA (Palestine Liberation Organization) (interpretation from Arabic): I should have liked to place before the Security Council today the developments that have taken place in the serious situation in the occupied Palestinian territories and the details of the crimes committed against our people there. However, because of the constraints of time, we shall do that at the next meeting of the Security Council, tomorrow.

On Friday last, during the meeting of the Security Council on the serious situation in the occupied Palestinian territories, the representative of Israel spoke and tried to hide the facts. He summed up the situation as if it were a mere traffic accident and described the information that had been given to the Council as "lies". He also said that what had been happening was only riots directed by the Palestine Liberation Organization. We would have thought that the wealth of

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine  
Liberation Organization)

details that had been given about the serious deterioration of the situation in the occupied territories would prevent him from repeating these same statements.

However, regrettably, he went on repeating them. He tried to make it appear that we have to be protected by the occupying Israeli forces.

In this connection, I would only quote a message Lord Nottingham addressed to Mrs. Thatcher, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, on 7 December 1987, on behalf of a delegation of British Liberals that had visited Jordan and the occupied territories. This message contains that delegation's evaluation of the reasons for the deterioration of the situation in the occupied territories. It reads:

(spoke in English)

"The delegation believes that the sharp rise in hostilities to the occupation forces has resulted from three things:

"First, a growth in human-rights abuses by the occupying Power. Examples of this are: The shooting of innocent people has become commonplace. There is no punishment for army indiscipline and no apparent control. No supervision or disciplining of individual army units firing on unarmed civilian demonstrations has become normal. Children of 12 to 15 years of age are frequently picked up off the streets and held in detention for up to three months without right of appeal, and often with no indication that they are in custody.

"Secondly, a complete failure to achieve any kind of political or administrative solution to the illegal Israeli occupation.

"Thirdly, a specific example of the kind of abuse by the occupation authorities that is provoking the catastrophe: In Gaza the illegal Israeli settlers are given over 30 per cent of the total water supplies available, while the remainder of the water is shared among the 640,000 refugees and

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine  
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other persons under the occupation, many of whom are living in squalor and deprivation that is inconceivable to the Western mind - mostly as a direct result of the occupation.

"The situation is rapidly moving towards a crisis that will make the massacres of the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps seem insignificant by comparison. Urgent action must be taken to reduce the threat."

(continued in Arabic)

As we have said, that is the message of unbiased witnesses concerning the reasons for what is happening in the occupied territories. I do not think I have to give any more evidence.

If the resistance of our people to the Israeli occupation and the policy of the iron fist is the cause of the rejection of this occupation, then we in the PLO are proud of that. If the resistance of our people to the Israeli occupation and the policy of the iron fist is the result of the efforts of the PLO and the adherence of our people to the PLO as its sole, legitimate representative, then we are proud of that. We and our people do not hide the fact that we are struggling to achieve our legitimate national rights and to put an end to occupation.

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine  
Liberation Organization)

The Israeli representative also said, as he always does whenever the question of Palestine is discussed, something in order to draw our attention away from the core of the problem and to the inter-Arab conflict.

We have not in any way claimed that we are without Arab conflicts and disputes. But we reaffirm that those problems and disputes are radically different from the Israeli occupation of Palestinian soil. There is an Israeli occupation; Israel is engaging in oppressive practices; all international laws, the Charter, the Fourth Geneva Convention and all other international instruments are being violated.

The Palestinian national identity has always existed. The aspirations of the Palestinian people have always existed, and will always exist.

Here I would echo the Ambassador of Jordan, who has said that the Palestinian people will not be satisfied with any foreign rule. We emphasize that. Indeed the Palestinian people will not accept any foreign rule. The only rule it will accept is Palestinian rule for our Palestinian people.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The next meeting of the Security Council to continue our consideration of this agenda item will take place tomorrow, Tuesday, 15 December 1987, at 4 p.m.

The meeting rose at 8.30 p.m.