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ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
SEVEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-THIRD MEETINGHeld at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 15 December 1987, at 4 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. DELPECH

Mr. TSVETKOV

Mr. LI Luye

Mr. ADOUKI

Mr. BLANC

Count YORK von WARTENBURG

Mr. DUMEVI

Mr. BUCCI

Mr. KIKUCHI

Mr. AL-SHAALI

Sir Crispin TICKELL

Mr. WALTERS

Mr. PABON GARCIA

Mr. MFULA

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The meeting was called to order at 4.50 p.m.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): Before we proceed with our work, I should like to raise a procedural matter with the members of the Council.

As President of the Council I regard it as inadmissible for openings of meetings to be delayed, as the opening of this meeting has been. Our Organization is not in an excellent financial situation, and its financial resources should not be squandered. That is an inadmissible luxury.

I request that there be full respect and full discipline among members of the Council so that we do not waste time. That is a necessary condition for normal relations among members of the Council. I would therefore urgently appeal to members in future strictly to abide by the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

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 decisions taken at previous meetings on this item, I invite the representatives of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the Syrian Arab Republic to take the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Badawi (Egypt), Mr. Netanyahu (Israel), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Al-Kawari (Qatar), Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia) and Mr. Al-Masri (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; Mr. Al-Kidwa (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bahrain, Cuba, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq and Pakistan 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.

I invite the representatives of Bahrain, Cuba, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq and Pakistan to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Shakar (Bahrain), Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Mahallati (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Kittani (Iraq) and Mr. Shah Nawaz (Pakistan) 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 from the Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations dated 15 December 1987, which reads as follows:

(The President)

"I have the honour to request that the Security Council invite Mr. Ahmet Engin Ansay, Permanent Observer of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations, to address the Council under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure in connection with the item 'The situation in the occupied Arab territories'."

That letter has been published as a document of the Security Council under symbol S/19344. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation to Mr. Ansay under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the appropriate time I shall invite Mr. Ansay to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. Members have before them document S/19343, which contains the text of a letter dated 14 December 1987 from the Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

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

Mr. AL-KAWARI (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): It is my pleasure at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for this month. I am confident that, with your knowledge and expertise and the respect and influence your country enjoys, you will achieve the success expected of this Council.

I should like to express my thanks to your predecessor, the Ambassador of Japan, for his presidency during the month of November and the excellent manner in which he conducted the Council's work.

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

The urgent convening of the Council clearly shows that it is aware of the gravity of the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories. It indicates also that the Council is appreciative of the courageous resistance movement sweeping across the West Bank and Gaza, which gives us hope that the Council will fulfil its responsibility towards the Palestinian people, which has been suffering what no other people on earth has suffered: oppression, repression and abuses of human rights.

The uprising we are witnessing is not the first, and it will not be the last. It is not a reaction to a specific event that would end as soon as that event had passed. It is an uprising that will continue until the people achieves its legitimate objectives in accordance with international instruments and United Nations resolutions.

This Council bears a special responsibility because it is responsible for world security and for respect for international instruments and the implementation of United Nations resolutions. The representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization spoke in some detail about the events that have taken place in the occupied territories. We have seen on television and in other mass media graphic depictions of this courageous resistance using stones when faced with the shells, tanks and other weapons of the occupation.

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

I shall not repeat the account of that uprising or give details of the practices of the occupation authorities or of the violence to which women and children and elderly Palestinians are subjected, because it is no secret; everyone knows it.

The occupation authorities have tried every kind of repression to silence the voice of the Palestinian people. They have resorted to all kinds of violence to compel that people to accept the fait accompli, submit to the occupation and leave its land. But it did not; and they will not succeed, because history has taught us that the will of the peoples is invincible.

There is a clear lesson to be learned from this courageous uprising in the occupied territories. It is that those masses, with their limited capabilities, are resolved to hold on to their lands and their rights and to make sacrifices for them until the world recognizes their legitimate right to the establishment of their own independent State on their national soil, under the leadership of their sole, legitimate representative, freely chosen by them, the PLO.

Another lesson that we should learn from this continued uprising is that it is not simply an indication of the rejection of occupation, but is the correct method to regain usurped rights, particularly when the world has not shouldered its responsibilities and when the enemy has ignored the will of the international community, reflected in General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, which remain unimplemented.

My country, which has always stood by the fraternal Palestinian people, looks forward to the Security Council's fulfilling its responsibilities towards this courageous people. That means putting an end to the massacres of the Palestinian people perpetrated by the occupation authorities, condemning the racist practices

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

of those authorities and compelling the authorities to respect international instruments - above all, the Fourth Geneva Convention. It also means implementing United Nations resolutions providing for the return of the Palestinian people to its land and the establishment of its own independent State, with Israel's complete withdrawal from the Arab territories in Golan and southern Lebanon. Furthermore, it means convening the international peace conference on the Middle East, as agreed by the international community, with the participation of the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Without that desired solution, we should expect nothing but continued resistance. We must pay tribute to that resistance and support it, because until the international community shoulders its responsibilities it is the only means available.

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

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

Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset of my statement I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. Your distinguished personal qualities and your competence and ability give me confidence that the Council will conclude its important proceedings this month in a very satisfactory manner. The effective and very important role of your country in world affairs will have a great effect in fulfilling those hopes.

I also wish to refer with praise and appreciation to the role of your predecessor, Ambassador Kikuchi, Permanent Representative of Japan, for the competence and ability with which he directed the Council's proceedings over the past month.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

The Council has been urgently called to consider the campaign of terror being waged by the Zionist authorities against the people of Palestine on the land of Palestine. Terror is not new to the Israeli authorities. They have been practising it ever since they touched the Arab land in Palestine under the umbrella of colonialism. They continue it today under various pretexts. But the real motive and the basic objective is to try to deprive a people of their homeland, to deprive the Palestinian people of their country. The Zionists will undoubtedly fail in this, and the opposite will be true; their terror will leave the Arab people who are captive in their homeland with no alternative but to defend themselves with the same weapon, and they will triumph in the end.

Zionist spokesmen deny that the killings of innocents committed by their authorities are crimes. And with all shamelessness their representative says that these are annual events and that their cause is the Palestinians' remembrance of the Balfour Declaration on 2 November, and the resolution for the partition of Palestine on 29 November. The Palestinians remember these ill-starred events everywhere; they commemorate them in many countries, in both the West and the East. But only in Palestine, on their land and in their occupied country, are they being massacred, unarmed, by the fire of the cowards. The soldiers of Israeli terror face unarmed people with machine-guns and bombs. And we all know that fire ignites fire.

The Zionists' arrogance and the immunity they think they have when they are judged by this Council are among the reasons for the increased tension and the continuation of Zionist terror against Arabs. Hindering the Council's ability to adopt a resolution to penalize the Israeli authorities for the crimes they commit, in violation of international norms and conventions, is a serious matter. The price is being paid by the Arab people of Palestine with their blood, shed on the soil of their homeland. It is a serious matter, because the Jew in Palestine is

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

also paying through the retaliation of the relatives of the victims of Zionist terror.

The Israeli authorities, in the Council's definition, are occupying authorities. In the Arab definition, they are terrorist invaders, who should be punished in the way in which every State represented here, and all the people in those countries, would deal with invaders of their land. Let the Council apply the terms of its definition to those occupying authorities, which are committing against the people whose country they occupy every kind of crime which violates the Geneva Conventions, the United Nations Charter and even the terms under which the International Organization accepted as a member Israel, which was unqualified for membership.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

Despite all the attempts by the terrorist Israeli authorities to cover up the truth, we have heard more than enough from the international mass media over the past few days to incriminate the Zionist authorities for threatening the peace and security of the Palestinian Arab people and creating conditions that will inevitably lead to a proliferation of violence.

For some weeks many people have expected the Israeli authorities to commit criminal acts of revenge for the daring commando operations carried out by Palestinian Mujahidin, and in recent days we have seen how they carried out their cowardly revenge by firing bullets against innocents in the streets of Palestine. But the coward is a self-defeating person in the first place.

In an attempt to fool the world, the Zionists try to ask foolishly: Why do the Palestinians, and the Arabs and Muslims with them, undertake violent acts of vengeance against Zionism at the cost of their lives? The answer to the Zionists is their own Zionist terror, which is the root cause of the disease and the source of the calamity. Palestinians are being slain in their homes before the very eyes of their families. And the Zionists want them not to revolt, not to defend themselves.

If condemning the Zionist authorities is sufficient for some, it is certainly not enough for the Palestinian Arab people whose blood is being shed in the streets. A deterrent punishment and a just verdict against the authorities committing those crimes would enhance the credibility of the Council in the eyes of Arab and Muslim peoples, who do not yet feel confident in the ability of the United Nations to make an effective contribution to restoring Palestinian rights - rights this international Organization itself played a part in taking away.

I heard someone say that the Palestine Liberation Organization - which we support and which is supported by all Arab and Muslim States as the sole,

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and which is recognized by more States than recognize the Israeli entity - is motivating the Arabs to express their feelings in remembrance of the Balfour declaration and the General Assembly resolution partitioning Palestine, which violated every convention and principle. That is a cheap attempt at deception, because the Palestine Liberation Organization is an extension of the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people, whose revolt against Zionism and then against its offspring, Israel, began with the first Zionist attempts to infiltrate Arab lands in Palestine 70 years ago, before the Palestine Liberation Organization came into being and before its leaders were born.

I call upon the Security Council to adopt a firm resolution commensurate with its responsibility with respect to crimes that, if not deterred now, will expand and complicate the situation. I reassure the steadfast Arab people on the soil of their homeland that those in the world who cherish justice and legitimacy stand by them. To the Arab and Muslim nation, Al-Quds, the first kiblah and the third holiest shrine, is not an area to be usurped under the cover of darkness, in the absence of world conscience and international legitimacy. Palestine, the home of Arab people, is not a piece of real estate that can be bought and sold; it is the homeland of a nation; it contains the roots of a people. The Council bears a fundamental responsibility to deter the Israeli authorities from committing their various acts of terror, including the killing of unarmed people, which is what this Council is considering today. That was a vengeful act of terror that will have the worst of results for the security of the area and the whole of Palestine.

We salute the steadfast people of Palestine in their stand against invasion, occupation and oppression. We salute the Mujahidin in their own land, the land of sanctity and sacrifice. We wish peace for the souls of martyrs who have fallen before the fire of the cowards, so that the good soil nourished by their blood may bear the fruit of righteousness and be restored to its people.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

In the name of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, we call upon the Council to take a firm stand that will deter the aggressors and restore justice to the Palestinian people, a responsible stand promoting a just solution to the problem of Palestine.

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

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

Mr. ABULHASAN (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): On the behalf of the State of Kuwait I am pleased to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We believe that it will be a month of debates on important issues affecting international peace. You are the representative of the friendly Soviet Union, which bears a special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security; your country is linked to Kuwait by the closest of ties. I am acquainted with your wisdom and experience, and I am convinced that the Council will be successful in its deliberations this month.

I wish at the same time to thank Ambassador Kikuchi, Permanent Representative of Japan, for the excellent manner in which he presided over the Council's deliberations last month.

Kuwait has the honour of currently presiding over the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and on behalf of that organization I thank the Council for responding to our request that the Security Council be convened to consider the escalation over the past six days of the extremely grave events in the occupied Arab territories. Recent days have seen intensified, escalating violence and arbitrary measures by the Israeli occupation authorities against people who are armed only with their unshakeable faith in the justice of their cause and in their right to self-determination.

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

Those ugly practices, and the resulting waste of innocent human lives and the wounding of many Palestinian citizens, are proof of Israel's disregard for and indeed violation of the most fundamental human rights guaranteed by international law and texts, in particular the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. We cannot fail to note that on many occasions the Security Council has repeatedly stated that that Geneva Convention is applicable to Palestinian and other Arab territories under Israeli occupation since 1967, including Jerusalem.

Nevertheless, and in the absence of any deterrent or moral incentive, Israel continues to disregard and violate the letter and spirit of that Convention, to which it is a party. Indeed, it flouts and contravenes all international laws and norms and continues to employ all forms of repression and oppression to subjugate and humiliate the Palestinian Arab people, wage war against it on its own land, and confiscate all its means of livelihood - all aimed at forcing that people to leave its territory and homeland, so that the Palestinian Arab people will be no more on that soil.

Those Israeli practices have reached such an aggressive level that they cannot be ignored even by Western and American media of different orientations and tendencies. They have all been unanimous in giving those events objective and comprehensive coverage and in clearly pointing to the responsibility borne by the occupation authorities owing to their aggressive policies.

Are we to expect a proud people that is faced with such practices to kneel and subject itself to the dictates of the will of an occupier supported by an army armed to the teeth? Do we expect it to give up its legitimate struggle? No. That unarmed people continues to surprise us by its steadfastness in continuing the struggle in defence of its dignity, which can be achieved by getting rid of the

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

Israeli occupation of its land, exercising its right to self-determination and establishing its own independent Palestinian State on its national soil. To that end, it is using all means at its disposal - demonstrations, strikes, and even stones and empty bottles in the face of the live ammunition the Israeli forces do not hesitate to employ against it.

That is clear testimony of the fact that that people is not about to give up its struggle against occupation and the denial of its rights - a legitimate struggle, in keeping with the Charter and General Assembly resolutions, in particular resolution 40/61. Despite repeated denunciations and condemnations by the Security Council and the General Assembly - the most recent in resolution 42/160, paragraph 2, which denounced and condemned Israel for its policies and practices against Palestinian students and teachers in schools, universities and other institutes of higher learning, especially its firing live ammunition at unarmed students leading to the loss of lives - despite all those condemnations Israel has continued in its obstinacy and, just as it did to previous resolutions, responded to that resolution by renewed firing on unarmed youth, children and women in the occupied territories.

In an article on the question before us in today's issue of The New York Times, Yehuda Litani, a specialist in Arab Affairs for The Jerusalem Post, gives the following description:

(spoke in English)

"The difference is that now it lasts longer, more people are involved, and they are not afraid to confront the army. It's like a fire, it catches and spreads.

"They're in despair. I'm talking about the youth, they have nothing to lose.'" (The New York Times, 15 December 1987, p. A3)

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

(continued in Arabic)

Let me add that those events are tragic not only for the youth; they are also a real tragedy for the Palestinian people as a whole - all the Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

How long are we to expect that people to be patient in the face of those criminal acts? Is it not natural that occupation should generate resistance however violent? And, therefore, it is not strange that the continued occupation is the direct cause of that chain of violence and uprising.

Those who seek an end to this deteriorating situation must put an end to occupation; they must ensure victory to those who are right, and then security and stability will return.

We warn that the lack of any hope of a peaceful settlement will indeed increase the resistance and the violence of that resistance. We believe that the more frustration the Palestinian people feel, the more frustration is met with intransigence on the part of the Israeli occupation authorities, the resistance will be all the more inevitable and continuous. Zionist occupation itself is in an old dilemma. There is no longer any security, and the Zionist settlers realize once again that they are facing a militant people struggling for its homeland with the energy of its homeland behind it.

Proceeding from this, we call for more urgent action towards a peaceful settlement. We appeal to those who are an obstacle to peace efforts to respond positively and come to their senses. On the other hand, we believe that the Security Council should not stop at merely denouncing those inhuman practices and policies. It must work on the basis of the United Nations Charter and relevant resolutions to find an urgent alternative solution.

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

The Security Council must now put an end to those criminal acts and protect innocent people. It must protect the human rights of Palestinians from suffocation. The Security Council must act urgently to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East in which the five permanent members of the Security Council and all the parties to the Israeli-Arab conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, should participate on an equal footing.

Sheikh Jaber Al-Sabah, His Highness the Emir of Kuwait and President of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, addressed a letter to his brothers, Kings and Heads of State of members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, in which he said the following:

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

"It is our belief that the world, though it considers the question of human rights of highest priority, is today witnessing in occupied Palestine Israel's flagrant disregard for, and serious violation of, human rights. What our Palestinian brothers are doing in the occupied territories is a source of pride for us all. They are emphasizing once again to the Zionist enemy, and indeed to the world, that they will continue to oppose the occupation and insist on restoration of all the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people."

It was only natural that the will of Islamic and Arab peoples should converge. The appeal made by the Fifth Islamic Summit Conference, held in Kuwait last January, was based on the wish expressed in 1983, and repeated at the extraordinary Arab Summit Conference held in Jordan, to convene an international conference as the appropriate means to solve the problem in the Middle East, at whose core is the question of Palestine. However, Israel continues to procrastinate in accepting the very idea.

To achieve that noble aim, on behalf of the States members of the Islamic Conference, I wish to appeal to the Security Council to redouble its efforts and promote the convening of such an international conference in order to reach a peaceful, comprehensive, just and durable settlement of the Palestinian question, which would undoubtedly lead to peace and stability in the Middle East and the world.

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

The next speaker is Mr. Clovis Maksoud, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, to whom the Council extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure at its 2772nd meeting. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MAKSOUD: I should like to take this opportunity to extend to you, Mr. President, and, through you, to the members of the Security Council, the appreciation of the League of Arab States for the invitation to address the Council on a matter of grave importance.

I should also like to express our appreciation for your efforts and the efforts of your country to bring about the international conference which we have sought in order to salvage the peace option in the Middle East. I have known you as a man of great wisdom and tenacity in the pursuit of the objectives of the United Nations.

May I also thank Ambassador Kikuchi of Japan who presided over the Council's work last month with characteristic wisdom and commitment.

The Security Council is meeting at a time when the challenge to its authority is so clear and so vivid; at a time when the growing impatience, not only of the international community but also of the people who are under occupation, is beginning to be accentuated in direct proportion to the intense level of coercion and violence that is being practised by the Israeli occupying authorities.

What we are witnessing today in the occupied Arab territories, and especially in Gaza and the West Bank, is an attempt to articulate a position that Israel can at times humble the body of the Palestinian by forcing him to kneel blindfolded; but he cannot humble or humiliate his spirit. Sheer physical force and the armed might of Israeli occupation play havoc with the destiny of this people, which is represented in the United Nations and throughout the world by the Palestine Liberation Organization. It is the PLO which has articulated this people's rights and aspirations, led its struggle and been its voice.

(Mr. Maksoud)

Resistance to occupation is to be expected. It is normal. It is inevitable. Resistance to occupation means that there is a commitment to hope, that there is confidence in the international community, that there is a continuous belief that right and justice are not abstractions but are modalities that can be concretized and realized. Resistance to occupation is necessary not only to rectify what is wrong, not only to prevent disenfranchisement from becoming a permanent dispossession, but also to liberate the occupier himself from occupation's dehumanizing effect on the population of the occupying country. Resistance is therefore a human necessity, not only for the Palestinian people, but also for its adversaries, to enable them to recover their humanity in the face of the dehumanizing process that the violence of their occupation and the coerciveness of their measures inflicts upon them as well as upon their victims.

Therefore, to trivialize the deliberations of this Council as the Israeli representatives have repeatedly sought to do, meeting at 8 o'clock and trying to address the gallery. This is an attempt not only to trivialize and divert the deliberations from the central issues but an articulation of the built-in contempt that Israel has for the United Nations, its Charter and resolutions and for the deliberations of the Council.

(Mr. Maksoud)

Furthermore, the meeting of the Security Council at this moment comes at a time when there is a measure of international détente stimulated by the successful summit meeting between the two super-Powers which, if it continues, unburdens the two super-Powers from the immediacy of tension and conflict and may be expected to release the energies not only of the industrial Powers for the sake of development but to allow them to address more purposefully the lingering regional conflicts that tend to rekindle tension and confrontation.

Therefore, the atmosphere is conducive for the Security Council at this juncture to address the roots of the Middle East problem, of which the manifestations of violence in recent days are only but an expression of the accumulated frustration that has burdened the people of Palestine for the last 20 years under occupation.

When the PLO sought through its friends and the Arab group to come to the Security Council in order to participate in the deliberations on what is taking place on the West Bank and Gaza it was expressing its confidence in the Organization. It intended to use the Organization to salvage the political option so that the militancy in the occupied territories could be translated into political opportunity for justice and peace in the region. It is this ennobling initiative which the Arab group supported and sustained and to which the members of the Security Council have kindly responded. The PLO does not want to leave any stone unturned to bring about a peaceful resolution through the convening of a United Nations-sponsored international conference.

To say, as the Israeli representatives seem to imply, that the PLO "incites violence" is a deliberate distortion and misses the point. If the PLO incites, why is there an instant readiness to respond if the population under occupation did not experience the trauma and bestiality of Israeli occupying measures? If the PLO is

(Mr. Maksoud)

inciting, and if the so-called improvements in the quality of life made by the Occupying Power are so readily appreciated, why is there this spontaneous rebellion and insurrection against the occupying authorities?

Israel does not admit, nor does it recognize, the fact that it is an occupying Power. It is this refusal to recognize its actual status that is behind Israel's pursuit of a policy that considers Palestinians under occupation the human obstacles to the unravelling of its creeping annexation and expansionist policies. That is the root cause and explains the ferocity with which it administers its violent coercive measures in the occupied territories.

Israel does not recognize that it is an occupying Power and therefore it does not consider itself accountable under the Geneva Convention or any form of international law because the sheer presence of the Palestinian people under occupation is an interruption - in their view a crude interruption - in their objectives of fulfilling their annexationist policies. That is why no Israeli official since 1967 has defined Israel's role in the occupied territories. That is why Israel, under no circumstances, has defined what its borders are, and that is why what Israel wants and seeks is recognition of it as a State in a state of becoming, and not a State with definite borders.

Mr. Shamir said it very synoptically two days ago when he said:

"The Arabs of Israel have to know that with violence they will not get anything."

"The Arabs of Israel": what does that mean? We know that there was an Arab population in the Israel of 1967. Does he mean them, or does he mean the Arabs of Israel in an amorphous, undefined way - that is, the Arabs under occupation, whereby he treats the occupied territories as the Eretz Israel of the future?

(Mr. Maksoud)

The Israeli representative mentioned here that the PLO opposes any improvement in the status quo. This is one of the very few times I want to agree with the Israeli representative. Of course the PLO, as well as the entire Arab nation, opposes improvement in the status quo. We reject the status quo. Furthermore, he says that it, the PLO, encourages every opportunity to upset it because what it wants is conflict and dispute, violence and terror. Not only the PLO, not only the entire Arab nation, not only the members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, but I think everybody, with few exceptions, wants to encourage every opportunity to upset the status quo in the occupied territories. What the Israeli representative, consumed as he is by self-righteousness, considers a condemnation is to us a great compliment.

(Mr. Maksoud)

We are committed to upsetting the status quo in the occupied territories. We are committed to upsetting it through the International Conference, through the Security Council, through the General Assembly, through peaceful resistance, through civil disobedience, through other non-violent measures. We want to exhaust every peaceful means which the Charter and international law provide the Palestinians in order to upset the status quo. We want to do that by persuasion, but not by placating Israel. We want to do it by articulating and making concrete the recognition of the Palestinian national rights and the legitimacy of Palestinian resistance. We want to do it by making concrete and articulating the recognition that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) enjoys, as well as the peaceful modalities that have been suggested and approved through the United Nations. Of course we oppose any improvement in the status quo, for that would dilute the thrust towards changing that status quo.

The Israeli representative stated that the Israeli Government had put forward many proposals to rehabilitate refugees. But the question of Palestine, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, is not a question of refugees. It is true that there are Palestinian refugees in many Arab countries - and, indeed, inside their own country. But these refugees are persons who have been forcibly evicted from their homes, and the United Nations has recognized their right to return.

Parenthetically, I would say that one of the paradoxes of modern time is the campaign on human rights that we witnessed during the summit meeting between the two super-Powers. There were demonstrations; resolutions were adopted by the United States Congress; statements were made by the United States Administration - all calling for granting the Jews of the Soviet Union the human right to emigrate.

(Mr. Maksoud)

Unfortunately, not a voice was raised in the United States Administration or in the United States Congress in favour of the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their own homes and their homeland. This double standard is mind-boggling. We hope that it will be rectified.

I repeat that it is not a matter of refugees: it is a matter of the right of the people of Palestine to self-determination.

The United States has proposed some improvement in the quality of life of the Palestinians. It has made certain ad hoc interventions to prevent the more embarrassing aspects of the violence that the Israeli occupier practices. We recognize that. But we must also recognize that if an improvement in the quality of life is regarded as a substitute for the right to self-determination, then it is merely a palliative.

Furthermore, the Israeli representative stated that it had become a pattern for the PLO, in connection with the present subject, to ask for the Security Council to be convened in order to discuss not merely the violence but also the ills of occupation. But what is wrong with that? I ask everyone here: What is wrong with the Security Council's discussing the ills of occupation? Does the Israeli representative want us not to discuss the ills of occupation? Does he feel that a discussion of the ills of occupation constitutes interference in the so-called internal affairs of Israel? Does he mean that the occupied territories are a preserve of the Israeli authority, in which it can exercise the prerogatives of what he called "law and order"? The Israeli representative said that it is incumbent upon any Government to preserve law and order. That is a truism. But if the occupying authority wants to exercise law and order inside the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights and Jerusalem, is the Israeli Government's prerogatives of

(Mr. Maksoud)

exercising law and order a permanent one? Does that mean that the occupation is permanent? Does it mean that occupation must remain occupation?

We get no answer to those questions. Instead, the Israeli representative continues to insult the Security Council and its members and to engage in an onslaught against the Council's deliberations. He injects diversionary tactics and irrelevant issues, thinking that he can embarrass the Arabs by revisiting history. He tries to numb the Council into admitting that it is incapable of relevance or of functioning, because Israel has clothed itself with the immunity of unaccountability.

That situation is encouraged, directly or indirectly, by something that we have read in today's newspapers - that is, that, through an understanding and a new agreement, the United States Administration is now treating Israel as a kind of member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), with privileged access to military secrets and to military equipment, such as the F-16s.

No wonder, then, that Israel comes to the Security Council unwilling to heed its deliberations, unwilling to share the concern, and continues to pursue its objectives. Israel thinks that it can shock-absorb minor criticism of its excesses and the violence. We heard what Ambassador Murphy said yesterday in the House Foreign Relations Committee. That is appreciated. But when it is measured against and juxtaposed with the agreement that has been made to give Israel access to military secrets, to give Israel the status of a NATO member without really being a NATO member, to give Israel privileged access, then one wonders whether the lessons of the Pollard spy case and Israel's role in "Irangate" have been learned. That is equally mind-boggling.

(Mr. Maksoud)

Actually these deliberations, the violence that has taken place, the resistance by the Palestinians in the legitimate pursuit of their rights are a major corrective, for they recentralize the Palestinian issue into the major concerns of the world body and the world community. It is in that context that we reaffirm that the PLO and the Palestinian people in the occupied territories have exhausted all the peaceful options. To the Palestinians, violence is the option of last resort, while to the Israeli occupying authority, violence is the option of first resort. That is the distinction, and that is why these deliberations are crucial. The people that are revolting today against the humiliation of the perpetuation of Israeli occupation are presenting to the world community not only the agony of people suffering under occupation but also the aspirations and rights to which they are committed and for which they are fighting.

(Mr. Maksoud)

Only this morning Israeli troops went into Lebanon beyond what they call a security zone - because Israel thinks it can discipline people who resist its aggression. The suffocating arrogance with which it practices its occupation will find that the rebellion of the spirit of the Palestinian people and the Lebanese people in southern Lebanon will become the new reality - and not the reality of the occupation and annexationist policies.

* The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank Mr. Maksoud for the kind words he addressed to my country and to me personally.

The next speaker is Mr. Ansay, Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ANSAY: I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month, which I believe is going to be a historic one. I am confident that, with your vast experience and well known skills, you will perform your duties in the same exemplary way that your predecessor, Ambassador Kikuchi, performed his.

Since the Permanent Representative of Kuwait has already addressed the Council on behalf of the current Chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, I shall limit myself to reading a message addressed to the Council through you, Mr. President, by His Excellency Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, concerning the ongoing despicable terroristic actions perpetrated by the Israeli authorities in the form of cruel armed attacks and murder against the innocent Palestinian men, women and children of the occupied Palestinian Arab territories.

But before conveying this message to the Council I should also like to inform the members that an urgent meeting of the members of the Organization of the

(Mr. Ansay)

Islamic Conference at the United Nations was held this morning to consider the extremely grave situation before us and that a final communiqué was issued by that meeting, the text of which is being published as a document of the United Nations. The final communiqué inter alia calls for various measures to be taken by the United Nations, and particularly by the Security Council, with a view to ending forthwith the ongoing atrocities and rendering justice to the Palestinian people, justice that is long overdue. If justice is not served immediately, we firmly believe that international peace will soon be facing an imminent grave threat.

The following is the message of the Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference:

"Excellency,

"It is with a deep sense of outrage and indignation mingled with grief that this message is addressed to Your Excellency, in your capacity as the current President of the Security Council, on behalf of the Organization of the Islamic Conference - outrage and indignation against the terroristic policies of the Zionist occupation forces in the Arab and Palestinian territories, particularly in the West Bank and Gaza, which have resulted in the death of many innocent and unarmed men, women and children and in injuries to many more; grief at the murder of so many innocent people who have become victims of Israeli bullets for demanding their fundamental and inalienable human and national rights. The international community must assume its responsibility to ensure that the Israeli aggression is vacated so that the Palestinian people are not subjected to daily massacres, unlawful detention and oppression of the occupying forces.

"I would strongly appeal to and urge the Security Council through Your Excellency to adopt immediate and enforceable measures to ensure that the Palestinian people are not exposed to the continued brutality of the Zionist

(Mr. Ansay)

forces and that the Israeli aggression is stopped forthwith. The Security Council can no longer shirk its responsibility and must not be kept hostage to the veto power of any of the permanent members."

The message is signed "Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference".

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank Mr. Ansay for the kind words he addressed to me.

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

Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): It is with deep satisfaction, Sir, that we greet your presidency over the work of the Security Council for the month of December. You represent a country whose supreme leader, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, has just crossed the Atlantic to lay the first stone in the building of a world free of nuclear weapons, the world he himself proposed in his programme of January 1986 to reach the year 2000 without the spectre of mass annihilation.

I take this opportunity to convey our appreciation to the Permanent Representative of Japan, Mr. Kikuchi, for the efficient manner in which he guided the proceedings of the Security Council last month.

It is paradoxical that, at a time when we see actions such as those in the international arena, the Security Council, whose primary function is the maintenance of international peace and security, must once again meet urgently to consider atrocities committed by Israeli troops in the occupied Arab territories.

Extremely eloquent are the facts set forth here on Friday last by the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) about the dozens

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

of youths who were massacred in Balata and elsewhere. Those massacres were the continuation of previous acts in Sabra and Shatila. That is the price the Palestinian people must pay for not wishing to submit to the domination of the Israeli occupation troops.

We have heard of abhorrent crimes being committed on the streets, of hospitals under siege, of acts of brutality by the occupation army against defenceless youths whose only sin has been demonstrating against the aggressor and opposing occupation of their territory. But the Palestinian people resists foreign domination, and virtually without weapons it closes its ranks in defence of its inalienable right to return to its homes and to establish its own State in Palestine.

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

The Security Council cannot remain indifferent to that reality. Today, more than ever before, we need concrete action to bring about Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories.

Israel and its supporters have been the main obstacle to holding an international peace conference on the Middle East, with the participation on an equal footing of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Preparing for that conference is a responsibility of the Security Council. The current situation in the occupied territories and the facts we have been analysing since last Friday show the urgent need for the members of the Council to redouble their efforts to implement promptly General Assembly resolution 38/58 C of 13 December 1983.

Delay in taking concrete action of that kind, in adopting measures to bring about the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and in deciding that hostile acts against the Arab States and the Palestinian people must end promotes the design of changing the demographic nature and the social, political and cultural characteristics of the occupied territories. That is precisely what is intended by acts that intimidate the people of the occupied territories to make matters easier for the imported settlers.

Only a few days ago the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority resolutions on the Middle East reaffirming the need to implement the purposes and principles of the Charter to achieve a just and lasting solution to the situation in the Middle East and of the question of Palestine in particular. That must be a matter of fundamental concern to all members of the Security Council, and they must act accordingly.

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba)

The Council's having had to meet once again to consider the situation in the occupied Arab territories represents an appeal to the conscience of the international community to avoid any recurrence of massacres such as those of Sabra and Shatila, recently, and today's massacre in Balata. At this decisive time the people and the Government of Cuba, in keeping with the position they have always taken with regard to the Arab and Palestinian peoples in their struggle against imperialism and Zionism, are unconditionally in solidarity with the cause of justice and reason.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Cuba for his kinds words about my country and our leader and for the kind words he addressed to me.

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

Mr. AL-SHAKAR (Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of my delegation I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. We are fully confident that your capabilities and well-known diplomatic skills, as well as your vast knowledge of matters before the United Nations, particularly the question under consideration, will greatly contribute to achieving the desired results of our debates.

I also wish to express through you our appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Kikuchi of Japan, for the excellent way in which he conducted the Council's work during his presidency in November.

Since last Wednesday we have been witnessing in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories - the occupied Gaza Strip and the West Bank - a massive popular uprising against the Israeli occupation forces to put an end to the occupation and to the Israeli practices and acts daily committed against the

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

palestinian people there. In the confrontation that has raged between the Israeli occupation forces and the defenceless Palestinians there have been dozens of casualties at the hands of the occupation forces.

In the past few days various American television stations have broadcast graphic pictures of the large-scale popular uprising in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, enabling the audience to see live examples of the cruel methods employed by the occupation authorities to extinguish the flame of the struggle. A continued curfew has been imposed on the villages and cities of the occupied Gaza strip and the West Bank. The occupation forces, reinforced with tanks and other armoured vehicles, have attacked unarmed Palestinian demonstrators to suppress the demonstrations, undermine the popular uprising and silence the Palestinian voice calling for an end to the occupation. But despite all that, the Palestinian people in those territories remain steadfast against the Zionist occupation forces, which have been doing their utmost to quell their struggle in the continuing battles, in which the occupation forces use military helicopters, armoured vehicles, machine-guns and tear-gas bombs to break up the demonstrations. Unarmed Palestinians had no alternative but to resist with their bodies and with stones. The occupation authorities have persisted in their arbitrary practices. They have intensified and broadened the campaigns of detention of Palestinians in the Occupied Gaza Strip and West Bank.

The events we have been witnessing in the cities and villages of the occupied Gaza Strip and West Bank have not come from a vacuum. They are the natural results of the continued occupation and acts of torture, repression and oppression practised by the Israeli occupation authorities against the Palestinian people, languishing under the yoke of occupation for more than 20 years.

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

There is no doubt that those acts are the reason for the uprising and for the rekindling of popular resistance among the inhabitants of the Occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. That resistance is clear proof that the Arab Palestinian people reject occupation and all the inhuman arbitrary Israeli measures and practices against them in the occupied Gaza Strip and West Bank, carried out in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and other international instruments.

That popular uprising against Zionist tyranny makes it very clear that the Palestinian people will not surrender to occupation, however great the sacrifices it must make and however long that occupation lasts: occupation cannot break the will of the Palestinian people. Despite 20 years of occupation and desperate Israeli attempts, Israel has not been able to crush the struggle of that people or quell its legitimate aspiration to the exercise of its inalienable rights to freedom, independence, self-determination and the establishment of a free and independent State on its own national soil, under the leadership of its sole, legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

By their recent uprising, the Palestinians have reaffirmed their determination to continue the struggle against the Israeli war machine, with stones in the hands of their sons and cries on their lips. This is eloquent testimony to the determination of a defenceless struggling people to confront the Israeli occupation authorities.

On behalf of Bahrain, I wish to express our total solidarity with the Palestinian people in their heroic struggle in the occupied Arab territories. I wish here to pay a tribute to the heroic determination reflected in the many popular uprisings we have seen in the past year throughout the occupied Arab

(Mr. Al-Shakar, Bahrain)

territories, particularly those of the past week. They are a genuine expression of the opposition of the Palestinian people to Zionist occupation and their rejection of that occupation.

It is our hope that the Security Council will act promptly to support that struggling people chafing under the yoke of occupation, to protect it from the aggression of the occupation authorities, and to put an end to the daily threats against it, threats manifested in genocide, torture, repression and oppression by the occupation authorities. We call on the Security Council to adopt without delay effective measures to put an end to the occupation forces' massacre of helpless Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. Those measures must deter the Israeli occupation authorities and put an end to their inhumane, despotic, repressive activities.

It has become clear that the Palestinian people is a people like any other, a people that has natural legitimate rights. The Palestinian people cannot be destroyed, and its struggle cannot be extinguished, no matter how inventive Israel is in using its weapons of death and destruction. After long and bitter struggle, the Palestinian people, under the leadership of its sole, legitimate representative, the PLO, has been able finally to achieve international recognition of the legitimacy of its cause and its inalienable rights.

The events of the past 20 years have strengthened our firm belief that stability and security in the occupied Arab territories can be achieved only by putting an end to the occupation and through a comprehensive, lasting solution to the Palestinian question, which is at the core of the Israeli-Arab conflict. A just and lasting solution must be based on international legitimacy and on the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories, first and foremost

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al-Quds al-Sharif, and on the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable legitimate national rights, including its right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State of its own on its national soil.

At its present session the General Assembly has called for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, in two resolutions adopted this month: General Assembly resolutions 42/66 D of 2 December 1987 and 42/209 A of 11 December 1987. That conference, to be held under United Nations auspices, is the only adequate means to reach the desired solution.

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

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

Mr. KITTANI (Iraq): First of all, Sir, I wish on behalf of my delegation to thank you and, through you, the other members of the Council for responding to our request to participate in this debate. My delegation is indeed happy to see you at the head of the Council this month; we are certain that your presidency will ensure the expeditious and fruitful discharge of the Council's crowded agenda.

We wish also to congratulate the representative of Japan on the efficient manner in which he conducted the work of the Council last month.

Many speakers before me have alluded to the fact that the Security Council is meeting more than 20 years after the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and the Golan Heights. I repeat that number because I believe it has a great deal of significance. We read today that over 60 per cent of the people living in Gaza - and, I am sure, in the West Bank as well - are under 20 years old. That means that they have lived all their lives under Israeli occupation. Yet they are the ones who are facing Israeli tanks and machine-guns with bared chests and with rocks in their bare hands.

(Mr. Kittani, Iraq)

The last time I spoke on Israeli practices in the occupied territories was on 30 January 1986; the subject then was Israeli practices in a specific part of the occupied territories, namely, Jerusalem itself. I mentioned then - and I shall not bore the Council by repeating, because I did so at some length - that the persistent Israeli policy of aggression and expansion and the use of brute force and terrorism were not likely to lead to either peace and security in Palestine or the fulfilment of the Israeli dream and master plan of eliminating the Palestinians as a people with inalienable rights.

Now, nearly two years later, what do we see? For a quick answer we need go no further than today's - on 15 December 1987 - media coverage. Having full respect for the desire not to abuse the Council's time and not to take too much of its time, I should like very briefly to quote from two publications.

First, from this morning's New York Times I should like to read out the following:

"The growing violence in the occupied territories is causing growing concern to the Government," - the Government of Israel - "with Israeli newspapers speaking of a 'civil revolt'.

"Yehuda Litani, a specialist in Arab affairs for The Jerusalem Post, described the current round of fighting as more violent than the major previous outbreaks of unrest in the occupied territories in 1975-76 and 1980-81.

"The difference is, Mr. Litani said in an interview, 'that now it lasts longer, more people are involved, and they are not afraid to confront the army. It's like a fire, it catches and spreads.

"They're in despair'... I'm talking about the youth, they have nothing to lose.'"

(Mr. Kittani, Iraq)

In another passage of the same article, we read the following:

"The unrest, a United Nations relief official said, was 'the most serious revolt in the Gaza Strip in the 20 years of Israeli occupation.

"'We are definitely at a new phase here, both in terms of the Palestinians and the Israeli reaction,' another United Nations official said.

"'Increasingly the younger kids are no longer afraid. They are willing to stand in front of the Border Police and bare their chests. And when they throw a stone, they hit what they're aiming at. Now the Israelis are shooting first.'"

According to the same article:

"Mr. Litani wrote in The Jerusalem Post that Palestinian youths were attacking Israel Defense Forces patrols 'with stones, bottles, Molotov cocktails and iron bars, knowing the I.D.F. soldiers would shoot back at them, killing and wounding at least some.'"

Finally, in the same article, we read one discordant note from none other than the Prime Minister of Israel, as follows:

"Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir dismissed the clashes as the work of

'terrorists and delinquents'." (The New York Times, 15 December 1987, p. A3)

That is the same man whose hands really are still stained with the blood of the United Nations itself. It was none other than the Stern Gang, of which Mr. Shamir was a prominent member, which murdered in cold blood United Nations Mediator Count Bernadotte. Indeed, his political career is steeped in terrorism, and he is the one calling the resistance to foreign alien occupation terrorism and delinquency. How values built over centuries and millenia are turned upside down I leave to the judgement of the Council.

(Mr. Kittani, Iraq)

The second passage is from an editorial in the Financial Times of London of 15 December 1987. Here, again, I think I shall make a brief comment later. It reads as follows:

"... the atmosphere has deteriorated over the last two years: Palestinian unrest has met with a harsh response from the security forces; rising Palestinian aspirations have run into a flat Israeli refusal to allow Arabs under occupation any form of genuine economic or political independence. In both territories, the situation is no doubt containable from a strictly military point of view. But it is also creating long-term political problems which Israeli leaders would be foolish to underestimate.

"Public opinion inside and outside Israel is becoming more aware of the nature of Israeli rule over the occupied territories. One consequence of this has been the political pressure on Israel's coalition Government to agree to attend an international conference to discuss alternative arrangements. The consensus on the need for such a gathering is overwhelming, among Western, Eastern and Arab governments, as well as on the Labour side of the Israeli coalition and among diaspora Jewry: only Mr. Yitzhak Shamir, the Israeli Prime Minister, and his allies have consistently rejected it out of hand. Another consequence, on a smaller scale, has been the readiness of foreign governments to insist that the Palestinians get a better deal: witness the European Community's pressure on Israel over fairer treatment of farm exports from the West Bank and Gaza."

I took the liberty of wasting all that time of the Council because sometimes it is better to read the words of others than our own, since they are more telling, and to those who are tired of listening to us they are more credible.

(Mr. Kittani, Iraq)

The Israeli dream that, with the passage of time, the Zionist master plan of eliminating the Palestinians as a people with rights obviously is not working and is no closer to reality than in the past. It is a mirage. Thousands of Palestinians who have grown up entirely under the occupation are disproving that dream.

The last time I addressed the Council on the subject I referred to the scriptures and reminded the Israelis of what happened to people who lived by the sword - because until now Israel has clearly chosen to live by the sword and by the sword alone. Perhaps another example from the same scriptures and background is the story of David and Goliath. If we look no further than American television, we should like to ask the Israelis to remember their past, their history, and tell us who is David and who is Goliath in Gaza and the West Bank this week.

A final comment about the responsibility of the United Nations and this Council. One of the persistent tenets of Israeli policy has been to ignore or try to influence any action by this Council and the United Nations. They behave as if there were no United Nations, no Charter, no obligations, no collective security measures and no Geneva Conventions about civilians in occupied territories; but this Organization and this Council cannot possibly give up their mandate, especially about Palestine and the rights of the Palestinian people. It is a historical trust, and this Organization will, probably more than anything else, stand or fall on its perseverance to see to it that the Palestinian people get a decent deal - which, so far, they have not received.

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

In view of the lateness of the hour, I intend to adjourn the meeting now.

As agreed by members of the Council, the next meeting will be held at

3.30 p.m. tomorrow.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.